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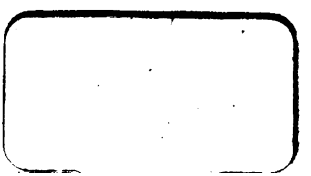

THE

MONTHLY REVIEW;

OR

LITERARY JOURNAL,

ENLARGED:

From MAY to AUGUST, *inclusive,*

M, DCCC, XXII.

With an APPENDIX.

"Æquum esse puto ut sine vano obtrectatû considerent, an minutæ istæ admonitiones pauxillulæ nequaquam tamen sint vel ad alendum studium inhonestæ, vel ad oblectandum frigidæ fovendumque animum: sed ejus seminis generisque sint, ex quo facile adolescant aut ingenia hominum vegetiora, aut memoria adminiculatior, aut ratio solertior, aut sermo incorruptior, aut delectatior in otio, aut in ludo liberalior."
(AUL. GELL. *Præfat. in Noct. Att.*)

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ERRATA

ERRATA in Vol. XCVIII.

Page 25. l. 9. for 'herrows,' read *harrows*.
154. l. 7. for '*Grossularæ*,' read *Grossulariæ*.
187. l. 1. for 'densiti,' read *destinies*.
223. l. 26. for 'freightened,' read *frightened*.
322. l. 28. insert 'to,' before 'give.'
323. l. 21. after 'and,' insert, *that establishment*.
355. note, dele the turned commas after *anonymously*, and place them after *Virgil*.
386. l. 28. for 'sorts,' read *kinds*.
448. l. 34. for 'finally,' read *finely*.

THE

MONTHLY REVIEW,

For MAY, 1822.

ART. I. *Memoires of the last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second.* By Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford. From the Original MSS. 2 Vols. 4to. With 11 Plates. *5l. 5s.* Boards. Murray. 1822.

IN any future "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors," the writer of that which we now possess will undoubtedly obtain a conspicuous place; and if few among the patrician votaries of the pen have been more liberal in their contributions to literature, few also have furnished more ample grounds for the appreciation and delineation of their own character. His writings have not only been various, but generally attractive; and the peculiarities of his mind and his style have been so marked and pervading, that, while his readers have been very numerous, he himself has perhaps been well understood by most of them. Not trusting to these sources and this probability, however, we shall find that in the Memoirs before us he has drawn his own portrait at full length; and with this document, and the additional aid of the whole narrative, it will be strange if he be not made clearly visible to the present age and to posterity. Yet his unsparing sarcasm, his free disclosure of state-secrets, and his injustice towards some classes of men, will excite hostility which may in turn be unjust to him; and as he will be accused of prejudice against others, so his delineation of himself will be distrusted as the offspring of partiality. Thus it is, and ever will be. We can only say that the discerning and the candid have sufficient materials before them; and that all others will sin with their eyes open, and at the hazard of ample evidence being brought against them.

The circumstances under which the manuscript of this singular work has been preserved are thus briefly explained by the editor, who has not sanctioned the statement by his name, but whom according to public rumour we may believe to be Lord Holland:

'Among the papers found at Strawberry Hill, after the death of Lord Orford, was the following memorandum, wrapped in an

envelope, on which was written, "Not to be opened till after my will."

'"In my library at Strawberry Hill are two wainscot chests or boxes, the larger marked with an A, the lesser with a B:—I desire, that as soon as I am dead, my executor and executrix will cord up strongly and seal the larger box, marked A, and deliver it to the Honourable Hugh Conway Seymour, to be kept by him unopened and unsealed, till the eldest son of Lady Waldegrave, or whichsoever of her sons, being Earl of Waldegrave, shall attain the age of twenty-five years, when the said chest, with whatever it contains, shall be delivered to him for his own. And I beg that the Honourable Hugh Conway Seymour, when he shall receive the said chest, will give a promise in writing, signed by him, to Lady Waldegrave, that he or his representatives will deliver the said chest unopened and unsealed, by my executor and executrix, to the first son of Lady Waldegrave who shall attain the age of twenty-five years. The key of the said chest is in one of the cupboards of the green closet within the blue breakfast-room at Strawberry Hill, and that key, I desire, may be delivered to Laura, Lady Waldegrave, to be kept by her till her son shall receive the chest.

'"*March* 21. 1790.

'"(Signed) HORACE WALPOLE, Earl of ORFORD.

'"*August* 19. 1796."'

'In obedience to these directions, the box described in the preceding memorandum was corded and sealed with the seals of the Honourable Mrs. Damer, and the late Lord Frederick Campbell, the executrix and executor of Lord Orford, and by them delivered to the late Lord Hugh Seymour, by whose representatives it was given up, unopened and unsealed, to the present Earl of Waldegrave, when he attained the age of twenty-five. On examining the box, it was found to contain a number of manuscript-volumes and other papers, among which were the Memoirs now published.'

The noble lord to whom we suppose ourselves indebted for the publication of these Memoirs, and also for the recent appearance of those of Lord Waldegrave, justly concludes that all these minute and particular injunctions were intended by the author merely to postpone the period when the MS., which he had so diligently composed and so carefully prepared as if for the press, should be ushered into the world, and not to prevent it from ever being promulgated. We are also assured that the work is a faithful copy of the original, excepting some trifling changes in orthography, (Lord Orford having been singularly whimsical on that subject, as the title 'Memoires' may evince,) the omission of one gross and ill authenticated story which was cut out from the MS. by the present Lord Waldegrave, the suppression of some sarcasms on the bodily infirmities of individuals, and the substi-

substitution of asterisks in some few instances for the names at length, where the characters of ladies were concerned.

The volumes, as we might expect from the character of the author, are written with great vivacity and spirit, and are full of interest as far as they tend to develope the political intrigues and to illustrate the manners of the age. For the historian, likewise, they contain some valuable materials in the very full reports of the parliamentary debates, particularly from 1750 to 1755, and in the complete developement of that nefarious transaction, the judicial murder of Admiral Byng. The whole story, indeed, of the proceedings during and after the trial of that unfortunate officer is full of interest; and the anxiety personally shewn by Mr. Walpole on that occasion will, in the eyes of impartial and feeling readers, atone for many of those severities of remark, and ebullitions of spleen, with which his volumes abound: almost inducing them to believe the writer's character of himself as a man "strongly tinctured with tenderness, and whose satiric humour was accompanied with a most compassionate heart." Satire, however, was his ruling propensity; and, feeling strongly the ingratitude of some of his father's adherents, when the circumstances of that minister changed, he seems from early life to have indulged in very unfavorable notions of the human character: while this tendency to view events and motives through a discoloured medium was probably much aggravated by constitutional delicacy, and irritability of temperament. With a mind constantly alive to passing occurrences, and a bustling and ardent spirit, he united the frame of a valetudinarian, and a refined and fastidious taste. The restlessness of his temper, however, and those irregular sallies of vivacity which he experienced, preserved him from that morbid melancholy which occasionally preyed on his early friend Gray; and, instead of allowing him to be morose, occasioned him to indulge in that whimsical and splenetic sort of humour which is frequently most poignant where it seems most playful, and which, while it appears only to tickle the skin, is lacerating the flesh of its victim.

In vol. ii. p. 334. he has thus drawn his own character, speaking in the third person:

'Horace Walpole, without the least tincture of ambition, had a propensity to faction, and looked on the mischief of civil disturbances as a lively amusement. Indignation at the persecution raised against his father, and prejudices contracted by himself, conspired with his natural impetuosity of temper to nourish this passion. But coming into the world, when the world was growing weary of faction, and some of the objects dying, or being removed,

against whom his warmth had been principally directed, maturity of reason and sparks of virtue extinguished this culpable ardour. Balanced for a few years between right and wrong, happily for him virtue preponderated early enough to leave him some merit in the option. Arts, books, painting, architecture, antiquities, and those amiable employments of a tranquil life, to which in the warmest of his political hours he had been fondly addicted, assumed an entire empire over him. The circumstances of the times contributed to make him withdraw from the scene of business. With Newcastle he had determined never to connect. Fox's behaviour on the case of Mr. Byng had rooted out his esteem, and the coldness discovered by Fox on Walpole's refusing to concur in all his politics had in a manner dissolved their friendship. Of Pitt he retained the best opinion; but the wanton exposure of so many lives at the affair of St. Cas, and in those other visionary attempts on the coast of France, had painted Pitt on his mind as a man whose thirst of glory was inconsistent with humanity; and being himself strongly tinctured with tenderness, he avoided any further intercourse with a minister, who was Great with so little reluctance.

'Thus, without disgrace, disappointment, or personal disgust, Walpole, at the age of forty-one, (at the end of 1758,) abandoned the theatre of affairs: and retaining neither resentment to warp, nor friendship to bias him, he thinks himself qualified to give some account of transactions, which few men have known better, and of which scarce any can speak with equal impartiality. He has not falsified a circumstance to load any man; he has not denied a wrong act to excuse himself. Yet lest even this unreserve should not be thought sufficient, lest some secret motives should have been supposed to have influenced his opinions, at least his narrative, he will lay open to the reader his nearest sentiments. Severity in some of the characters will be the most striking objection. His dislike to a few persons probably sharpened his eyes to their faults, but he hopes never blinded him to their virtues — lest it should have done, especially in so inflammable a nature, he admonishes the reader of his greatest prejudices, as far as they could have risen from any provocation. From the Duke of Cumberland, Mr. Pelham, and Lord Hardwicke, he had received trifling offence. To the two last he avows he had strong aversion. From Mr. Fox, as I have said, he had felt coldness and ingratitude. By his uncle and the Duke of Devonshire he had been injured — by the former basely betrayed; yet of none of these has he omitted to speak with praise, when he could find occasion. Of Lord Hardwicke, had he known a virtue, he would have told it: for now, when his passions are subsided, when affection and veneration for truth and justice preponderate above all other considerations, would he sacrifice the integrity of these Memoires, his favourite labour, to a little revenge that he shall never taste? No; let his narration be measured by this standard, and it will be found that the unamiableness of the characters he blames imprinted those dislikes, as well as private distaste to some of them. The King, the Duke of New-

Newcastle, and others, who do not appear in these writings with any signal advantage, never gave him the most distant cause of dissatisfaction.

'How far his own character may have concurred towards forming his opinions may be calculated from the following picture, impartial as far as a man can know himself.

'Walpole had a warm conception, vehement attachments, strong aversions; with an apparent contradiction in his temper — for he had numerous caprices, and invincible perseverance. His principles tended to republicanism, but without any of its austerity; his love of faction was unmixed with any aspiring. He had great sense of honour, but not great enough, for he had too much weakness to resist doing wrong, though too much sensibility not to feel it in others. He had a great measure of pride, equally apt to resent neglect, and scorning to stoop to any meanness or flattery. A boundless friend, a bitter, but a placable enemy. His humour was satyric, though accompanied with a most compassionate heart. Indiscreet and abandoned to his passions, it seemed as if he despised or could bear no constraint; yet this want of government of himself was the more blameable, as nobody had greater command of resolution whenever he made a point of it. This appeared in his person; naturally very delicate, and educated with too fond a tenderness, by unrelaxed temperance, and braving all inclemency of weathers, he formed and enjoyed the firmest and unabated health. One virtue he possessed in a singular degree — disinterestedness and contempt of money, — if one may call that a virtue, which really was a passion. In short, such was his promptness to dislike superiors, such his humanity to inferiors, that, considering how few men are of so firm a texture as not to be influenced by their situation, he thinks, if he may be allowed to judge of himself, that had either extreme of fortune been his lot, he should have made a good prince, but not a very honest slave.'

In spite of some drawbacks from the avowed prejudice of the author, as in the case of Lord Hardwicke, or from his more secret prejudice, as in the instance of Lord Mansfield, the characters delineated in these volumes abound with discernment and with admirable touches of nature. We are most pleased with some of them which are struck off in a few words, and as it were *en passant:* those which are more fully drawn being perhaps too elaborate, and too full of antithesis and affectation. Lawyers and clergymen seem, either from some accident respecting the members of those professions at the time in question, or from some particular antipathy of the writer, to have been remarkably obnoxious to his censure. It is but seldom, indeed, that any of the bishops can obtain a good word from him. The whole Bench in 1751 is thus characterized: (vol. i. p. 128.)

'Religious animosities were out of date; the public had no turn for controversy; the Church had no writers to make them fond of

it again. This had lately appeared; Dr. Middleton, the best writer of the age, had overturned the fathers, and exploded some visions of the Bishop of London, without a tolerable answer being made in defence of either. Of the prelates, the archbishop was a harmless good man, inclined to much moderation, and of little zeal for the tinsel of religion. Hutton, the other archbishop, was well bred and devoted to the ministry. Honest old Hoadley, who, to the honour of his times, had, though the champion of liberty, risen to the rich bishopric of Winchester, was in a manner superannuated. Sherlock, of London, almost as able a combatant for the power and doctrines of the Church, was past his strength, and still fonder of the politics of the government, than of the honour of the keys. The Bishop of Durham had been wafted to that see in a cloud of metaphysics, and remained absorbed in it. Gooch, of Ely, the highest churchman in his heart, had risen to his present greatness in the Church by shifting his politics. The rest were men neither of note nor temper to give the ministry any disturbance.'

For an instance, Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, when introduced as tutor of the young Prince, is described (vol. i. p. 74.) as 'a sensible, well bred man, natural son of Blackbourn, the jolly old Archbishop of York, who had all the manners of a man of quality, though he had been a buccaneer, and was a clergyman; but he retained nothing of his first profession, except his seraglio.' On Secker, also, he is very severe: (vol. i. p. 56.)

'The King would not go to chapel because Secker Bishop of Oxford was to preach before him. The ministers did not insist upon his hearing the sermon, as they had lately upon his making him dean of St. Paul's. Character and popularity do not always depend upon the circumstances that ought to compose either. This bishop, who had been bred a Presbyterian and man-midwife, which sect and profession he had dropt for a season, while he was president of a very free-thinking club, had been converted by Bishop Talbot, whose relation he married, and his faith settled in a prebend at Durham: from whence he was transplanted, at the recommendation of Dr. Bland, by the Queen, and advanced by her (who had no aversion to a medley of religions, which she always compounded into a scheme of heresy of her own,) to the living of St. James's, vacant by the death of her favourite Arian, Dr. Clarke, and afterwards to the bishoprics of Bristol and Oxford. It is incredible how popular he grew in his parish, and how much some of his former qualifications contributed to heighten his present doctrines. His discourses from the pulpit, which, by a fashion that he introduced, were a kind of moral essays, were as clear from quotations of Scripture, as when he presided in a less scripture-society: but what they wanted of gospel, was made up by a tone of fanaticism that he still retained. He had made a match between a daughter of the late Duke of Kent and a Dr. Gregory, whose

whose talents would have been extremely thrown away in any priesthood, where celibacy was one of the injunctions. He had been presented with a noble service of plate for procuring a marriage between the heiress of the same Duke of Kent and the Chancellor's son, and was now forced upon the King by the gratitude of the same minister, though he had long been in disgrace for having laid his plan for Canterbury in the interest he had cultivated at the Prince's court. But even the Church had its renegades in politics, and the King was obliged to fling open his asylum to all kinds of deserters; content with not speaking to them at his levee, or listening to them in the pulpit.'

The following account is given of Warburton's promotion to the Bench in 1759: (vol. ii, p. 401.)

'Pitt, in contradiction to the house of Manners, who solicited for Dr. Ewer, to Newcastle, who stickled for a Cambridge man, and to the opposition of the episcopal bench, made Warburton Bishop of Gloucester; whose doubtful Christianity, whose writings and turbulent arrogance, made him generally obnoxious. Warburton, inquiring of a friend what the clergy thought of his promotion, and being told how much it offended them, said, "Tell them it was well for their cause that I did not embrace any other profession."'

That Lord Orford's general opinion of Warburton was very unfavorable appears from several of his letters, and particularly from one to George Montagu, dated April 5. 1765, in which he relates the well known anecdote of Quin's dialogue with the bishop, on the subject of the execution of Charles I.; and in introducing which he calls Warburton 'a turn-coat hypocrite infidel,' and 'a saucy priest.'

We think that our readers will be amused with the characters here given of Lords Lyttelton and Bolingbroke, and of the five 'great men,' as he terms them, of his own day, which are written in the author's most elaborate manner. The delineation of Bolingbroke, severe as it is, appears to us particularly just, and coincides very much with the admirable review of the life and writings of that extraordinary man which is given by Lady Mary Wortley Montague, in one of her letters.

'Soon after the Prince died, an unlucky discovery had been made. George Lyttelton had written a lamentation, on that occasion, to his father, an antiquated baronet in Worcestershire, telling him that he and his friends had just renewed their connexions with the Prince of Wales, by the mediation of Dr. Ayscough, which, though not ripe for discovery, was the true secret of their oblique behaviour this session in Parliament. This letter he had delivered to a gentleman's servant, who was going into the country; but, the fellow, having some other letters for the post, had by mistake

given in the private negociation, which was only subscribed *To Sir Thomas Lyttelton.* It was opened at the post-office and carried to Mr. Pelham. Had it been seen by no other person, the secret had been safe, and the treachery concealed, as carefully as if he had been in the conspiracy himself, instead of being the object of it; but it was talked of from the post-office, though obscurely for some time, till at last it was nursed up some how or other, and arrived at the King's ears, who grew outrageous, and could not be hindered from examining Shelvocke, the secretary of the post-office, himself. Here he got very little farther light; for Shelvocke had been instructed to affirm that the letter was sent back to Mr. Lyttelton unopened; but Lyttelton, who had not been so well instructed in his own secret, avowed it; and as if there were nothing to be ashamed of but the discovery, he took pains to palliate no other part of the story.

'Absurdity was predominant in Lyttelton's composition; it entered equally into his politics, his apologies, his public pretences, his private conversations. With the figure of a spectre, and the gesticulations of a puppet, he talked heroics through his nose, made declamations at a visit, and played at cards with scraps of history, or sentences of Pindar. He had set out on a poetical love plan, though with nothing of a lover but absence of mind, and nothing of a poet but absence of meaning: yet he was far from wanting parts: spoke well when he had studied his speeches; and loved to reward and promote merit in others. His political apostacy was as flagrant as Pitt's: the latter gloried in it; but Lyttelton, when he had been forced to quit virtue, took up religion, and endeavoured to persuade mankind, that he had just fixed his views on Heaven, when he had gone the greatest lengths to promote his earthly interest; and so finished was his absurdity, that he was capable of believing himself honest and agreeable.' —(Vol. i. p. 174.)

'12th Dec. 1751,—died Lord Bolinbroke; a man who will not be seen in less extraordinary lights by posterity, than he was by cotemporaries, though for very different reasons. His own age regarded him either as the greatest statesman, oppressed by faction, and the greatest genius persecuted by envy; or as the most consummate villain, preserved by clemency, and the most treacherous politician, abandoned by all parties whom he had successively betrayed. Posterity will look upon him as the greatest philosopher from Pope's writings; or as an author of a bounded genius from his own. To see him in a true light, they must neither regard all the incense offered to him by Tories, nor credit all the opprobrium cast upon him by Whigs.

'They must see him compounded of all those vices and virtues, that so often enter into the nature of a great genius, who is not one of the greatest. Was it being master of no talents to have acted the second part, when little more than a youth, in overturning such a ministry, and stemming such a tide of glory, as Lord Godolphin's, and the Duke of Marlborough's? Was there no ability, after his return from banishment, in holding such a power

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as Sir Robert Walpole's at bay for so many years, even when excluded from the favourable opportunity of exerting his eloquence in either House of Parliament? Was there no triumph in having chiefly contributed to the fall of that minister? Was there no glory in directing the councils and operations of such men as Sir William Windham, Lord Bath, and Lord Granville? And was there no art in persuading the self-fondest and greatest of poets, that the writer of the Craftsman was a more exalted genius than the author of the Dunciad? Has he shewn no address in palliating the exploded treaty of Utrecht? Has he not, in his letters on that event, contrived to make assertions and hypothesis almost balance stubborn facts? To cover his own guilt, has he not diverted our attention towards pity for the great enemy, in whose service he betrayed his own country? On the other hand, what infamy to have sold the conqueror to the conquered! What ingratitude in labouring the ruin of a minister, who had repealed his sentence of banishment! What repeated treasons to the Queen, whom he served; to the Pretender, who had received and countenanced him; to the late King, who had recalled him! What ineffectual arts to acquire the confidence of the late King by means of the Duchess of Kendal, and of the present King, by Lady Suffolk! What unwearied ambition, even at seventy years of age, in laying a plan of future power in the favour of the Prince of Wales! What deficiency in the very parts that had given success to the Opposition, to have left him alone excluded from reaping the harvest of so many labours! What blackness in disclosing the dirtiness of Pope, who had deified him! And what philosophy was that which had been initiated in the ruin of the Catalans; had employed its meridian in labouring the restoration of popery and arbitrary power; and busied the end of its career, first in planning factions in the Pretender's court, by the scheme of the father's resigning his claim to the son; and then in sowing the seeds of division between a king and prince, who had pardoned all his treasons.'—(P. 191.)

'Thinly, very thinly, were great men sown in my remembrance: I can pretend to have seen but five; the Duke of Cumberland, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Granville, Lord Mansfield, and Pitt. I have expatiated on all their characters separately; and yet I am inclined to say a few words more in the light of comparison. It is by setting the same characters in different oppositions and points of view, that nearer acquaintance with them may be struck out.

'Lord Granville was most a genius of the five; he conceived, knew, expressed, whatever he pleased. The state of Europe and the state of literature were equally familiar to him. His eloquence was rapid, and flowed from a source of wit, grandeur, and knowledge. So far from premeditated, he allowed no reflection to chasten it. It was entertaining, it was sublime, it was hyperbole, it was ridiculous, according as the profusion of ideas crowded from him. He embraced systems like a legislator, but was capable of none of the detail of a magistrate. Sir Robert Walpole was much the reverse; he knew mankind, not their writings; he consulted their interests, not their systems; he intended their happiness, not their

their grandeur. Whatever was beyond common sense, he disregarded. Lord Mansfield, without the elevation of Lord Granville, had great powers of eloquence. It was a most accurate understanding, and yet capable of shining in whatever it was applied to. He was as free from vice as Pitt, more unaffected, and formed to convince, even where Pitt had dazzled. The Duke of Cumberland had most expressive sense, but with that connection between his sense and sensibility, that you must mortify his pride before you could call out the radiance of his understanding. Being placed at the head of armies without the shortest apprenticeship, no wonder he miscarried; it is cruel to have no other master than one's own faults. Pitt's was an unfinished greatness; considering how much of it depended on his words, one may almost call his an artificial greatness; but his passion for fame, and the grandeur of his ideas, compensated for his defects. He aspired to redeem the honour of his country, and to place it in a point of giving law to nations. His ambition was to be the most illustrious man of the first country of Europe, and he thought that the eminence of glory could not be sullied by the steps to it being passed irregularly. He wished to aggrandize Britain in general, but thought not of obliging or benefiting individuals. Lord Granville you loved till you knew him; Sir Robert Walpole the more you knew him; you would have loved the Duke if you had not feared him. Pitt liked the dignity of despotism; Lord Mansfield, the reality; yet the latter would have served the cause of power, without sharing it; Pitt would have set the world free, if he might not command it. Lord Granville would have preferred doing right, if he had not thought it more convenient to do wrong: Sir Robert Walpole meaned to serve mankind, though he knew how little they deserved it; and this principle is at once most meritorious in one's self and to the world.' (Vol. ii, p. 272.)

This comparison manifests a very observable and a very excusable bias to place the merits of Sir Robert Walpole in the most prominent point of view. On many other occasions in the volumes before us, also, he is brought forwards for the purpose of throwing other characters into the shade; and though there may be some obtrusion and some injustice in all this, yet on the whole it is rather gratifying than otherwise to remark such instances of filial partiality and filial piety. Indeed, these touches of nature are an agreeable relief in the midst of a composition which is occupied almost entirely with details of court-intrigues, and with attempts to draw off the various disguises assumed by artifice and faction. The cabals of courts are doubtless curious and interesting, and the history of them gives much insight into human nature under a particular form: but repetitions of ingratitude and treachery leave a most disagreeable impression on the mind; and the varying hues of that camelion, Insincerity, distract and weary the attention.

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The lighter anecdotes and jokes * interspersed through these Memoirs are told with great humour: but the sprightliness of many of them strikes more forcibly on the reader from their contrast with the serious matter into which they are interwoven. In referring our readers for them to the work itself, we can heartily recommend it to their perusal; assuring them that they will find in it a fund of instruction and entertainment, no where else accessible, respecting the period that is included in it. We close our extracts with the following sketch of the character of George II.: (vol. i. p. 152.)

'The King had fewer sensations of revenge, or at least knew how to hoard them better, than any man who ever sat upon a throne. The insults he experienced from his own, and those obliged servants, never provoked him enough to make him venture the repose of his people, or his own. If any object of his hate fell in his way, he did not pique himself upon heroic forgiveness, but would indulge it at the expence of his integrity, though not of his safety. He was reckoned strictly honest; but the burning of his father's will must be an indelible blot upon his memory; as a much later instance of his refusing to pardon a young man who had been condemned at Oxford, for a most trifling forgery, contrary to all example, when recommended to mercy by the Judge, merely because Willes, who was attached to the Prince of Wales, had tried him, and assured him his pardon, will stamp his name with cruelty, though in general his disposition was merciful, if the offence was not murder. His avarice was much less equivocal than his courage; he had distinguished the latter early; it grew more doubtful afterwards; the former he distinguished very near as soon, and never deviated from it.† His understanding was not

* Some of these jokes are diverting enough, as for instance:

'When Crowle was once on a circuit with Judge Page, a person asked him if the Judge was not just behind him. He replied, "I do not know, but I am sure he never was *just before*."

'The speech (of the Speaker of the House of Commons, in 1742, on the occasion of the Westminster election,) to the kneeling justices, was so long and severe, that the morning it was printed Sir Charles Hanbury Williams complained to him of the printers having made a grievous mistake. "Where? how? I examined the proof-sheet myself!" Sir Charles replied, "In the conclusion he makes you say *more* might have been said; to be sure you wrote it, *less* might have been said."

'Soon after Mr. Winnington deserted the Tories, and had made a strong speech on the other side, Sir John Cotton was abusing him to Sir Robert Walpole, and said, "That young dog promised that he would always stand by us." Sir Robert replied, "I advise my young men never to use *always*." "Yet," said Cotton, stammering, "You yourself are very apt to make use of *all-ways*."'

'† Soon after his first arrival in England, Mrs. * * *, one of the bed-

not near so deficient as it was imagined; but though his character changed extremely in the world, it was without foundation; for (whether) he deserved to be so much ridiculed as he had been in the former part of his reign, or so respected as in the latter, he was consistent in himself, and uniformly meritorious or absurd. His other passions were, Germany, the army, and women. Both the latter had a mixture of parade in them: he treated my Lady Suffolk, and afterwards Lady Yarmouth, as his mistresses, while he admired only the queen; and never described what he thought a handsome woman, but he drew her picture. Lady Suffolk was sensible, artful, and agreeable, but had neither sense nor art enough to make him think her so agreeable as his wife. When she had left him, tired of acting the mistress, while she had in reality all the slights of a wife, and no interest with him, the Opposition affected to cry up her virtue, and the obligations the King had to her, for consenting to seem his mistress, while in reality she had confined him to mere friendship; — a ridiculous pretence, as he was the last man in the world to have taste for talking sentiments, and that with a woman who was deaf! Lady Yarmouth was inoffensive, and attentive only to pleasing him, and to selling peerages whenever she had an opportunity. The Queen had been admired and happy for governing him by address; it was not then known how easily he was to be governed by fear. Indeed, there were few arts by which he was not governed at some time or other of his life; for, not to mention the late Duke of Argyle, who grew a favourite by imposing himself upon him for brave; nor Lord Wilmington, who imposed himself upon him for the Lord knows what, the Queen governed him by dissimulation, by affected tenderness, and deference *; Sir Robert Walpole by abilities and influence in the House of Commons; Lord Granville by flattering

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bedchamber women, with whom he was in love, seeing him count his money over very often, said to him, "Sir, I can bear it no longer; if you count your money once more, I will leave the room!" '

' * She always affected, if any body was present, to act (and he liked she should) the humble ignorant wife, that never meddled with politics. Even if Sir Robert Walpole came to talk of business, which she had previously settled with him, she would rise up, curtsey, and offer to retire; the King generally bade her stay, sometimes not. She and Sir Robert played him into one another's hands; he would refuse to take the advice of the one, and then when the other talked to him again on the same point, he would give the reasons for it which had been suggested to him; nay, he would sometimes produce as his own, at another conversation, to the same person, the reasons which he had refused to listen to when given him. He has said to Sir Robert, on the curtsies of the Queen, "There, you see how much I am governed by my wife, as they say I am! Hoh! hoh! it is a fine thing, indeed, to be governed by one's wife!" "Oh, Sir," replied the Queen, "I must be vain, indeed, to pretend to govern your Majesty!" '

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him in his German politics; the Duke of Newcastle by teazing and betraying him; Mr. Pelham by bullying him, — the only man by whom Mr. Pelham was not bullied himself. Who, indeed, had not sometimes weight with the King, except his children and his mistresses? With them he maintained all the reserve and majesty of his rank. He had the haughtiness of Henry VIII., without his spirit; the avarice of Henry VII., without his exactions; the indignities of Charles I., without his bigotry for his prerogative; the vexations of King William, with as little skill in the management of parties; and the gross gallantry of his father, without his good nature or his honesty. He might, perhaps, have been honest, if he had never hated his father, or had never loved his son!'

These volumes are decorated by a number of miniature portraits, with emblematical devices.

ART. II. *Elements of Political Economy.* By James Mill, Esq. Author of "The History of British India." 8vo. pp. 235. Baldwin and Co. 1821.

ALTHOUGH grammar is introductory to the knowlege of any language, and facilitates its acquirement, the existence of the grammar implies a previous degree of perfection and stability in the language itself; since it assumes a general assent to certain established rules and principles which, when methodically arranged, are denominated the grammar of that language. We may surely be allowed to entertain very great doubts whether the science of political economy, — though now, indeed, generally, assiduously, and successfully cultivated on the Continent as well as here, — has obtained such a degree of perfection and stability; and whether that general and undisputed recognition of its principles and rules exists, which is essential to the construction of a grammar. These doubts arise from observing that much of the employment of half the modern writers on political economy, both French and English, has been to stultify a great part of the doctrines of the other half: — a very useful employment, too, it has been; and this work of slaughter is not yet complete, for although in truth alone the principle of vitality is absolutely indestructible, it is exceedingly strong and tenacious in error.

Short as the present work is, to engage in a regular examination of its doctrines would occupy much more space than we feel ourselves authorized in devoting to it; recollecting that most of the subjects on which it treats have been frequently and sometimes even elaborately discussed in our reviews of Lord Lauderdale, Ricardo, Gray, Purvis, Malthus, Godwin, Sismondi, Say, Ganilh, and various other writers. The sportsman does not beat his ground three or four times over in expectation of game, unless he is looking for a *wounded* bird.

bird. Mr. Mill tells us that his object was to compose a school-book of political economy; 'to detach the essential principles of the science from all extraneous topics, to state the propositions clearly and in their logical order, and to subjoin its *demonstration*' (a very confident term) 'to each.' That the learner, also, should be free from the imposing influence of any celebrated names, he has judged wisely in quoting no authorities, but leaving the reader to fix his mind on the doctrine and its evidence solely. 'I cannot fear the imputation of plagiarism,' says he, 'because I profess to have made no discovery; and those men who have contributed to the progress of the science need no testimony of mine to establish their fame.' — There is one quality in this book which cannot be too highly extolled; viz. the singular perspicuity of the style: it is, *generally speaking*, so clear that, however finely spun is the thread which connects the premises with the conclusion, it is not only visible even to dim optics, but most commonly traceable through all its convolutions.

Disclaiming, for the reasons above stated, all intention of a lengthened examination of this little work, yet, as two or three topics occur on which we do not coincide with Mr. Mill, a few observations may be allowed us in explanation of our dissent.

The two main inquiries in which the science of political economy is concerned are, first, that which relates to the Production of commodities, and, secondly, that which is the final object of production, namely, Consumption. There is, however, at least one intermediate object of inquiry, viz. the laws by which commodities are *distributed*. Mr. Mill, without much necessity, makes a fourth, *Interchange*, which is surely only a form of distribution. Accordingly, he divides his work into four chapters; the *first* examining the laws which regulate Production; the *second*, those which relate to Distribution; the *third*, those which respect Exchange; and the *fourth*, those which regulate Consumption.

We have paid a just compliment to the general perspicuity of the style of Mr. Mill, so peculiarly necessary in an elementary work: but we must say that the very first leaf of the first chapter contains a metaphysical obscurity of expression, which completely puzzles us. Labour, he says, produces its effects only by conspiring with the laws of nature: well and good: this is very intelligible, and only obscured by the attempt to illustrate it. It is found, he continues, that the agency of man can be traced to very simple elements: he can, in fact, do nothing more than produce motion:

'He can move things towards one another, and he can separate them from one another; the properties of matter perform all the rest.

rest. He moves ignited iron to a portion of gunpowder, and an explosion takes place. He moves the seed to the ground, and vegetation commences. He separates the plant from the ground, and vegetation ceases. Why, or how, these effects take place, he is ignorant. He has only ascertained, by experience, that if he perform such and such motions, such and such effects will follow. In strictness of speech, it is matter itself which produces the effects. All that men can do is to place the objects of nature in a certain position. The tailor when he makes a coat, the farmer when he produces corn, do the same things exactly. Each makes motions; and the properties of matter do the rest. It would be absurd to ask, to which of any two effects the properties of matter contribute the most; seeing they contribute every thing, after certain portions of matter are placed in a certain position.'

What can all this mean; — any thing beyond the simple fact that in making a coat, or a cabinet, as well as a loaf of bread, the labour of man is bestowed on the products of nature? 'The tailor when he makes a coat, and the farmer when he produces corn, do the same things exactly. Each makes motions' (a strange phrase); 'and the properties of matter *do the rest.*' What is *the rest*, so far as the tailor and his coat are concerned? The farmer deposits seed in the soil, the quickening and prolific properties of which produce the crop: but, when the tailor has cut out the sleeves and the skirts, and the back of his coat, and when he has placed them in contact with each other, do the properties of matter unite the pieces? We might think that Mr. Mill had just risen from the Zoonomia of Darwin, and filled his mind with the organic attractions and appetencies so poetically described by that ingenious and fanciful writer. The tailor sews the several parts of the coat together and it is made; what remains for the 'properties of matter' to do?

In the second chapter, we are inclined to think that Mr. Mill has over-rated the tendency of population to increase, and in a still greater degree has under-rated the corresponding tendency of capital. Where are the facts to bear out his statement that *ten* births may be regarded as not more than the number 'natural to the female species?' By the term 'natural number,' we must suppose him to mean the average number under the most favorable circumstances of actual, not of Utopian existence; for we know nothing of what nature would do under imaginary circumstances; we only know what she actually does under the most favorable circumstances of real existence. Where, then, is such an average to be found?

Again, as to the increase of capital; this is derived from the excess of production beyond consumption. 'If any part

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of the annual produce is set apart to be employed as capital, the owner must abstain from consuming it. What is destroyed cannot be capital: all capital, therefore, is made out of that part of the annual produce which, instead of being devoted to consumption and enjoyment, is saved.' Now, the disposition to save is so weak in most circumstances of society, Mr. Mill says, and he states various circumstances *hypothetically* to prove his position, that the progression of capital is much slower than that of population. On this, however, it may be observed that, although A in common language is said to consume his capital when, exceeding his revenue, he spends that capital instead of applying it to the purpose of reproduction, yet his capital is not *destroyed*, so far as society is concerned: quite the contrary; it is transferred to B, C, D, and the rest of the alphabet who are more thrifty; it is added to and becomes part of their capital; and they, being more prudent than A, employ it in reproduction. It is transferred, therefore, into more profitable hands, instead of being destroyed. *

Mr. Mill

* Just as we had written the above paragraph, the speech of Lord Liverpool on the internal state of the country (Feb. 26.) came before us; and it contains a passage which forms so appropriate a commentary on Mr. Mill's view of the comparative progression of capital and population, that we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing it.

"There were few persons, perhaps, who now remembered the period antecedent to 1792 so fully as to appreciate the different circumstances of the country with regard to the various branches of its industry, as compared with those in which it now stood. There existed, with reference to this subject, various documents which, as comparative documents, could not deceive, and which shewed not only what the real state of the country was at those two periods, but that a great part of the wealth of the country which had been accumulated during the interval was actually a new creation. This fact was so undeniable, that a man who had lived before 1792, and who might be supposed to have been absent from the country from that time to the present, would find the whole face of the country in many respects entirely altered. Taking the years antecedent to 1792, say, for instance, the years 1787, 1788, and 1789, the average amount of British goods exported was 12,852,000*l.* In the three years, 1819, 1820, and 1821, (including one very bad year,) the amount was 40,146,000*l.* In the three former years, the average amount of imports was annually 17,584,000*l.* In the years 1819, 1820, and 1821, the annual amount of imports was 36,759,000*l.* It appeared, therefore, with regard to our foreign commerce, that since the year 1790 the exports of British manufactures had been more than trebled, and that the imports

Mr. Mill will see that, consistently with our view of the subject, we are obliged to withhold our assent from his distinction between 'productive and unproductive consumption,' chap. iv. sect. 1. What is expended for the sake of something to be produced is said to be consumed productively; and in productive consumption three classes of things are included, namely, the wages of the labourer, — the wear and tear of the machinery, tools, buildings, &c. for the productive operations, — and, thirdly, the material from which the commodity to be produced must be derived: as seed for corn, wool for cloth, flax for linen, leather for shoes, &c. Mr. Mill, however, contends that men not only consume without any view to production, which we grant, but likewise that they consume without producing, which we dispute. The wages, for instance, given to a ploughman, says he, are for the sake of production; those given to a footman or groom are not given for the sake of production. The flax which the manufacturer converts into linen he consumes productively; the wine which he uses at his table he consumes unproductively. — On more than one occasion we have contended that no labor is unproductive which has exchangeable value; and it seems to us that the question as to the productiveness of all consumption resolves itself into the question as to the productiveness of all labor. Consumption is the measure of production, because no one will long continue to produce commodities for which he cannot find consumers. That consumption cannot be unproductive which, by rewarding, excites to farther exertions of labor, and consequently to still farther production. This we hold to be the case with all *voluntary* consumption.

'By productive consumption,' Mr. Mill says, 'nothing is lost; no diminution is made of the property, either of the individual, or of the community; for if one thing is destroyed, another is by that means produced. The case is totally different with unproductive consumption. Whatever is unproductively consumed, is lost. Whatever is consumed in this manner, is a diminution of the property, both of the individual and of the community; because, in consequence of this consumption, nothing whatever is produced. The commodity perishes in the using, and all that is derived is the good, the pleasure, the satisfaction, which the using of it yields.'

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ports had been more than doubled in the same period. The other great branches of industry had not only kept pace with the great increase of population, but their produce had in many instances exceeded it."— "The population of England, Wales, and Scotland, which in 1801 was 10,900,000, had increased in 1811 to 12,500,000, or at the rate of 15 per cent., and in 1821 it had increased to upwards of 14,000,000, or at the rate of 17 per cent."

If exchange assigns fifty pounds to the labour of a dancing-master, a fiddler, or a footman, and only five-and-twenty pounds to that of a husbandman or manufacturer, we must conclude that the labor of the dancing-master, fiddler, or footman, contributes twice as much to the production of wealth as that of the manufacturer or husbandman. To deny this is to assert that the most wealth proceeds from that labor which receives the least value in exchange, and is consequently the worst paid; and that the least wealth proceeds from that labor which receives the greatest value in exchange, and is consequently the best paid. If, however, the labor of the dancing-master, &c. be thus productive, that consumption of his labor cannot be unproductive to society which encourages it. Nor, certainly, are we prepared to say that the wine which a gentleman uses at his table is unproductively consumed; since the consumption of it encourages the labor of the peasantry of France, Spain, Portugal, and Germany to produce more, and the labor of the artizans and manufacturers of Britain to purchase the production. When the labors of the dancing-master, fiddler, and footman, — when, in short, labors employed in administering to luxury and splendor, — are not *voluntarily* demanded and remunerated by the "productive classes" of society out of their superfluous means, but the latter are compelled by taxation to pay for them on account of others, — then, indeed, it may and does happen that this *forced* payment occasions no increase of production; on the contrary, it takes away the stimulus for production by taking away the means of consumption. This can only be the act of legislative authority. As legislators, therefore, cannot be sure that labors devoted to luxury and splendor, the burden of which they impose on the "productive classes," do not exceed their products, they may create labors not only sterile but oppressive; not merely unproductive, but such as will destroy productive labor. In one word, as we cannot denominate that labor *unproductive* which obtains the products of other labor for its reward, so neither can we denominate that consumption *unproductive* which immediately or remotely, but in both cases necessarily, is the occasion of still farther production. *

'As the profits of stock depend upon the share which is received by its owners of the joint produce of labor and stock, profits of stock depend upon wages — rise as wages fall,

* See this question discussed more at large in our notice of M. Ganihl's work, M. R. vol. xciv. p. 105., and vol. xcv. p. 115. Also in the review of Mr. Malthus, vol. xcv. p. 60, &c.

and

and fall as wages rise:' chap. ii. sect. 3. This proposition is stated in too general terms; and sufficient allowance is not made for the friction of the machine as it works. A very few years ago, the workmen in several of our manufacturing towns could not earn above five or six shillings a-week, with the most painful and exhausting exertions of industry. The profits of the manufacturers, therefore, according to Mr. Mill, ought to have risen: but they continued to fall, and wages to fall with them. They fell *because* profits fell. At the time to which we are alluding, the price of provisions also was higher, although wages were low: — another anomaly, which should make writers on political economy very guarded in their positions. In point of fact, however, does it not generally happen that wages rise when the profits of stock rise, and *vice versâ?* Why are wages higher in the manufacturing towns at present? Surely not because provisions are cheaper, for that is a reason why they should be lower, but because the profits of stock are greater. Wages have fallen in the agricultural districts: have the profits of stock risen in proportion? Alas, alas! "what a falling off is here!" Profits would rise as wages fell, if the price of the commodity were stationary: but fluctuations of price, arising from the uncertain proportions of demand and supply, disturb the natural relation between wages and the profits of stock. Political economists do not make sufficient allowance for the operation of these disturbing forces. For instance, Mr. Mill heads one of his sections (chap. iv. sect. 2.) in these words: 'That which is annually produced is annually consumed;' and another, as a corollary from the preceding, 'That consumption is co-extensive with production.' Having argued these subjects in our notice of Mr. Malthus's work, we shall not go into them again, but merely remark that whatever approximation to truth there may be in the general proposition, it is encumbered with too many exceptions in its application to permit us to rely on it. Again, it is often maintained that there is a community or identity of interest between the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests; we have often maintained it ourselves, and God forbid that it should be otherwise, as those classes are all members of the same body-politic. Yet, how often do we find their temporary interests, at least, in collision with each other; one rising as the other falls, and the prosperity of the one apparently resulting from the depression of the other. The farmer cannot throw the cost of production on the consumers, as the present state of the corn-markets proves: the manufacturer, therefore, is at this moment flourishing at his expence, and eating up his substance. That this is

an unnatural state of things we firmly believe, and that it cannot be permanent; the observation is intended merely to shew with how much caution we ought to receive general propositions as truths of universal application.

The only remaining subject on which we can afford room to make any remarks is *Rent*; or rather the character, with reference to political economy, of those who receive it, namely, landlords.

As M. Quesnay and the French economists degraded the class of artificers, manufacturers, and merchants, under the humiliating denomination of barren and unproductive consumers, so do Mr. Mill and some other writers of the same school brand with this opprobious stigma the class of landlords. He first excludes them from the class of producers, and then deduces from this exclusion consequences of the most appalling nature to their interests. He endeavours to prove that their interests are not only different from, but diametrically repugnant to the interests of the rest of the community, and then marks out the rent of this pernicious caste as the peculiar and proper object of taxation.

Land, we all know, is of various degrees of fertility, from the snow-capped hills of Scotland and Wales to the rich vales of Devonshire. Rent, — we take Mr. Mill's definition, though not the simplest and most intelligible, — 'is the difference between the return yielded to that portion of the capital which is employed upon land with the least effect, and that which is yielded to all the other portions employed on it with greater effect.' The rent of land increases, then, as the return of capital employed on it decreases: the inevitable consequence of which is that it is for the interest of the landlord that the cost attending the production of corn should be increased.*

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* Mr. Ricardo has supposed a case of a diminution of the fertility of all the lands in the world of one-tenth, and he thinks that it would increase rents by pushing capital on less fertile lands. (P. 505.) Mr. Mill holds the same doctrine. Mr. Malthus (p. 145.) thus replies: "I think, on the contrary, that in any well cultivated country, such a diminution of fertility could not fail to lower rents, by occasioning the withdrawing of capital from the poorest soils. If the last land before in use would do but little more than pay the necessary labour and a profit of 10 per cent. upon the capital employed, a diminution of the tenth part of the gross produce would certainly render many poor soils no longer worth cultivating; and on Mr. Ricardo's supposition, where, I would ask, is the increased demand and increased price to come from, when from the greater quantity of labour and capital necessary

The interest of the landlord is thus necessarily opposed to that of the consumer and the manufacturer: it is for the advantage of the former, that the price of corn should be high, and for that of the latter that it should be low. Those ideot-landlords, the Duke of Bedford, Sir W. W. Wynn, Mr. Coke, &c., who have annually offered premiums for improvements in agriculture and the machinery connected with it, have therefore unwittingly been committing suicide on their own incomes. This is precisely the doctrine of Mr. Ricardo, (Princ. of Polit. Econ. ch. xxiv. p. 423. 2d edit.) and of Mr. Buchanan in his edition of Adam Smith; which latter author, however, holds a very different opinion, namely, that the interest of the land-holder is closely connected with that of the state. "Whatever promotes or obstructs the one," says he, "necessarily promotes or obstructs the other; when the public deliberates concerning any regulation of commerce or police, the proprietors of land never can mislead it, with a view to promote the interest of their own particular order." (Wealth of Nations, b. i. ch. xi. p. 394. 7th edit.)

All that is yielded by land, beyond an average-return to the farmer for his labor and his capital, may be appropriated, says Mr. Mill, by the landlord as rent; and this he would devote, we shall soon see, as a fund for the purposes of government. Two classes alone are designated by him as contributing to production, viz. laborers and capitalists; the former, as the term implies, bestowing their labor; and the latter furnishing the food, raw material, and instruments of all sorts, animate or inanimate, simple or complex, which are employed in effecting it. In the division of commodities produced, each of these classes is intitled to its share: 'but when land is one of the instruments of production, another party,' says Mr. Mill, 'comes in for a portion, I mean the owners of the land.' These *three*, then, form all the classes who immediately divide among themselves the whole annual produce of the country, although to *two* of them only is ascribed the merit of having in any degree contributed to produce it. From this exclusion of landlords, the following deadly consequences are deduced, calculated to alarm the stoutest hearts among them.

'It is sufficiently obvious, that the share of the rent of land, which may be taken to defray the expenses of the government,

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sary for the land, the means of obtaining the precious metals, or any other commodities, to exchange for corn, would be greatly reduced?" The whole of this chapter in Mr. Malthus's work (ch. iii.) merits attention.

does not affect the industry of the country. The cultivation of the land depends upon the capitalist, who devotes himself to that occupation when it affords him the ordinary profits of stock. To him it is a matter of perfect indifference whether he pays the surplus, in the shape of rent, to an individual proprietor, or, in that of revenue, to a government collector.

'In Europe, at one period, the greater part of at least the ordinary expenses of the sovereign were defrayed by land which he held as a proprietor; while the expense of his military operations was chiefly defrayed by his barons, to whom a property in certain portions of the land had been granted on that express condition. In those times, the whole expense of the government, with some trifling exception, was, therefore, defrayed from the rent of land.

'In the principal monarchies of Asia, almost the whole expenses of the state have in all ages been defrayed from the rent of land; but in a manner somewhat different. The land was held by the immediate cultivators, generally in small portions, with a perpetual and transferable title; but under an obligation of paying, annually, the government demand; which might be increased at the pleasure of the sovereign; and seldom amounted to less than a full rent.

'If a body of people were to migrate into a new country, and land had not yet become private property, there would be this reason for considering the rent of land as a source peculiarly adapted to supply the exigencies of the government; that industry would not by that means sustain the smallest depression; and that the expense of the government would be defrayed without imposing any burden upon any individual. The owners of capital would enjoy its profits; the class of labourers would enjoy their wages; without any deduction whatsoever; and every man would employ his capital, in the way which was really most advantageous, without receiving any inducement, by the mischievous operation of a tax, to remove it from a channel in which it was more, to one in which it would be less productive to the nation. There is, therefore, a peculiar advantage in reserving the rent of land as a fund for supplying the exigencies of the state.

'There would be this inconvenience, indeed, even in a state of things in which land had not been made private property; that the rent of the land in a country of a certain extent, and peopled up to a certain degree, would exceed the amount of what government would need to expend. The surplus ought undoubtedly to be distributed among the people, in the way likely to contribute the most to their happiness; and there is no way, perhaps, in which this end can be so well accomplished, as by rendering the land private property. As there is no difficulty, however, in rendering the land private property, with the rent liable for a part of the public burdens; so there seems no difficulty in rendering it private property, with the rent answerable for the whole of the public burdens. It would only in this case require a greater quantity of land to be a property of equal value. Practice would teach its value as accurately under these as under present circumstances;

cumstances; and the business of society would, it is evident, proceed without alteration in every other respect.

'Where land has, however, been converted into private property, without making rent in a peculiar manner answerable for the public expenses; where it has been bought and sold upon such terms, and the expectations of individuals have been adjusted to that order of things, rent of land could not be taken to supply exclusively the wants of the government, without injustice. It would be partial and unequal taxation; laying the burden of the state upon one set of individuals, and exempting the rest. It is a measure, therefore, never to be thought of by any government which would regulate its proceedings by the principles of justice.

'That rent which is bought and sold, however; that rent upon which the expectations of individuals are founded, and which, therefore, ought to be exempt from any peculiar tax, is the present rent; or at least the present, with some very moderate prospect of improvement. Beyond this, no man's speculations, either in making a purchase or in making provision for a family, are entitled to extend. Suppose, now, that in these circumstances, it were in the power of the legislature, by an act of its own, all other things remaining the same, to double the net produce of the land; there would be no reason, in point of justice, why the legislature should not, and great reason, in point of expediency, why it should, avail itself of this, its own power, in behalf of the state; should devote as much as might be requisite of this new fund to defray the expenses of the government, and exempt the subjects from any burden on that account. No injury would be done to the original land-owner. His rent, such as he had enjoyed it, and to a great degree such even as he had expected to enjoy it, would remain the same. A great advantage would at the same time accrue to every individual in the community, by exemption from those contributions for the expense of the government to which he would otherwise have had to submit.

'It is true that the legislature *does* possess that power, which I have now spoken of only as a fiction. By all those measures which increase the amount of population and the demand for food, the legislature does as certainly increase the net produce of the land, as if it had the power of doing so by a miraculous act. That it does so by a gradual progress in the real, would do so by an immediate operation in the imaginary case, makes no difference with regard to the result. The original rent, which belonged to the owner, upon which he regulated his purchase if he did purchase, and on which alone, if he had a family to provide for, his arrangements in their favour were to be framed, is easily distinguishable from any addition capable of being made to the net produce of the land, whether it be made by a slow or a sudden process. If an addition made by the sudden process might, without injustice to the owner, be appropriated to the purposes of the state, no reason can be assigned why an addition by the slow process might not be so appropriated.

'It is certain, that as population increases, and as capital is applied with less and less productive power to the land, a greater and a greater share of the whole of the net produce of the country accrues as rent, while the profits of stock proportionally decrease. This continual increase, arising from the circumstances of the community, and from nothing in which the land-holders themselves have any peculiar share, does seem a fund no less peculiarly fitted for appropriation to the purposes of the state, than the whole of the rent in a country where land had never been appropriated. While the original rent of the land-holder, that upon which alone all his arrangements, with respect both to himself and his family, must be framed, is secured from any peculiar burden; he can have no reason to complain, should a new source of income, which cost him nothing, be appropriated to the service of the state; and if so, it evidently makes no difference to the merits of the case, whether this new source is found upon the land, or found any where else.'

Mr. Malthus has given a much better definition of rent than Mr. Mill: — he merely calls it the excess of price beyond the cost of production: (Princ. of Polit. Econ. ch. iii. p. 134. *et seq.*) but we are not prepared to embrace the deductions of Mr. Mill, although we should grant him his definition: — we are not ready to exclude landlords from the rank either of capitalists or productive consumers; — and consequently not prepared to select rent as the *peculiar* object of appropriation, or, not to mince the matter, of confiscation, to the purposes of government.

Labor, it has been well said, is the original purchase-money which is given for every thing: those blessings, such as light, water, air, which the bounty of Providence bestows on man in sufficient abundance for his wants and desires, without the intervention of labor, not coming under the cognizance of political economy. Capital, then, really consists in that *hoarded* labor which presents itself in the shape of commodities, whether ploughs, harrows, money, cloth, or any thing else which has an exchangeable value; in contradistinction to *immediate* labor, which is now employed in working up the materials which nature furnishes, to be again hoarded for future consumption. Mr. Mill allows capitalists, that is to say, the proprietors of *hoarded* labor, to be justly intitled to a portion of the productions which they have contributed to raise: but he rejects the claim of landlords. In addition to a remuneration for his labor, the farmer is intitled to an interest on his capital; the landlord, bestowing no labor, is intitled to an interest *only* on his capital; and that capital *is the land* of which he is proprietor, which he or his ancestors have brought into cultivation at their own expence,

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and which is the sacred depositary of their *hoarded* labor. The capital of the farmer consists not merely in his money, but in his agricultural implements and stock, these being the means of production. The landlord furnishes his share of the means of production also, namely, the raw material, the soil. It is in vain to object that land is the gift of nature: for so is timber, so is iron, so is leather. The unhewn tree, the unmelted ore, the untanned hide, or the materials of which the farmer's capital is composed, viz. his ploughs, herrows, waggons, harness, &c. are just as much the gift of nature as the soil supplied by the landlord, and equally valueless till man has bestowed his labor on them; and he that has obtained and furnishes the one species of capital is as much intitled to remuneration for the use of it, as he that has obtained and furnishes the use of the other. We therefore cannot see how any act of legislative power can *confiscate and appropriate to itself the additional value which any circumstances of society, such as the building of a town, the opening of a canal, or the increase of population, confers on a land-owner, without uprooting the very foundations of society.* Rent is to land what interest is to money, a price paid to the owner for the use of its productive powers; and interest, like rent, would vary with the fertility of the subject on which it is employed, but for the impolitic and unjust operation of the usury laws. Although no inherent difference exists in the qualities of money, as in the qualities of land, there is what is equivalent to it, a difference in the productiveness of the objects to which it is applied. Here again we stumble on another general proposition; namely, that two rates of profit cannot exist in any country at the same time: granted; there cannot be two *permanent* rates of profit, where competition is free: — but, practically speaking, there are twenty rates of profit always in being, and the *single* average rate is struck from very distant extremes. These extremes, and all the intermediate rates, like the curve and the asymptote, are always approximating but never meet.

It would certainly have been wrong in Mr. Mill to have made his elementary book controversial: but in following Mr. Ricardo, as he does in a great measure, it would have been no more than right to direct his readers, especially on disputed points of considerable importance, (like the question on rent,) to those authors who maintain very differnet opinions.

ART. III. *A Selection of the Correspondence of Linnæus, and other Naturalists*, from the original Manuscripts. By Sir James Edward Smith, M.D. F.R.S. &c. &c., President of the Linnæan Society. 2 Vols. 8vo. About 600 Pages in each. 1*l.* 10*s.* Boards. Longman and Co. 1821.

THE propriety of consigning to the press the private letters of individuals, who have closed their earthly pilgrimage, is in most cases extremely questionable: but, when the correspondence of illustrious men has for its main object the promotion of science, or the moral good of the community, it may, without any breach of delicacy, be regarded as in some measure public property, and deserving of the most unlimited circulation. It is probable that most of the epistles, with which we are presented in the volumes before us, were never designed to see the light; yet, as they principally relate to botany and natural history, they may be fairly construed as supplements to our previous knowlege of the respective writers, and of their opinions on a great variety of points connected with those departments of science. The considerations, however, which are most likely to operate against the popular reception of a work like this, are that many of the topics of discussion, which stimulated the most discerning observers half a century ago, are now put to rest; that few copies of Linné's own letters have been preserved; and that the biographical notices are too succinct to excite great general interest. We are confident, nevertheless, that the genuine lovers of physical knowlege will contemplate these specimens of the exertions of their distinguished predecessors with fond and affectionate regard, and will cheerfully lend their suffrage to have the remainder drawn from obscurity. The philosophic student of human nature, also, cannot be indifferent to those traits of character and disposition, which the unrestrained intercourse of the learned and the wise is so eminently calculated to exhibit.

In the selection of his materials, the zealous President of the Linnéan Society has liberally drawn from those stores which he acquired from the heirs of the great Swedish naturalist, as well as from the generous communications of the daughter of the late Mr. Ellis, and from Miss Cutrer, granddaughter and heiress of Dr. Richardson, the personal friend and correspondent of the most celebrated botanists of his day. The public correspondence of Linné and Haller has also been laid under contribution; and several inedited but interesting letters have been supplied by the kindness of the venerable Mr. Nichols, author of the "Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century." From the same sources

sources we are led to expect the appearance of many additional articles, should the portion now submitted to the world be found to create curiosity and encouragement. In the mean time, the learned editor's choice has been principally regulated by a preference to correspondence with British naturalists, to subjects connected with England, and to all that might throw any new light on the character of Linné and his son. 'The originals are mostly written in English, and have received necessary corrections only, with some slight abridgments. The translations are distinguished by mention of their original language. The very few French letters it has not been thought requisite to translate. The editor has supplied such notes as appeared necessary, with the established Linnæan names of the various subjects of natural history; — a work of some difficulty in the letters of Haller, who usually speaks of plants by vague phrases, from memory only, and often very imperfectly. Biographical memoirs of some of the chief contributors to this collection are prefixed to their letters. These are principally those of Collinson, Ellis, and Garden, in the first volume; and of Solander, Dillenius, and Mutis, in the second.'

Although Mr. Collinson was one of the *Friends*, his style is marked by no peculiarities of phraseology, or affected stiffness of deportment, his sentences being quite plain, short, and unstudied: but, on one or two occasions, we rather marvel at the exuberance of his *openness*. Thus, he conveys a *gentle hint* for a *quid pro quo*: 'My good friend, I must tell you freely, though my love is universal in natural history, you have been in my museum, and seen my little collection, and yet you have not sent me the least specimen of either fossil, animal, or vegetable. Seeds and specimens I have sent you from year to year, but not the least returns. It is a general complaint that Dr. Linnæus receives all, and returns nothing. This I tell you as a friend, and as such I hope you will receive it in great friendship. As I love and admire you, I must tell you honesly what the world says.' Again: 'But, my dear friend, we that admire you are much concerned that you should perplex the delightful science of botany with changing names that have been well received, and adding new names quite unknown to us. Thus botany, which was a pleasant study, and attainable by most men, is now become, by alterations and new names, the study of a man's life, and none now but real professors can pretend to attain it. As I love you, I tell you our sentiments.' This reprobation of neology, though couched in still stronger terms by the Earl of Bute, is somewhat unreasonable: but we

we are not favoured with Linné's answers to such unceremonious criticism, if, indeed, he deigned to notice it in writing. For the rest, Collinson's letters sufficiently evince his zeal as a naturalist, and the genuine worth and piety of his mind. We may, moreover, collect from them two physical facts, which may surprise some of our readers; namely, that the peach and the nectarine are specifically identical, and that milder springs and warmer summers prevailed in England in his time than we now enjoy.

'I cannot,' says the editor, 'but subjoin the following remarks, written July 7th, 1808, by a very eminent and learned friend, to whom the preceding letters were communicated:

'"Many thanks for the perusal of Collinson's letters, which I return with this. I have edified much * on the subject of the Springs, which appear at that time to have been much milder than at present. We have now, for many years, had hard winters occasionally, and an almost constant succession of ungenial Springs. The seasons are, I conclude, subject to these variations. The series of mild Springs, which ended about the year 1785 or 1786, seems to have begun at least as early as 1749, and to have lasted 36 years. Our present series of cold Springs has yet lasted only 23 years. Of course, we have 13 bad years to come, before we can expect violets and narcissuses in January, and grapes ripe in the beginning of September."

'These 13 years are now (1820) approaching to a conclusion; and we may at least indulge in the "pleasures of hope," that the apparent deterioration of our climate (so generally felt, that any hypothesis is admitted, without foundation or examination, to account for it,) may soon come to an end.'

If, in this island of mutation and variety, one season could be safely regarded as typical of a series, we might then fearlessly assert that the mild cycle had again recommenced.

No inconsiderable portion of the first volume is allotted to the correspondence with Mr. Ellis; that accurate and highly gifted observer, who first unfolded in a satisfactory manner the animal nature of many marine productions, which were formerly classed with vegetables, or supposed to occupy an intermediate section between the two great departments of organized matter. His numerous communications are characterized by more correctness and refinement of writing than those of Mr. Collinson, while they bespeak not less zeal and activity in the pursuit of scientific truth. This series of the publication derives also a high degree of interest from the greater portion of Linné's letters to Ellis having been preserved.

* A misprint, we presume, for *I have been much edified.* Rev.

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The most important facts, however, to which these epistles relate, have long been before the public; and the naturalist will peruse the documents themselves rather as curious records of the state of his favorite science at the time in which they were written, and as illustrations of the impulse which the ardour and talents of a few individuals may communicate to the most extensive and complicated pursuits, than as the vehicles of new information. Whoever is conversant, therefore, with the writings of the Swedish naturalist, and with Mr. Ellis's masterly essays on Corals and Corallines, as also with his papers inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, would scarcely thank us for any formal analysis of the many letters which seem to have passed between these too distinguished observers of the works of nature. Yet it would be unpardonable to pass unnoticed the spirit of pure and warm friendship, and the eager desire for accurate knowlege, which pervade this amiable and lettered interchange of statements and opinions. Linné, indeed, occasionally indulges in a strain of apparent adulation, scarcely suitable to the dispassionate inquirer after truth: but his fervid imagination, and the sensibility of his heart, spontaneously prompted a romantic energy of expression, which must not be confounded with the vile incense of subserviency and dependance.

As specimens of this part of the work, we extract the following letters, nearly at random.

'LINNÆUS TO ELLIS. (Latin.)

'My dear Friend, *Upsal, Oct.* 1767.

'I received yours, in which you speak of the living seeds of *Fungi*, asserting that you have only seen the *animalcula infusoria*, moving the powder of these vegetables.

'I am not able rightly to understand whether you have actually seen the *animalcula* or not. If really so, they ought, at the end of 14 days, to begin to attach themselves to the bottom of the glass, first a solitary one, then several more adjoining to it, till almost all of them are thus become fixed; after which they grow up into *Fungi*.

'With respect to the *animalcula infusoria* themselves, unless I am totally mistaken, I think I have seen these to be the living seeds of Mould, *Mucor*. But before I venture to put forth such an opinion, I beg of you to lend me your lynx-like eyes; and you will see in the vessel or glass, where there is so little water that it may soon evaporate, whether these bodies do not change to plants of *Mucor*. This point is of the greatest importance, and if my ideas be correct, we shall no longer be surprized at the quantity of such *animalcula* in common water, any more than at the mould itself on decaying food, &c. I beg and intreat of you not to slight my request. You will find it worth your while to look closely

closely into the nature of these minute beings, as they are related, though remotely, to your own marine *animalcula*. Every body wonders at the *animalcula infusoria* being produced by an infusion of pepper, and such substances; whereas the difficulty vanishes if they belong to *Mucor;* for pepper, if long kept moist, is as liable to grow mouldy as any thing else.

'Having once discovered the little worms in the *Ustilago*, by the help of the microscope, I can now see them with my naked eyes, though less distinctly; and I showed them a fortnight ago to some of my pupils.

'What you mention in your last, as having sent me, are not yet come to hand.

'I am anxious to hear of Mr. Solander's recovery.

'The 2d volume of my *Systema*, which treats of plants, will appear soon.

'Cannot you procure for me some seeds of *Ellisia*? I have corrected its character, according to your kind instructions.

'Farewell! May you long live, to the honour and benefit of our most lovely science!'

'ELLIS TO LINNÆUS.

'My dear Friend, *London, Oct.* 30. 1767.

'I have received your obliging letter about the seeds of *Fungi* being animated. By your letter, you seem to think, that the seeds of the *Fungi* are animated, or have animal life, and move about; my experiments convince me of the contrary. I must first let you know, that I am convinced that in almost all standing, or even river water, there are the eggs, and often the perfect animals, of those you call *animalcula infusoria*. As soon as these meet with their proper *pabulum*, they grow and increase in numbers, equal to the *Musca vomitoria*. I often have examined river water and pond water, and scarce ever found it without some species of these *animalcula*, especially in summer and autumn: besides, the same *animalcula* that attack, eat, and move about the *farina*, or seeds of the *Fungi*, do the same with other vegetables, as I have lately been convinced of by a fair experiment. I have tried at your request my experiments over again, and shewed them to D. C. Solander. I will keep these infusions according to your desire 14 days, and examine the particulars you desire of the *animalcula* fixing themselves, first one, then many more, to the bottom of the glass; and will endeavour to find out what you mean by their "growing up into *Fungi*." If you mean that *animalia infusoria*, when they are dead, are a proper *pabulum* for *Mucor*, I agree with you; for I have many animal substances that are covered with *Mucor*, even between the Muscovy Talcs (or *Glacies Mariæ*) used on purpose for microscopic animals, in the microscope. But what appears to me most difficult to comprehend is, for instance, I have now a *Lycoperdon Bovista*, which I received from our good friend P. Collinson four days ago. I put part of it into river water, and in two days' time I perceived the seeds or *farina* of it moving about distinctly. The fourth day I perceived the figure of the *animalcula* that moved them. Are these

these seeds, or these *animalcula*, (for they are evidently distinct bodies,) to turn into *Fungi*, *Mucores*, or *Lycoperda*? This is what I do not comprehend in this new discovery. If the *animalcula*, that moved the seeds of the *Lycoperdon*, it would be amazing; and again, it would be as surprising that the seeds of one genus should produce another; for instance, that the seeds of *Lycoperda* should produce *Mucores*. However, I have determined to go through these experiments with precision, and to call in witnesses of the several appearances.

'I have not yet got any of the *Ustilago*. If you will be so good as to send me a Spike of Corn infected with it, proper for trial, you may depend on me in carefully going through the experiments properly.

'I have made some observations lately on a small kind of *Lumbricus*, which serves as food for the *Hydra*, or fresh water polype of Trembley. I cut these small worms into three or four pieces, and they all have grown into perfect animals. Dr. Solander (who is obliged to you for your kind enquiry after his health) has examined them, at my chambers to day, in the microscope, and was surprised at their structure. They differ quite from the *Lumbricus terrestris*, and approach near to the *Tœnia*. I have wrote to James Gordon for some seeds of the *Ellisia* in their capsules. As soon as I get them, will send them to you.

'I hope you have got the *Actinia radicans*, and the things I sent you by Captain Robenius. I long to have your thoughts on this *Actinia*; it differs very little from the *Sertularia*.

'I find by your last edition of the *Syst. Anim.* that you look on the stem of the Gorgonias to be vegetable. I differ in opinion, and intend to write a letter particularly on that subject, as I have had many opportunities, from seeing different specimens, together with chemical and microscopical enquiries, to prove them as different almost as the *Dendrites*, or the crystallization of Sal Ammoniac, from vegetables. Pray let your young gentlemen examine the vesicles, or ovaries (as Pallas would have them) of the *Antipathes*; for to me they approach nearer to the *Gorgonia*, as you have placed them, than to the *Sertularia*; and what I have seen are no more than some extraneous bodies, which have adhered to them, being partly covered with their spiny skin, and have formed little irregular turbinated cups, here and there, on the branches, not in that regular shape and manner that the *Sertulariæ* have their vesicles.

'You may depend upon it I shall always attend to your commands, and shall not make light of these enquiries; you shall always find me your most affectionate friend, and that I shall always acknowlege myself indebted to you, for the many useful observations that you have been so kind to communicate to me, by your letters as well as your writings. My best wishes attend you. I am, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

'JOHN ELLIS.

'I wish you would send your son next spring to England. I will do him all the service in my power.'

Dr. Garden's

Dr. Garden's correspondence is valuable chiefly as it bespeaks the indefatigable industry, the modesty, and the obliging dispositions of that excellent man: but we much desiderate Linné's answers to his letters. The Doctor's epistolary intercourse with Mr. Ellis is somewhat more unbroken; and the ensuing transcript will shew that the grave naturalist could still attend to his packages, and their contents, *on the day of his marriage.*

'I have wrote [written] to Dr. Schlosser, whose correspondence, from the character that you give of him, must be extremely advantageous to me. I have sent his letter inclosed to you, as I did not know his particular address. If a correspondence can be got with Professor Allemand, and Van Royen, or Jussieu at Paris, all my desires would be fulfilled. You will be surprized at finding so short a letter, but when I tell you that this night I expect to be matrimonized, which affair has of late employed most of my thoughts, you may easily believe I have no great goût for writing in the manner in which I propose to answer your kind letters, which answer you may expect in a few weeks by some of our first ships. Just now I have sent you a large box of curious trees; they are all fine thriving young plants, and will flower very soon. I am in great hopes that they will answer your expectations, and my intentions; they are very carefully packed up, and are in number 90 in all. I have likewise sent you a box of well cured seeds, which I hope will likewise arrive in good order. You have inclosed a list of them, and of the young plants. I am afraid that Capt. Ball will not take the young plants, as he is so full, though they be now on board of him; but to-morrow I will order them on board of the Prince George, Capt. Bostock, if they be not well provided in a good berth with Capt. Ball; so that I must beg that you will be so good as to enquire after them, as I cannot write you more particularly just now. The box of seeds comes with Capt. Ball, which will arrive in time. I must beg that you will be kind enough to present my compliments and thanks to Mr. Christopher Gray for his very obliging present, and assure him that I will do my best to supply him with some things, and I hope he may think these a specimen. But absence for nigh two months in the summer time, and then an affair of love commencing on my return, prevented me from attending much to my studies or collections this fall. You may expect some very fine plants of the *Beureria*, and the flesh-coloured flowered *Acacia*, which I have had in boxes for several months, but I do not chuse to risk so many on one bottom. You may likewise expect a letter pretty often, and some new genera. Frequent letters from you is the greatest pleasure that I enjoy. I have wrote to Mr. Baker by this vessel, and will soon write again; and to Dr. Hales and Mr. Shipley. I am now busied in copying over my journal to Saluda this last summer, which I shall send soon.

'The French war quite puts me in the hyp, as I can easily see it will prevent my hearing from you as often as I could wish, and vessels

vessels going home heavy loaded are much apter to fall into their hands than those outward bound. I hurry away to meet the parson and my dear girl, and must bid you adieu, and remain with the sincerest esteem, dear Sir, your most obliged and very humble servant, ' ALEXANDER GARDEN.

' I could have sent you more seeds, but Mr. Saxby told me that he was this day putting a parcel on board for you, which I assisted him in collecting.'

The Doctor's style is occasionally drawling and provincial: but we should recollect that his hurried letters, often penned during a precarious state of health, or in the midst of a toilsome routine of medical practice, were never intended to meet the public eye; and yet, had they been submitted to the press at the period in which they were written, they could scarcely have failed to arrest the attention of all who were in the slightest degree tinctured with a desire of contemplating the works of nature. The refreshing conjunction, also, of mental sagacity with generous and refined friendship, which they uniformly exhibit, imparts to them the more durable charms which are associated with the constitution of our species.

The second volume commences with a short account of Dr. Solander, respecting whom we are rather surprized by one or two traits which are here developed. What shall we say of the filial affection of the man who could allow letters from his mother to be unopened while he lived? Or of the philanthropy of him who could talk with unbecoming levity of the cannibalism of savages? M. Marion and a party of his crew had ventured on shore, in the bay of Motuaro, ' and the consequence,' we are told, ' was, that he himself and twenty-five of his men were killed, and in all probability *afforded the inhabitants a good meal.*' Again, when mentioning the unfortunate fate of some of Captain Furneaux's people, he says, they *were cut up into proper joints.* — The few samples of the correspondence of Dr. Stephen Hales manifest the simplicity and worth of a patriotic mind, invariably directed to objects of real utility, and to the diffusion of health and comfort among the members of the community.

John Ford, Esq., nephew of Mr. Ellis, writes in a sprightly and rambling manner, and evidently under the influence of Hibernian versatility and humor: but John James Dillenius quickly recalls us to the more sedate discussions of the naturalist. In his letters we occasionally meet with that precision which so eminently characterizes his descriptions of the mosses, but also with frivolous or erroneous conjectures, and

sometimes with a boorish rudeness which startles even reviewers. Bernard de Jussieu, on the contrary, writes like a gentleman. In congratulating Linné on his appointment to the professorship of botany at Upsal, 'you may, now,' he says, 'devote yourself entirely to the service of Flora, and lay open more completely the path you have pointed out, so as at length to bring to perfection a natural method of classification, which is what all lovers of botany wish and expect.' The editor subjoins, in a note; 'in the face of this testimony, we trust it will hardly be asserted in future, that Linnæus owed his ideas of natural orders to the excellent writer of the above letter.'

Gronovius never loses sight of good sense and polite manners: but he is somewhat too laconic, and labors perhaps under the constraint of one who communicates his ideas in a foreign idiom.

By putting into an English dress the epistolary intercourse between Linné and Haller, Sir James Smith has rendered an important service to some of his readers; and the perusal of the whole has conjured up the fond reminiscences of early days: but sober reflection excites the regret that peevishness and spleen should have ever mingled in the laborious and elegant studies of the Swiss professor.

Among the miscellaneous letters, we remark one from Linné to the Marquis de Grimaldi, recommending Lœfling as a fit person for exploring the kingdom of Spain under the auspices of the government, which deserves to be noticed as a literary curiosity. It is gravely stated that Mr. Peter Lœfling, among other minor duties, 'will collect every species of plants and trees, not neglecting even the smallest mosses; as well as observe all animals, birds, fishes, insects, and the minutest worms. He will also investigate all kinds of stones, minerals, fossils, and earths, which the surface of the ground may afford. He will describe, or define, these several productions, for which he is well qualified, noting down the names given them by authors as well as by the natives of the country where they are found. He will record where every specimen was gathered; its use in medicine, dyeing, or any other respect; not omitting the advantages or mischiefs which may arise from the superabundance of any particular species,' &c.

The slight sketch which the editor has given of the amiable character of Mutis, and the excellent spirit of modest yet diligent investigation which breathes in his letters, induce a desire for more intimate acquaintance with the life and pursuits of such an ornament to his species.

The

The solitary epistle from that excentric but eloquent being, J. J. Rousseau, we shall transcribe in the original; for the compositions of few individuals are so insusceptible of adequate translation.

'*A Paris, le 21 Septembre*, 1771.

'*Recevez avec bonté, Monsieur, l'hommage d'un très ignare mais très zélé disciple de vos disciples, qui doit en grande partie à la méditation de vos écrits la tranquillité dont il jouit, au milieu d'une persécution d'autant plus cruelle qu'elle est plus cachée, et qu'elle couvre du masque de la bienveillance et de l'amitié la plus terrible haine que l'enfer excita jamais. Seul avec la nature et vous, je passe dans mes promenades champêtres des heures délicieuses, et je tire un profit plus réel de votre* Philosophia Botanica *que de tous les livres de morale. J'apprends avec joye que je ne vous suis pas tout à fait inconnu, et que vous voulez bien même me destiner quelques unes de vos productions. Soyez persuadé, Monsieur, qu'elles feront ma lecture chérie, et que ce plaisir deviendra plus vif encore par celui de les tenir de vous. J'amuse ma vieille enfance à faire une petite collection de fruits et de graines. Si parmi vos tresors en ce gênre il se trouvoit quelques rebuts dont vous voulussiez faire un heureux, daignez songer à moi; je les recevrois, Monsieur, avec une reconnoissance, seul retour que je puisse vous offrir, mais que le cœur dont elle part ne rend pas indigne de vous. Adieu, Monsieur, continuez d'ouvrir et d'interpréter aux hommes le livre de la nature. Pour moi, content d'en déchifrer quelques mots à votre suite dans le feüillet du regne végétal; je vous lis, je vous étudie, je vous médite, je vous honore et vous aime de tout mon cœur.*

'J. J. Rousseau.'

We cannot withhold from our readers the editor's feeling and animated commentary on a letter addressed to himself by the late Sir Joseph Banks, which closes the collection of this learned and interesting correspondence.

'The last letter, coming from a man of such distinguished talents and experience, is so valuable a commentary on several leading subjects of the present volume, that the editor could not withhold it from the public. He must rely on the favour of his readers, not to attribute to a foolish vanity this exposure of what gives an important sanction to his own sentiments, while it displays at once the knowledge, the indulgence, and the unassuming candour of the writer. The hand that traced these lines is no longer held out to welcome and encourage every lover of science; and the homage of the motley crowd, of which science formed but the livery, has passed away. The lasting monument of botanical fame, of whose judicious and classical plan so interesting a memorial is left us, in the first of Sir Joseph Banks's letters to the younger Linnæus, has been sacrificed to the duties incumbent, for almost half a century, on the active and truly efficient President of the Royal Society. Its loss would ill have been supplied by ever so stately a mausoleum of marble; and even this mausoleum

has been suffered to crumble, in embryo, into dust! The names of Banks and of Newton are, indeed, alike independent of an abortive or a mutilated monument; and inscriptions on brass or on marble now resign their importance and their authority to the more faithful records of history and science, perpetuated for ever, if they deserve it, by the phœnix-like immortality of the press.'

Various *fac-simile* plates of the hand-writing of some of the most eminent personages who figure in these volumes are occasionally introduced, and can scarcely fail to gratify a subordinate though not unnatural curiosity.

ART. IV. *Memoirs of the Rebellion in* 1745 *and* 1746. By the Chevalier de Johnstone, Aid-de-Camp to Lord George Murray, General of the Rebel Army, Assistant Aid-de-Camp to Prince Charles Edward, Captain in the Duke of Perth's Regiment, and afterwards an Officer in the French Service. Containing a Narrative of the Progress of the Rebellion, from its Commencement to the Battle of Culloden; the Characters of the principal Persons engaged in it, and Anecdotes respecting them; and various important Particulars relating to that Contest, hitherto either unknown or imperfectly understood. With an Account of the Sufferings and Privations experienced by the Author after the Battle of Culloden, before he effected his Escape to the Continent, &c. &c. Translated from a French MS. originally deposited in the Scots College at Paris, and now in the Hands of the Publishers. 4to. pp. 348. 2*l.* 2*s.* Boards. Longman and Co.

To favor our readers with something like a *truism*, we may remark that there is a considerable difference between a work which is absolutely useless, and one that is absolutely necessary; and to apply this observation, we must add that the narrative now before us might have still slumbered in the chest from which, thanks to the indefatigable researches of modern book-making, it has just emerged, without causing us to feel a lamentable *hiatus* in historical knowlege. The Rebellion of 1745, the last of the ill-fated struggles for the restoration of the Stuart princes, occupies too wide a space in the hearts and understandings of Englishmen, who are accustomed to appreciate the blessings which that restoration would have endangered, to have long remained without ample commentary and illustration. To this part of our domestic history, we think that Home has rendered, on the whole, adequate justice. His materials are diligently collected, and well arranged; and wanting as he is in the animation which imparts vividness and freshness to the historic canvass, his accuracy has never, we believe, been called into question. We have also several cotemporary writings, illustrative

tive of that page of our annals: — many of them indeed composed during those recent animosities, which Tacitus enumerates among the impediments to uncorrupt history; yet contributing to the general elucidation of the events which they record, when they have undergone the sifting process that is so requisite to details written in the heats and perturbations of the day of contest.

Yet it would be unfair to say that these Memoirs are of no value; for they hold a place, though a humble one, in that important class of writings which connects biography with history, as they interweave the personal adventures of the author with the public transactions of the period, and give the interest of romance to the narrative without impairing its credibility. If he chances to err in point of historical strictness, but little harm is done, for our knowlege of facts so notorious will immediately set him right, and correct the bias of faction or prejudice which drew him aside; — while a thousand traits of the character, feelings, and passions of the times, which are not within the scope and would retard the progress of a formal history, fall naturally under the personal observation of an individual, who was himself an actor in the scenes which he describes.

In another respect, also, we conceive that these details will not be unprofitably read. We have had more than one occasion of stating our objections to historical novels, which mingle real events and fictitious personages, actual personages and fabulous events, so as to break up our accurate and settled recollections of past transactions; — and we have applied those objections to more than one of the ingenious productions of the school of Waverley. Indeed, the alliance of history and romance must be always forced and unnatural. Even romance gains by it but little; for the incredulity with which readers tolerably conversant in authentic history must peruse facts with which they are familiar, when distorted, and clipped, and pruned to suit the purposes of the novel-writer, accompanies them into the fiction, which is his rightful domain and property. We have, therefore, uniformly disapproved the fashion of pulling down the consecrated edifice of real history to furnish bricks and timber for modern romances; considering it as a sort of profanation, like that of dilapidating the sacred pile of the Coliseum to supply materials for the Barberini palace. We have never turned even to the fiction of Waverley, (a soothing and delightful recreation,) without deriving fresh confirmation of our objection from the lively but fanciful colouring thrown over the character of Charles Edward, and the romantic aspect which has been imparted to

his ill-considered but worse-conducted enterprize. We allude more particularly to the battle of Preston Pans, or Gladsmuir; the result of which, contrary to all reasonable calculation, gave the Pretender complete possession of Scotland. The Chevalier Johnstone, in his account of the battle, *puts to flight* a great part of the error which it is next to impossible that the admirers of this charming romance should not have imbibed, respecting the operations of that eventful day; and his statement tends to sober down, by a testimony which must be deemed unexceptionable, the glowing delineations of romance to the real state of the transaction.

That the British cabinet suffered the Prince, with a force almost contemptible, to take possession of Edinburgh, we have always regarded as a culpable instance of want of providence and activity in our national councils: but this circumstance, and the aukward situation in which Sir John Cope was left, (who had repeatedly though ineffectually urged the necessity of putting the north of the island into an adequate state of defence,) diminish considerably the heroic part of the enterprize, which has been so much the theme of unreflecting admiration. He was without troops, money, and provisions, when the news of Charles's landing reached Edinburgh, on the 17th of August; and it is well known that he was obliged to begin his march through a poor country, without any store of food. In consequence of the destitute state of his army, his progress was necessarily impeded, and the enemy had time to take possession of Corryarrak, a mountainous defile, which it was impossible to force without the inevitable sacrifice of his men. Cope, therefore, could neither advance nor remain stationary without supplies; and his resolution to turn towards Inverness was forced on him by the necessities of his situation, although the road to the capital was thus opened to the rebels. He had returned by sea, by the time that the Highlanders were in possession of Edinburgh; and he chose his ground, according to the present author, with great judgment. On his right, he had two inclosures surrounded by stone walls, between which a road led to the village of Preston Pans; with another inclosure before him, surrounded by a deep ditch full of water, twelve feet in breadth. On his left was a marsh, and behind him the sea. Thus fortified, he could have been attacked only by a regular siege. The rebels then took a new position opposite to the marsh; and Cope also formed a new front, having on his right the ditch and on his left the sea. The Prince, however, having received information that the marsh was fordable at a particular place, passed during the night through the spot in question; and

and at break of day, Cope took the first line of his opponents at the distance of two hundred paces for bushes:

'When our first line had passed the marsh, Lord George dispatched me to the second line, which the Prince conducted in person, to see that it passed without noise or confusion. Having examined the line, and found that every thing was as it should be, on my return to Lord George I found the Prince at the head of the column, accompanied by Lord Nairn, just as he was beginning to enter the marsh, and I passed it a second time along with him. We were not yet out of the marsh, when the enemy, seeing our first line in order of battle, fired an alarm-gun. At the very end of the marsh there was a deep ditch, three or four feet broad, which it was necessary to spring over, and the Prince, in leaping across, fell upon his knees on the other side. I laid hold of his arm and immediately raised him up. On examining his countenance, it appeared to me that he considered this accident as a bad omen.

'Lord George, at the head of the first line, did not give the English time to recover from their surprise. He advanced with such rapidity that General Cope had hardly time to form his troops in order of battle, when the Highlanders rushed upon them sword in hand. They had been frequently enjoined to aim at the noses of the horses with their swords, without minding the riders; as the natural movement of a horse, wounded in the face, is to wheel round: and a few horses wounded in that manner are sufficient to throw a whole squadron into disorder, without the possibility of their being afterwards rallied. They followed this advice most implicitly, and the English cavalry was instantly thrown into confusion.

'Macgregor's company did great execution with their scythes. They cut the legs of the horses in two; the riders through the middle of their bodies. Macgregor was brave and intrepid, but, at the same time, altogether whimsical and singular. When advancing to the charge with his company, he received five wounds, two of them from balls that pierced his body through and through. Stretched on the ground, with his head resting on his hand, he called out to the Highlanders of his company, "My lads, I am not dead! — by G—, I shall see if any of you does not do his duty!" The Highlanders instantly fell on the flanks of the infantry; which being uncovered and exposed from the flight of the cavalry, immediately gave way. Thus, in less than five minutes, we obtained a complete victory; with a terrible carnage on the part of the enemy. It was gained with such rapidity, that in the second line, where I still was by the side of the Prince, not having been able to find Lord George, we saw no other enemy on the field of battle than those who were lying on the ground killed and wounded, though we were not more than fifty paces behind our first line, running always as fast as we could to overtake them, and near enough never to lose sight of them. The Highlanders made a terrible slaughter of the enemy, particularly at the spot where the road begins to run between the two inclosures, as it was soon stopped up by the fugitives; as also along the walls of the inclo-

sures, where they killed, without trouble, those who attempted to climb them. The strength of their camp became their destruction. Some of them attempted to rally in the enclosure, where there was an eminence which commanded the field of battle, and from which they fired some shot; but they were soon put to flight by the Highlanders, who immediately entered the inclosure in pursuit of them.

'The field of battle presented a spectacle of horror, being covered with heads, legs, and arms, and mutilated bodies; for the killed all fell by the sword. The enemy had thirteen hundred killed; and we made fifteen hundred prisoners, and took six field-pieces, two mortars, all the tents, baggage, and the military chest. General Cope, by means of a white cockade, which he put in his hat, similar to what we wore, passed through the midst of the Highlanders without being known, and escaped to England, where he carried the first news of his defeat. This victory cost us forty killed, and as many wounded. The greatest advantage which we derived from it was, the reputation which the Prince's army acquired in the outset; which determined many of his partisans, who were yet wavering, to declare themselves openly in his favour. The arms of the vanquished, of which we stood in need, were also of great service to us. The Prince slept next night at Pinky-house, about a quarter of a league from the field of battle. He committed to my care one hundred and ten English officers, who were our prisoners, with orders that they should want for nothing.

'The panic-terror of the English surpasses all imagination. They threw down their arms that they might run with more speed, thus depriving themselves by their fears of the only means of arresting the vengeance of the Highlanders. Of so many men in a condition, from their numbers, to preserve order in their retreat, not one thought of defending himself. Terror had taken possession of their minds.'

The army thus routed was composed of the very troops who had earned such glory at Dettingen and Fontenoy: but General Cope was surprized in a quarter where his camp seemed impregnable, and the superior discipline of his army was of no avail, for a scene of confusion ensued which allowed no opportunity for military evolutions; and, in that confusion, the mode of fighting peculiar to the Highlander (so well described by the author of Waverley) gave him an advantage which was almost irresistible. 'Having,' says the Chevalier de Johnstone, 'once got within the bayonets, and into the ranks of the enemy, the soldiers have no longer any means of defending themselves; the fate of the battle is decided, and the carnage follows; the Highlanders bringing down two men at a time, one with the dirk in the left hand, and another with the sword.' The apparent want of caution on the part of Sir John Cope, in having had no guard at the marsh, was satisfactorily explained on his court-martial. Of this battle, which

which made the Pretender (then at Rome) master of Scotland, the issue is well known; and we shall not follow the present author into the familiar story of Charles's march into England, and its calamitous consequences to the fortunes of his father.

We are, however, by no means disposed to acquiesce in the Chevalier's reasonings on the failure of the rebellion. 'The Prince's chief object,' he observes, 'ought to have been to endeavour to secure himself in Scotland, without attempting for the present to extend his views to England. He was strongly advised to annul the union made during the usurpation of Queen Anne, by a cabal of a few Scots peers, contrary to the general wish of the Scottish nation, by all ranks of which this act has ever been held in abhorrence.' (P. 34.) It may with reason be doubted whether, if he had never ventured to cross the Esk, the number of his little army would have been increased. There was surely nothing to attract adherents, or to animate their zeal for his cause, in a tranquil residence at Edinburgh, while the collective might of England was hovering on the frontier; and if, after his victory at Preston Pans, and his uninterrupted march to Carlisle, the force with which he advanced into the south received scarcely any accession*, it is scarcely to be inferred that he would have been strengthened by a course of proceedings strictly defensive. As to the dissolution of the Union, the Chevalier betrays a most lamentable ignorance of the political state of the two countries by the suggestion. Connections cemented by private convenience had long grown up between Scotland and England; and many of the partizans of Charles were among those who were deriving such essential benefits from the incorporation, that they would have pertinaciously opposed every attempt to dissolve it. Fletcher of Saltoun, who was the ablest as well as the most determined opponent of the measure, had long before admitted the absolute inability of his country to effect its revocation by force. In truth, it would have been little short of the most desperate madness to have hazarded the experiment.

It is not to be doubted that the utmost panic was diffused in England by the unexpected progress of the rebels, which

* They had now marched through the counties said to be most attached to his family, and not a single person of distinction had yet declared himself in his favor. 'M. Patullo, our muster-master, reviewed our army at Carlisle, when it did not exceed 4500 men.' (Memoirs, p. 45.) This was nearly the number that marched from Scotland.

might

might have been intercepted if Marshal Wade had done his duty. The Chevalier Johnstone cites many instances to shew the alarm created by the Highlanders, and the exaggerated reports swallowed by the people in London concerning men who were believed to be "monsters with claws instead of hands:" but this extravagant fear defeats his own argument as to the expediency of continuing the march towards London. All idle terrors have a tendency to exhaust themselves; and excessive credulity seldom infects that part of a nation in which its real strength consists, but operates chiefly if not exclusively on the mere mob of a country. Even if the rebels had proceeded from Derby towards London, and had placed themselves between the Duke of Cumberland and the capital, what would they have gained? The strength of the government was still unimpaired. Four or five thousand men against the physical force, the mind, the heart of England! Supposing, to use the Chevalier's hypothesis, that the army of Finchley-common had been routed, and the Scotch had marched into the metropolis itself, (putting out of the question the temporary mischief and confusion which it might have created,) what would so contemptible a force have been amid the countless multitudes of London? All that can be said in favor of the Prince's attempt on England is that he acted wisely in making it, because every chance of success had then been tried: but at Derby the entire hoplessness of his cause must have been a matter of the clearest demonstration.

Neither the author nor his editor appears to be very partial to the character of Prince Charles, and more than doubts are insinuated of his personal courage. With regard, however, to the retreat from England, it appears (p. 53.) that the Prince obstinately insisted on giving battle to the Duke of Cumberland, and advancing to London: but he was the only person who was of that opinion. We know also from the authority of the Culloden papers that he opposed the determination to retire with entreaties and tears; and that it was on the retreat that the ardor and alacrity, which during the advance of his army had uniformly animated him, appeared first to have abated. Without courage, indeed, would he have embarked in the adventure; — without talent, could he have so long kept together his own desultory bands; — and without an uncommon share of fortitude and patience in adversity, could he have supported himself so well under the multiplied disasters of his declining fortunes? We will say nothing of the affair at Culloden: it was an injudicious transaction, to speak mildly of it: but the Prince was not responsible for it. As to his desertion of the cause after the defeat, there is no doubt that

that he was influenced to that measure by his French advisers, who began to be alarmed at the prospect of a protracted and mountainous warfare. It would be absurd, however, to conclude with the Chevalier Johnstone, that the enterprize wore a more auspicious aspect after that defeat than at its commencement.

By far the most interesting part of this narrative is that which follows the disastrous day of Culloden; consisting of the personal adventures of the author, while he was a fugitive from the pursuit which was set on foot for the apprehension of the rebels. It is a relief to steal from the melancholy and monotonous narrative of persecution and slaughter, and to contemplate our nature in its real dignity, — that to which a benevolent Providence fashioned it, — administering succour and commiseration to the comfortless and unhappy. Never were these acts more frequently exemplified than amid the miseries of that rebellion; they are spots of verdure, as it were, in the waste and cheerless desart of the human passions; and no person can peruse these Memoirs without feeling that expansion of heart, which is produced by seeing so many striking instances of the inherent kindness of man. The Chevalier de Johnstone was repeatedly obliged to intrust his life in the hands of those, whose hearts and souls were enflamed with the deadliest animosity against the cause for which he had fought, and embittered by religious as well as political hatred against the partizans of the house of Stuart. Yet he confided, and was not betrayed; though the deepest prejudices of the human mind, — fear, ambition, and interest, — almost made treachery a duty in those who succoured him.

Immediately after the battle, he was saved, in a romantic manner, by a man of the name of Finlay Cameron, who exposed himself to destruction by his generosity. 'From the commencement of our expedition,' says the Chevalier, 'I perceived that he was of a mild, honourable, and brave character, but he had never shewn the least friendship for me; yet I was indebted to him for my life, and he generously risked his own to save me.' — It is not surprizing that, when aid and commiseration are wanted, the fairer half of our species should be forward in imparting them. His first refuge was in the house of Mr. Gordon, of Killihuntly; and Mrs. Gordon offered him a hut, in the recesses of the neighbouring mountains, where, in the disguise of a shepherd tending his sheep, he might be secure from detection: undertaking, at the same time, to supply his retreat with books and provisions, and to visit him occasionally herself. He

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was anxious, however, to effect his escape from the country, and declined her offer. Some days afterward, having lodged at the house of a Mr. Stuart, he states his proceedings thus:

'On rising in the morning, I exchanged my laced Highland dress with his servant, for an old labourer's dress, quite ragged, and exhaling a pestilential odour; for it smelt so strongly of dung as to be absolutely infectious at a distance. Having made a complete exchange with him, even to our shoes and stockings, each of us found our advantage in it, and particularly myself, as these rags were to contribute to save my life. Thus metamorphosed, we took leave of each other, every one following a different road. Gordon of Park advised me to pass the night at his castle of Park; and I accepted his offer the more readily, as, being only a league and a half from Banff, it was conveniently situated for an interview with my brother-in-law Rollo. — I found in this mansion his cousin-german, Mrs. Menzie, a very amiable, sprightly, and sensible lady, with whom I had passed some time very delightfully at the house of Mr. Duff, provost of Banff. —

'Mrs. Menzie informed me that there were four hundred English soldiers in the town of Banff, and she strongly advised me not to expose myself by going there; but as an interview with my brother-in-law was that on which I placed all my hopes of effecting my escape to a foreign country, I determined to go, contrary to her opinion; and I set out next day on foot, about nine o'clock in the evening, leaving my horse till my return. On entering the town I met a number of soldiers, who paid no attention to me, which was a very favourable omen to me of the success of my disguise as a beggar. Indeed, my clothes were so bad, that the lowest peasant would have been ashamed to wear them. My blood boiled in my veins at the sight of the soldiers whom I considered the authors of all the trouble and distress which I began to feel, and I could hardly prevent myself from casting at them looks expressive of rage and indignation. I, however, proceeded on my way, invoking the Supreme Being, with much earnestness, to favour us with one single opportunity of taking vengeance on them for their cruelties at Culloden, when I should die tranquil and satisfied; prayers which, in appearance, will never be granted.

'I went straight to the house of Mr. Duff, where I had been so agreeably entertained a short time before. He was a secret partisan of the Prince, but, being prudent and discreet, he only avowed his principles to his particular friends. He was one of the most amiable men in the world, endowed with every possible good quality, and possessed of true merit; he was of an equal mind, of a gay and sprightly disposition, and had a great share of good sense, judgment, talents, and discernment. Mrs. Duff resembled her husband in every thing; and their two daughters, the youngest of whom was a great beauty, were the exact copies of their father and mother. — As the servant-maid who opened the door did not know me, on account of my disguise, I told her that I was the bearer of a letter to her master, which I was charged to deliver into

into his own hands, and I therefore desired her to inform him of it. Mr. Duff came down stairs, and did not recognise me at first any more than his maid had done; but having fixed his eyes on me for some moments, his surprise was succeeded by a flood of tears. He strongly exhorted the maid to fidelity and secrecy. As Mrs. Duff and her daughters were in bed, he conducted me into a room, and immediately sent his maid in quest of my brother-in-law, who happened to be from home, and who could not be found, notwithstanding every search was made for him.— It was not my intention to sleep in Banff, if I could have seen my brother-in-law without delay, and ascertained if I had any thing to hope from his services, at a moment so critical for me.—I had, therefore, resolved to leave Banff before day, and to return to Mr. Gordon's house. Mr. Duff retired to rest at one o'clock in the morning: when I went to bed, I was, however, unable to close an eye.

'I rose as soon as day began to appear, and put on my rags; and whilst I was seated in an arm-chair, with my eyes fixed on the fire, pensive, melancholy, and absorbed in a train of reflections, which my situation suggested to me in abundance, the servant-maid suddenly entered my chamber, and told me that I was undone, as the court-yard was filled with soldiers, come to seize me.— I immediately flew to the window, when I saw, in reality, the soldiers which the maid had told me of. Having thus ocular demonstration of my misfortune, I returned to my chair, perfectly resigned, and considered myself as a man who was soon to end his days. I instantly conjectured that the maid must have betrayed me, having some soldier for her sweetheart, a common enough circumstance:— one feeble ray of hope alone remained, which was, to open a passage for myself through the soldiers, with a pistol in each hand; and I kept my eyes steadfastly fixed on the door of my chamber, in order to spring on the soldiers like a lion, the moment they should appear. A melancholy resource! I had little hopes of success; but I had no alternative.

'Having passed about a quarter of an hour in the most violent agitation, the door of my chamber at length opened, and I sprung forward with precipitation to the attack. But what was my surprise, when, in place of the soldiers, I saw the beautiful and adorable Miss Duff the younger burst in out of breath, to tell me, like another guardian angel, to be no longer uneasy: that the disturbance was occasioned by some soldiers fighting among themselves, who had entered into the court, to elude the observation of their officers, and who, after settling their quarrel by a boxing match, had all gone off together. Miss Duff, the younger, was very beautiful, and only eighteen. I seized her in my arms, pressed her to my bosom, and gave her, with the best will in the world, a thousand tender kisses.'

The Chevalier's brother-in-law received him coldly, and gave him that of which hollow-hearted beings are profuse, in the hour of distress,— abundance of advice, but no assistance. It provokes from the author a natural remark, and who

who is there that cannot bear testimony to its truth? He says that those whom he had obliged, and from whom, therefore, he expected assistance, threw off the mask, and displayed nothing but falsehood and dissimulation. 'It was those only from whom I did not expect any services who acted as sincere friends.' He was therefore compelled to proceed to Edinburgh, in spite of the peril to which it exposed him, in order to be there concealed by his friends, till an opportunity of escape presented itself. After various adventures, some of which are very interesting, he arrived at the frith of Tay; and here, having revealed his situation to a gentleman in the neighbourhood, he procured, by means of his good offices, a boat to pass over in the night to the other shore: but, before the hour came, the boatmen grew so fearful of the soldiers, who had been searching the village, that they refused to take him. All his offers and intreaties were of no avail, till he perceived that the two daughters of the landlady of the public-house, whose son had been in the rebel-army, were not objects of indifference to the boatmen. He therefore attached himself, as he says, to these two beautiful girls, in order to profit by their influence over the boatmen.

'In less than half an hour my two beauties were entirely in my interest, and each of them made a vigorous assault on her sweetheart, making use of all manner of prayers and intreaties, but with as little success as I had had. The fear of these stupid animals was more powerful than their love. The beautiful and charming Mally Burn, the eldest of the two, disgusted, at length, and indignant at their obstinacy, said to her sister, "O, Jenny! they are despicable cowards and poltroons. I would not for the world that this unfortunate gentleman was taken in our house. I pity his situation. Will you take an oar? I shall take another, and we will row him over ourselves, to the eternal shame of these pitiful and heartless cowards." Jenny consented without hesitation. I clasped them in my arms, and covered them, by turns, with a thousand tender kisses.

'I thought, at first, that the generous resolution of these girls would operate upon their lovers; but the unfeeling cowards were not in the least moved. They preserved their phlegm, and allowed the charming girls to act as they pleased, without being in the smallest degree affected by their conduct. Seeing the obstinacy of the boatmen, and wishing to take advantage of the offer of my female friends, I immediately took the two oars on my shoulders, and proceeded to the shore, accompanied by my two beauties. I launched the boat, and, as soon as we had all three entered, I pushed it into deep water, and taking one of the oars myself, I gave the other to one of the girls, who was to be relieved by the other, when she found herself fatigued. I experienced, on this occasion, the truth of the maxim, that every kind of knowledge may

may be useful. While I was in Russia, where parties of pleasure on the water are frequent, I used sometimes to amuse myself with rowing; little thinking then that I should one day be obliged to row for my life.

'We left Broughty at ten o'clock in the evening, and reached the opposite shore of this arm of the sea, which is about two miles in breadth, near midnight. The weather was fine, and the night was sufficiently clear, from the light of the stars, to enable me to distinguish the roads. My two beauties landed with me, to put me in the highway that leads to St. Andrews: and I took leave of them, deeply affected with their generous sentiments and heroic courage, experiencing a sensible regret on quitting them, when I thought that perhaps I should never see them more. I embraced them a thousand times by turns, and as they would not consent to receive any pecuniary gratification, I contrived to slip ten or twelve shillings into the pocket of the charming Mally, who was one of the most perfect beauties nature ever formed, with an elegant shape, and possessed of all the graces of her sex.'

With great difficulty the Chevalier reached St. Andrew's. His feet were dreadfully ulcerated, and he knew not where to look for shelter and refreshment; the town and the whole district being zealously Calvinistic, and inveterately hostile to the Stuarts. A female servant of his mother had married a gardener in that neighbourhood, a rigid Presbyterian: but the Chevalier determined, notwithstanding, to confide in his fidelity. 'It was a severe and humiliating trial for Lillie (that was his name) to give an asylum to a rebel. He was, however, an honest man, notwithstanding his fanatical prejudices. He assured me that he would do every thing in his power to save me, and to procure me a passage to the other side.' Here he remained a few days; and at length, after having passed through a series of distressing adventures and hair-breadth escapes, he succeeded in reaching Leith, where he took refuge with another woman who had been in his mother's service. He then removed to the house of Lady Jane Douglas, under whose roof he remained some time; and with whom he at last effected his flight to Holland, in the disguise of a servant in her suite. A mode of concealment which he was obliged to adopt while he remained with this lady, we must give in the Chevalier's own words. An alarm had been spread by a servant-maid who had just returned from Edinburgh, with the intelligence that a lackey of an English gentleman had whispered in her ear that it was well known that Johnstone was concealed in Lady Jane's house, and that it would soon be searched. It was then only nine in the morning.

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'This intelligence filled me with the utmost grief and uneasiness. I trembled lest the extreme goodness of Lady Jane, in giving me an asylum in her house, should involve her in difficulties with the government; and I was a thousand times more afraid of the disagreeable consequences which the being taken in her house would entail on her, than of the fate which awaited myself. When I feelingly expressed how much I regretted the dangers to which I exposed her, she replied, with her usual spirit and promptitude, — "If there were no risk, you would be under no obligation to me." — It was impossible to get out by the door into the court, on account of the servants, who, in that case, would see me from the kitchen; and there was no place in the house, which I examined all over, where I could remain concealed. But, as they were then making hay in an enclosure belonging to Lady Jane, Mr. Stewart proposed that I should conceal myself in a cock of hay. In order to succeed in this, it was necessary to let a footman into the secret, that he might watch the other servants, and seize a favourable opportunity for my leaving the house and entering the inclosure.

'I went out, in my waistcoat, with the footman and gardener, followed by Mr. Stewart. As it was necessary to observe a number of precautions, on account of some of the windows of the village which looked into the inclosure, we began to throw down all the cocks of hay, one after another; and the footman and gardener threw each other down on the hay, with which the one who happened to be undermost was covered by the other. This pretended amusement went on for some time, when they threw me, in my turn, as a part of the same sport, and covered me with hay, till the cock in which I was concealed was raised as high as the rest, leaving me only a small aperture for breathing; and having given me a bottle of water and another of wine they withdrew.

'I do not think it possible to suffer more than I did the whole day: the weather was fine, but very warm; the excessive heat of my situation under the hay, which was like an oven, almost deprived me of respiration. Mr. Stewart came to see me from time to time, and exhorted me to be patient; and, indeed, I had need of patience, for my sufferings were occasionally so insupportable, that I was sometimes tempted to give the hay to the devil, and expose myself to whatever might happen, rather than to continue where I was. My regard for Lady Jane alone restrained me. After the most dreadful sufferings, from ten o'clock in the morning till nine at night, remaining always in the same attitude, without power to stir myself, and bathed in sweat, I was at length relieved. But when I came out of the hay my body was so bruised, and I was so weak, from my excessive transpiration, that it was with difficulty I could walk, leaning on the arm of Mr. Stewart, for my legs could scarcely support me. I was enraged to think I had passed so disagreeable a day for nothing, no person having come to search the house.'

As an historian, the Chevalier is loose, disconnected, and inaccurate: but we cannot dismiss his Memoirs without confessing

fessing that we read with anxiety the vicissitudes and varieties of his fortunes. He retired, towards the close of his life, to France, and seems to have ended his days in poverty and repining. His book concludes with that observation of Artabanes to Xerxes, who wept on reflecting that in a hundred years not one of his immense army would be in existence, which suggests to him 'that death is comparatively an inconsiderable evil; that to man it was a desirable refuge from the ills of life; and that it may be said that the Deity, who is immortal, treats us with severity, who gives us life on such hard conditions.' If this was the philosophy of the Chevalier, imagination cannot conceive a creature more wretched and desolate; for the state of mind which led him to the adoption of so impious a sentiment was an affliction, compared to which the worst evils that he had yet encountered were light as air. We fear that his education in France, and the military life, which is too apt to estrange the best men from the Author of their being, had left in his heart that dismal void which religion, and religion only, can fill. Nothing else can reconcile us to God, to ourselves, and to the trials which are ordained for us; there is no other balm for the wounded mind,—no other antidote against the ills of penury and the fear of death:

> "For this is all that soothes the life of man,—
> His high endeavour, and his glad success,
> His strength to suffer and his will to serve."
>
> COWPER.

ART. V. *Journal of a Residence in the Burmhan Empire,* and more particularly at the Court of Amarapoorah. By Captain Hiram Cox, of the Honourable East India Company's Bengal Native Infantry. 8vo. pp. 430. 16*s.* Boards. Warren. 1821.

OUR readers may recollect that in our thirty-second volume, p. 113., we noticed Major Symes's Embassy to Ava, which was splendidly written and splendidly illustrated, but which, if we may trust the author of this Journal, painted in colours too flattering the manners, the civilization, the character, and the power of the Burmhan empire. It was on the return of Major Symes from his mission, that the Governor-General of British Hindoostan resolved to depute one of the Company's servants to Rangoon, to fill the situation of Resident at that port; and Captain Hiram Cox was selected for this purpose by Sir John Shore. When he came back from this mission, Lord Mornington (now Marquis Wellesley) was invested with the supreme authority, and expressed himself

satisfied with the Captain's conduct during the negotiation; and he was, in consequence, again employed in the public service at Chittagong, where he fell a victim to one of those liver-complaints which so frequently attack Europeans in the East Indies. His son, Mr. H. C.M. Cox, has selected from his father's journal those parts which appeared most likely to afford agreeable, new, or useful information, and now lays them before the public. Nothing has been added, but many of those minuter and personal matters have been omitted which naturally enter into a diary kept for the private gratification of the writer and his family. An absence of thirteen years in India, and some delicacies due to office, while any of the negotiations narrated were pending, have concurred thus long to postpone the publication of a narrative that was drawn up chiefly in 1797, to which period the contained observations apply.

It was on Christmas-day, 1796, that the author reached Prone, a city laid down in Major Rennell's chart fifteen miles too far north, and nearly a degree too far east. Its precise latitude and longitude were verified by an observation of Jupiter's satellites. The first impression of the country is thus described:

'*Dec.* 26. At noon we were opposite to the town of Comma, situated on the west bank of the Erawuddie, famous for its timber. The numerous religious buildings in the town indicate its opulence. The fort lies three miles inland from the Erawuddie, on a rivulet that empties itself into that river, and is navigable in the rains, I was informed, for large boats, almost all the way to Arrakan. I suppose the province of Arrakan is meant, and not the capital of that name. Here also is the high road by which the merchants who trade to Dacca bring their goods, &c., on bullocks, and in covered carts, which are well made, and much in use throughout the country. Every step I advance, I meet with proofs of a better police and more thriving people than I had formed any conception of. All along the banks wherever I have landed, I have met with security and abundance; the houses and farm-yards of the peasantry put me much in mind of the habitations of our little farmers in England. The population much exceeds what I had been taught to believe; and, on inquiring of the villagers, they mention in every place, that there are larger towns inland. Game is scarce and shy, and tigers unthought of; a proof not only of considerable population, but also of cultivation. On the whole, the circumstances of the people seemed improved since we entered the hilly districts.

'*Dec.* 27. We stopped for a little time at the town of Patro; it is populous, and the land round it well cultivated. Here for the first time I met with teak-trees on the hills near the bank; but they grow in abundance on all these hills inland. It is commonly supposed

posed in India that the Pegu teak is produced on low grounds, and hence a general prejudice against it; this may hold good as to some small part of the duggers or mast-pieces, but all the plank, and a great proportion of the other kinds, come from these hills. In the rains, innumerable mountain-streams facilitate the transportation, and what has been cut too late to be brought down by water the whole way, is dragged overland on truck-carriages by buffaloes. A little beyond Patoo, on the west bank, a lofty hill with a pagoda on it forms an abrupt point. In India, this would be fortified as a commanding post on the river; but fortification does not seem to be in estimation among the Burmhans.'

A very large portion of the Journal is occupied in detailing the various petty ceremonies, with which all sorts of intercourse are embarrassed in this most eastern country, especially all intercourse with public men about public matters. We have been told, again and again, that the Orientals value highly the worship of etiquette; and that an European nation would sink in their esteem, if its agents did not stickle for all these miserable punctilios and formalities. Still we are of opinion, that to condescend to play the old woman can no where be the road to the confidence of men of sense; and on the concurrence of men of sense exclusively depends the success of all public negotiations, in which it is worth while to succeed. The highest dignity must always consist in the contempt of every thing that is not essential to the purpose of the interview. We English are a ceremonious nation, the French much less so; yet in all the European countries, as far as negotiation can ensure success, the French negotiate more efficaciously than ourselves. Ceremony is a step short of the highest refinement: it is adapted to conceal awkwardness, but does not operate as a substitute for ease; and it is more favorable to hypocrisy than to sincerity.

A singular circumstance occurred at Meghoon:

'While Mr. Burnett was waiting, mangoes were presented to him, and he was shewn a book of Vertue's plates to Rapin's History of England, containing portraits of the kings and queens of England, with notes written in the Burmhan language, containing a brief sketch of their respective characters.'

The critical disappointment of the author's negotiation is thus related:

'At noon my interpreter attended at the looto, when the woondock, according to his promise, brought forward the business of my memorials, &c. The whoonghees immediately declared that they were inadmissible, and without assigning any further reason, affirmed that they would not permit them to be laid before his Majesty; that his Majesty, agreeably to Sir John Shore's letter, had appointed me resident at Rangoon, but would not at

present receive any remonstrance or statement of grievances; that indeed I might return in three or four months, when, perhaps, he might deign to listen to me, at present I had no further claim on his royal favour; and that I must come to the looto to receive his commission. My interpreter, to whom they addressed themselves, then asked, if I came to the looto, what place would be assigned me? They replied below the nakhan, one of the inferior officers of the court, being the place where Captain Symes was seated. My interpreter told them they might rest assured I would not attend the looto on those terms. A desultory conversation then took place, in which the whoonghees, woondocks, and others, indifferently joined; every one suggesting something according to his caprice or pretensions to sagacity. One said, that when I came to the looto to receive my commission, I must take an oath of fidelity to his Burmhan Majesty according to their form, otherwise I might play tricks: another said, that I should not have permission to retire until the fugitives from Arrakan were delivered up, the Governor-General, in his letter, having referred them to me on that subject: another advanced, that Chittagong, Luckipore, Dacca, and the whole of the Cassembuzar island, formerly made part of the ancient dominions of Arrakan; that the remains of chokeys and pagodas were still to be seen near Dacca, and that they could further prove it from the Arrakan records, and hinted that his Majesty would claim the restitution of those countries. They repeatedly desired my interpreter to take back the memorials, and uttered a thousand other impertinencies; in short, their outrages against decency and common sense surpassed conception. The woondock, however, touched my interpreter as he was going away, and told him apart, that he would make another effort, and endeavour to gain over his Majesty; but I have little dependence on him. They would never have dared to have proceeded these lengths without the sanction of a high authority; for they are, in fact, but a set of automatons without either sense or motion, but what they derive from the master-hand. It is almost in vain to conjecture the cause of this sudden change; I can only ascribe it to the intrigues of the Assamese party who have pretensions to the throne of Lower Assam: and the young princess having pleased the doting monarch, they have availed themselves of her influence to induce him to espouse their cause, and break with the English; added to the incessant clamours and intrigues of the Mahomedan, Malabar, and other factions, who have been continually employed in inflaming their thirst for dominion, or exciting their prejudices against us; well aware, that the dawn of our influence must prove destructive to their own. How unlike is this picture to that drawn in the laboured periods of my predecessor? where is the polish, the intelligence, or faith, on which he delighted to amplify? But let me avoid the parallel, lest indignation should betray me into a warmth unworthy of the subject.'

As it is more agreeable to dwell on the descriptions of scenery than on those of manners which prevail in this Journal, we select a voyage down the river Rangoon. The varia-

variations in the orthography of names are chargeable on the book.

'At two P.M. we left our station opposite Amarapoorah; five boats of my party, and one boat with the English merchants, Mr. Reeves and Mr. Lane; also a small boat with a Mahomedan trader. At four P.M. we made fast at Cheghain. In the evening I walked through a part of the town to the south point of the ridge of hills which commence here, and extend along the western bank of the river, almost as far as Keoun Meoun, with very little interruption. The summits of all the peaks to the southward are crowned with Burmhan pagodas, and other religious buildings; most of them have flights of steps leading to them; the whole of bad burnt bricks plastered over. Upon near inspection they are rather paltry, and from the badness of the materials promising no long duration. We climbed up to one of them, and from it commanded a very extensive view of the adjoining country, which appeared pleasant and fertile, but mostly woody, and uncultivated: the banks of the river were higher than the plains adjoining, as is usual in countries subject to inundation. These latter were, in many parts, still under water, although the river does not appear to me more than five or six feet above its ordinary level in the dry months. Amarapoorah from hence makes but a mean appearance, its golden spires might be mistaken for chimney-tops, or glass-blowers' furnaces, and a nearer approach will not tend to raise in the minds of its beholders any ideas of magnificence, comfort, or industry; but Amarapoorah demands a particular description, and shall have one at a more convenient opportunity, when I can collect my materials. Ava seems buried in its ruins; fifteen years ago the metropolis of the empire, it is now totally depopulated, and overgrown with weeds or mouldering in heaps of rubbish. Two or three pagodas alone point out to the inquirer's eye its site, which is surrounded by a small creek, and appears to me a better situation for a city than that now occupied by Amarapoorah. Chegain seems also to be going fast to decay; excepting the religious buildings, you see none but mean straggling houses, and but a very scanty population. It is principally supported by the cotton trade to China, of which it is one of the greatest shipping ports; also by making chunam, the south end of the ridge being very good lime-stone; the cheapness of this material seems to be one cause of the religious rage for building pagodas here, of which you see new ones rising in every direction. I know of no particular sanctity annexed to the place, except that on a rocky point projecting from the opposite shore, now covered with religious buildings, they say, that Godamah descended from heaven, when he transmigrated into the body of a cock, and picked golden grains from the sands.

'*Oct.* 18. At day-light I made a small excursion towards the hills, to observe the soil, &c.: the exterior masses of the southern clumps, as far as I saw, were a white lime-stone marble, but on some of the spars I found the stones variegated, black, blue, green, and red, mixed with siliceous and quartzose pebbles and fragments, also those calcareous stalactites in India called couker. The

general appearance of the soil, &c., indicates the presence of minerals; but I met with nothing but iron ore; copper, silver, lead, iron, and precious stones have been obtained from various parts of the ridge; and I have particular accounts of various mines that have been opened and worked, in former reigns, with great success. I saw the entrance of two caves of considerable size, excavated by art; but was prevented by the darkness from exploring them; and my situation with the government not admitting more than a cursory view, I had not come prepared, as I otherwise should have done; both of them appeared to me as large as the famous Cave of Elephanta, which I have also been in; but I had no opportunity of examining how much of these was excavated from the body of the solid rock, their fronts being formed of masonry. These hills are rugged, overrun with the hardy brier, or wild Indian plum, and varieties of the euphorbium; I also found here an opuntia, exactly the same as the American one sent to India from his Majesty's garden at Kew, of which I brought away specimens. At this time also, all the hollows and gentle slopes were covered with short sweet grass; we started two hares, and saw the track of deer. About eight A.M. we returned, having had a very pleasant walk. Inland about six miles from where we lay, is a famous ancient pagoda, of which I have the Burmhan history, and meant to visit it, but was prevented by the distance; thinking it imprudent, in my present circumstances, to venture so far while in the vicinity of the capital. It differs in form from the general style of building amongst them, being finished with a dome; and although it stands in a hollow, I have seen it at twelve or fifteen miles' distance; but those who have been at it say, it is twice the circumference of Daghoon pagoda, and like it, solid. My motive for remaining here was to obtain some information which I expected from Amarapoorah, and to get stock, and complete my boats' crews; for, notwithstanding all my advances, they were still incomplete. These fellows have a great inclination to be insolent whenever they dare: they have beaten several of my servants, and when spoke to, threaten to leave the boats. It will require, therefore, all my patience and management, to get safe and smoothly down the river, for I am entirely at their mercy. In the evening, the mewjerry of Rangoon, my former attendant, made his appearance. My people learnt from him, that he was waiting Baba Shein and a chekoy, who are still at Amarapoorah.

'*Oct.* 19. About seven A.M. we passed Old Ava. The ruins of the walls are within fifty yards of the river, and the bank, bold up to it, seems to have been more extensive than the fort of the present capital, which is about 12 or 1300 feet square, and better situated for defence or commerce. The rocks we passed coming up the river are now covered. At eleven A.M. we passed Keouptolong chokey, without trouble or notice. About five P.M. crossed over to the western shore, intending to go through the Nabaiek channel. At sun-set, made fast to the western bank. Near the river, the land is under culture, but in a slovenly style. On the eastern side of the river from Amarapoorah, to within about

about six miles to the N. W. of Keouptolong, the plain extends to a considerable breadth from the river to the foot of the mountains, the ridge of which declines in height as it advances to the southward; but, five or six miles to the northward of Keouptolong, arid downs extend to the river. From Keouptolong these recede back to the mountains, leaving us, to the northward, a fine plain susceptible of high cultivation; and for the most part cultivated from Chegain to Nabaiek. Also on the west side the country is level near the river, and in part cultivated; but backed by high ground covered with wood or jungle. The river on the right of Ava, and to the southward of it, is about one mile and a half broad. Current about three miles or a little more. Near Keouptolong it is about three quarters of a mile broad; towards Nebaiek it spreads very much with islands mid-channel. We passed several merchants' boats bound up under sail.

'*Oct.* 20. Proceeded at day-light; at half-past seven A. M. made fast to the western bank, near the entrance of the Nabaiek channel. Finding there was not water enough for us to go through, I sent off my interpreter in a small boat, to wait on the padre Don Louis, from whom I expected some books and intelligence. At half-past ten, crossed over to Namaguey, a village on the eastern bank, to wait for my interpreter. At half-past three P. M. he returned. From him I learn, that Nebaiek is but a wretched hamlet of about thirty or forty houses, inhabited by Burmhan Christians. There are, however, two or three churches and some other hamlets dependent on it, situated in the jungles to the westward. The padre's house is gilt like the Keouns of the Burmhan poonghees; and, like them, he depends for his daily food on the donations of his flock; never cooking in his own house. I am told also, that he is obliged to wink hard at many of their Pagan superstitions. He had nothing to offer my man but a cup of tea, and disappointed me of my expectations from him. At four P.M. we dropped down through the eastern channel, which is narrowed by the islands, to a breadth of 3 or 400 yards, until sun-set: both banks are under culture. At sun-set, made fast to the eastern bank, we had passed several merchant-boats bound upwards, and Mr. Baba Shein passed us downwards, without taking the smallest notice. A little below Namaiguey, the river spreads nearly three miles to the westward; but shoal on that side, with sand-banks, and islands mid-channel.

'*Oct.* 21. Proceeded at day-light, and at half-past seven A.M. entered the main river. Several war-boats passed us downwards during the day, and merchant-boats bound upwards. At sun-set made fast to a sand-bank projecting from the western shore. At night, set a watch with double sentinels, and loaded arms; as the conduct of the Burmhan government towards me warrants a suspicion of foul play being intended me on my passage down. From the conflux of the Keoundowien with the Era-wuddy, the western bank is a well-cultivated plain, backed by a range of mountains, seven or eight miles inland. The eastern bank for about ten or twelve miles is also tolerably well inhabited; but the

flat not more than two or three miles broad, backed by uncultivated woody downs, which to the southward of that limit form the margin of the river, terminating in precipitate bluffs, with little variation, all the way to Pagaam.

'*Oct.* 22. We proceeded at half-past five A. M., and at eight passed the new city of Gucayne; a number of merchant-boats were lying there. At ten A. M. we stopped at the ancient city of Pegaam, or Pokghong, and went on shore to view the ruins of this ancient city. I climbed to the top of an old pagoda, by several flights of narrow ruinous stairs. The two lower stories have a flight in each angle, arched over and steep. The first about a yard broad, and in height from the steps to the top of the arch about five feet, ending in a small turret placed over the angle, and from the door of which only they receive light. The height of the whole of the first flight and story is about forty feet. The height of the second, nearly the same; but the arch lower, and passages narrower; the rest of the steps are on the outside, leading to the top of three other stories, from whence the dome rises. The first two stories are surrounded by a Gothic arched gallery, along which are arranged various images of their deities. The building itself is quadrangular, each face fronting the four cardinal points of the compass; with a projecting portico, and corresponding niches within, wherein is placed on a throne or altar a colossal gilt figure of Godoma. The principal figure seems uniformly to be placed to the east, where there is the greatest projection for the shelter of those who come to pay their devotions.

'From the top of this pagoda, I commanded a full view of the remains of the city, and adjacent country, which, as far as the eye can reach on the eastern side of the river, is rugged downs; steril, uncultivated, and covered with scrubby bushes, &c. To the south-east, about three miles inland, a rugged ridge of hills rise abruptly from the common level of the country, and extend about five or six miles north and south. The ruins of the pagodas extend about four or five miles along the banks of the river, and inland, about one mile and a half.

'I counted to the south of me fifty; and to the northward there might be seventy more, distinguishable, of various forms and sizes; but numberless others have sunk into indistinguishable masses of rubbish, overgrown with weeds; and the plain is every where covered with fragments of their materials. Immediately above the bank, where my boat lay, is a part of the wall of the western curtain of the fort; and about a quarter of a mile to the eastward, parallel to it, I passed through a breach in the eastern curtain, and think I saw the north-angle bastion about 700 yards from me. It is probable, therefore, that the fort was not larger than the present one at Amarapoorah; or they may have fixed dimensions for their imperial forts. The wall is composed of small bricks and mud, about fourteen cubits thick; and has the remains of a dry fosse without. I sketched the figure of one of the most perfect, and the largest I saw. My view is of the west front, which measures at the base about 183 feet; and as nearly as I can judge by my eye, is about 200 feet in height. Its interior is similar

similar to one I have described, but in better preservation. It is built of bricks of two dimensions. The largest, which are used in the body of the building, are seventeen inches long, eight and a half broad, and three and a half thick. The least are fourteen and a half long, seven and five-eighths broad, and one and a half thick. They are well burnt, and joined together with great skill and nicety. Their surface and edges being ground, perfectly correspond, and lie so close, as that not the least cement can be seen between them: if any was used, it must have been a very fine gluten. As far as relates to the exterior surface of the body of the building, the masonry is the best I have ever seen, but I doubt much whether this holds good throughout; perhaps it is only observed in the cannon-revetments. The whole building has been plastered over in the usual manner; and it is where this plaster has scaled off, that the workmanship is to be observed.'

A curious part of the narrative is an unsuccessful attempt of the Envoy to make a balloon for the amusement of the court of Amarapoorah; and a melancholy one is the interval of sickness and confinement, which so frequently interrupts the progress of the author's diplomatic cares. On the whole, he seems to have displayed patience, munificence, and that steady assertion of rank which when disapproved is called arrogance, and when approved is called dignity. His observations are various, and founded both on mathematical and mineralogical science. Something more, we think, might have been collected concerning the state of language, literature, and religion: but the volume will much contribute to correct the over-statements of Major Symes, and to bring within limits more credible the attainments and civilization of the original people of whom it treats. Merchants of enterprize may derive important hints from several facts adduced; and the Oriental glossarist may compile authorities for many words that are new and strange to our motley language.

Coloured engravings illustrate the work.

ART. VI. *Speech of the Right Honourable W. C. Plunkett*, in the House of Commons, on Wednesday, 28th Feb. 1821, on moving for a Committee on the Catholic Question. 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*. Murray.

ART. VII. *Observations upon the present State of Ireland*, addressed to His Excellency the Marquis of Wellesley, K. G. &c. by the Earl of Blesinton. 8vo. 5*s*. Longman and Co. 1822.

ART. VIII. *A Short Address to William Lord Primate of all Ireland*, on the Subject of Tythes, &c. &c. by the Rev. Sir H. B. Dudley, Bart. &c. &c. 8vo. 1*s*. 6*d*. Cadell. 1822.

ON the momentous subject of the present state of Ireland, the press has lately sent forth a great variety of publications; among which are a very large and bulky pamphlet by

by Lord Blesinton, and a short one by the reverend baronet whose name also stands at the head of this article. Although, perhaps, none of these productions are susceptible of that species of criticism which we are most accustomed to exercise, we cannot remain altogether silent on the topic to which they relate. Amid the great and general interest which it excites, we have not failed to form some conclusions on it; and we think that we owe to our readers not only a fair and liberal expression of our sentiments, but that they have a right to expect that we should put them in possession, as far as we are able, of the facts and truth of the case. We are not of opinion, however, that we should be able to convey to them any considerable information by garbled extracts from any of the pamphlets which have been published, or by speaking as to their individual merits: it is not eligible to treat the subject in that way; nor have we been able to meet with any single book on which we could, with much advantage, form an article that would convey our remarks. Yet, if we do not deceive ourselves, the state of Ireland has not been yet so fully developed as to preclude us from the hope of being able to make it better known.

With regard to Mr. Plunkett's speech, his eloquence and his sentiments are well known. It remains now to be seen what will be his *official* course. Lord Blesinton's and Sir H. Dudley's pamphlets are both written in a proper spirit; and, however we may differ from either, their works appear at least to be well meant, and have their value to those who look, as we have done, for information. We have thought on the question very anxiously; we have directed ourselves to all accessible sources of information in "the Green Island" itself as well as here; we have read and inquired; and we have endeavoured to exercise on the matter a cool judgment. Discussion will, at all events, be useful, and the present occasion seems not only adapted to it, but to demand it: for a change of measures can at no time, perhaps, be urged with so much hope of advantage, as while the evils generated by the existing state of things strikingly display themselves; and, dreadful and disgraceful as are the atrocities recently perpetrated, even they will not have been in vain, if they awaken the public mind to a right understanding of the condition of the country.

The disturbances in the south of Ireland seem to be immediately excited by the fall in the value of land, and of agricultural produce: but that fall has taken place generally throughout these countries, and does not elsewhere produce

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the same effects. It is to the abject condition of the Irish peasant, therefore, and the feelings thence arising, that we must look for the real causes of those atrocities in which we find him engaged. The subject divides itself into a great variety of considerations: but the most prominent, and perhaps the most important, is the smallness of the recompence of labor. The portion allotted to the laborer in that country is so scanty, that any dimunition of it reduces him to extreme distress: for he possesses no stock of comforts, in curtailing which the calamity may expend itself and leave behind an adequate provision for his necessities.* We shall make ourselves best understood by our readers, when we state that in some places in Ireland the wages of the laborer are sixpence per day; and they will be enabled to form a conception of his situation when they contrast it with that of the English laborer, who usually receives eighteen-pence per day in wages, and one shilling from the parish, besides an allowance to every individual of his family. The situation of the small farmer is not much better: he seldom enjoys a beneficial interest in his land; and the rent at which he holds it falls little short of the entire value of the produce, leaving him a pittance not more than is absolutely needed for bare sustenance. In some countries, chiefly the southern and western, a middleman is introduced, who takes the land from the proprietor, and portions it among under-tenants; and in these circumstances the actual cultivatior is worse off than when he holds, as it may be termed, *in capite*. The smallness of farms also constitutes a great evil: the system of husbandry is necessarily very bad under it; the implements of tillage are of the most clumsy and inadequate sort; either none or only the most wretched cattle are maintained; the various capacities of the soil must be entirely neglected; there is no room for a rotation of crops, and often seed of an inferior description is used: the farmer cannot find constant or sufficient occupation in his own holding; pride forbids him to work for another; and he becomes a pray to sloth and its train of evils. Many landlords, aware of it, have still found themselves unable to prevent this mischief, which has arisen within the last fifty years, and has augmented with the population. The holders of farms of thirty or forty acres made it a practice to subdivide them among their offspring. Each son, as he attained manhood and married, received his share; and thus families have

* "A number of peasants were lately seen re-digging a potatoe-field, in search of the few roots which remained in the ground."
"*Mayo Constitution.*"

swarmed.

swarmed, to eat potatoes and salt, and wear rags. It could not be expected that the landlord should interpose, for he could only do so by insisting that the parents on his estate should turn out of doors the children who were contented to "increase and multiply" on such terms.

This state of things is in itself sufficiently disastrous: but it receives extreme aggravation from the bad understanding which prevails between the peasantry and their superiors. In Ireland, little of that class of feelings exists in which the Poor-laws have origin. The policy of those laws may be erroneous: but they have had considerable operation in producing that attachment to law and authority, by which the English yeomanry are distinguished; while they have taught the landed proprietors that the people also have an interest in the soil. Little, also, of that spirit of mutual kindness and confidence prevails in Ireland, by which the various classes of the community in England are held together, and the inequalities of condition are reconciled. The proprietors and the tenantry of Ireland are for the most part distinct people, professing different religions, speaking different languages, and enjoying in an unequal degree the advantages of our constitution. The features of the Conquest remain fresh and entire; and the accumulated errors of the policy pursued towards Ireland have had the effect of preserving all the distinctions, by which the early inhabitants were divided from the invaders. So powerful has been the mischief, that it has counteracted the influence of Time itself; and after the lapse of seven centuries, the native Irish, who may be said to constitute the peasantry, regard the descendants of the English, who may be stated in the gross to fill the ranks of the gentry, with a suspicion and dislike little inferior to such as prevailed at the earliest period of the connection with England. If any doubts of the accuracy of our representation arise, let the nature and character of that system to which we attribute such pernicious efficacy be considered;—and let it be remembered that, at one time, it was a good plea in bar of an indictment for murder, that the deceased was mere Irish; that an Irishman could not sue, though he might be sued, in any court of justice; that a grant of letters of denization to a native was matter of high grace and favor; and that the total extirpation of the natives was unscrupulously recommended by some, who deemed confiscation and outlawry measures of imbecile lenity. The first settlements were made by needy and profligate adventurers, whose interests were directly opposed to those of the ill-fated land in which they fixed themselves; and, if it acquiesced in the rule of England, if its people were received within the pale

pale of law, the opportunity for gratifying their cupidity and ambition would have been lost. It was therefore their policy to harass and irritate those whom to reduce to peace and order was their ostensible object. They transmitted the most extravagant reports of the barbarism of the Irish; and grave historians have described the national character by a catalogue of the foulest and most odious vices. In vain did the victims of oppression appeal from the depositaries of power in Ireland to the English government: — their grievances were referred to the consideration of their task-masters, and again they betook themselves to arms. When, in the slow progress of things, some approaches to tranquillity were made, religious dissensions arose to supply new rancour to waning national animosity. The same people, who under colour of the papal supremacy had justified their original aggressions, now abjured its authority, and proclaimed the Reformation: but the apostles of the new creed appeared in the guise of tyrants and enemies, and it was universally rejected: — "the example alone of the English," says Hume, "was sufficient to render the Reformation odious to the prejudiced and discontented Irish." (Eliz. chap. 45.)

So completely, in the apprehension of the Irish, were the characters of stranger in its evil acceptation, Protestant and Englishman, identified, that up to this day the term Sassenagh is used indifferently for each. Some few of the Anglo-Irish, adhering to the old Faith, made common cause with the Irish defenders of papacy, and thus arose the bloody contest which has been intitled "*Bellum quindecim annorum.*" Thenceforth the persecution of the Irish was not left to the fortuitous rapacity or cruelty of individuals: for it received the solemn sanction of the legislature in those enactments, by which five-sixths of the population were subjected, under the denomination of Papists, to all the complicated penalties that human ingenuity could devise. Of the wisdom of proscribing any religious sect, we are at no loss to form an opinion: but the outrageous cruelty, which thus deprived nearly the entire inhabitants of a country of almost every natural right, can scarcely be characterized in terms of too unmeasured abhorrence. It is not necessary that we should detail the inflictions of the penal code: they were well adapted to create in the victims that sense of debasement, of which we see the effect in the abject penury of the Irish Catholic peasant. To the same source may be attributed the ferocity by which he is distinguished, when he shakes off the restraint of law in the perpetually recurring insurrections. Extreme wretchedness, national antipathy, and religious rancour engrafted on it, all contribute

contribute to exasperate him: his condition is that of a slave, and he takes a slave's revenge.

The importance of sustaining the spirit of the laborer is now so well understood, that we do not anticipate contradiction when we allege that those circumstances, which have caused the depression of it in Ireland, form one of the main causes of the hapless state of that country: but we fear that we shall not be equally successful in awakening our readers to a conviction of the ill consequences, which these same circumstances produced on the sentiments and dispositions of the upper classes. The truth is that such abuses, as those by which Ireland has been cursed, fall entirely without the sphere of ordinary apprehension; and the structure of society in that country has been so widely different from the happy frame of it in this, that the most inadequate conceptions of it are inevitably created. All information has, moreover, been derived by us from quarters not indifferent; and the People could only speak their discontents in the fearful language of insurrection: there existed for them no "safety-valve of the constitution." Protestants and Britons ourselves, we have a livelier sympathy with the settlers in the sister-isle, and receive with reluctance any impressions to their disadvantage: but it is nevertheless true that those penal laws, and the feuds arising from them, which debased and demoralized the Catholic, produced superciliousness and tyranny in the Protestant; and, while they caused misery in the tenant, they rendered his landlord callous to his sufferings and contemptuous of his feelings. We do not now intend to refer to the disgraceful rage of party-spirit which was exhibited by the Orange-associations: we mean that the gentry of Ireland seem wanting in proper feelings of compassion and tenderness for the suffering people around them; and that the landlords of Ireland do not appear to have that quick and lively regard for the welfare and happiness of those who live under them, as contra-distinguished with their own immediate interest, which does so much honor to the landlords of England. They are most unbecomingly slow to abate their rents; and it is our firm persuasion that to their tardiness much of the existing spirit of insurrection may be traced. The calamitous state of the small farmers in the south of Ireland might surely have been foreseen ere the commencement of their associations. — The great Provision-trade, which belonged to that part of Ireland chiefly, had almost entirely disappeared, and the Butter-trade had grievously declined; symptoms which should surely have been observed, while the great crash of the banks in the last year ought to have made a strong impression.

Charges

Charges of a still graver nature may be made against some proprietors. It has been known that in the haste to get rid of a disorderly and wretched tenantry, or, strange as it may seem, under the influence of violent religious and political animosity, a whole district has been depopulated; the inhabitants expelled from their dwellings, naked and hungry, exposed without remorse to the rage of the seasons; and, lest they should return to seek a temporary shelter beneath them, the roofs have been torn off their huts. In what do such acts differ from the worst outrages of the peasants, except in their being beyond the reach of the law? The mean estimation in which the laboring classes of Ireland are held is strongly evinced in the conduct observed towards them, and it is sometimes particularly remarkable in the Field: the horses trample the poor man's crop, and no sturdy farmer appears to threaten or remonstrate; the gates are flung open and the fences are prostrated at the bidding of the sportsmen: who evince no regard for the lives or limbs of any who may cross their way, but heedlessly jostle them, bestowing a brutal curse and too often a brutal blow. This tyranny on the one side produces such servility on the other, that if an Irish peasant meets in the garb of a gentleman even a perfect stranger, he crouches an obeisance: abroad, even in the most inclement season, he always presents himself uncovered; and, if any intimation of the rights imparted to him by the Constitution have reached him, still no thoughts of asserting them in resistance to the aggression of a superior enters his mind. While, however, his spirit is thus subdued, it is rendered savage; and the same treatment, which makes him cringe in the face of day, gives to his nocturnal violences their outrageous ferocity.

Besides all the other circumstances which tend to make the Irish peasant a bad citizen, the Revenue-laws come in for their share of effect; and the temptation to illicit distillation which they hold out is one of the greatest misfortunes now afflicting Ireland. The spirit of insubordination and the habits of violence, which it produces, are alone sufficient to explain the situation of the island: but few of our readers are aware of the extensive operation of this tremendous evil. They may form some idea of it when they learn that it appears, from returns made of the number of convictions in Ireland for the last four years, that nearly one-fourth of the whole arise from crimes connected with illicit distillation. Something has been said of the probability of the mischief being diminished by the use of smaller stills, and the consequent increase in the number of distilleries: but, while the duty on whiskey continues what it now is, the illicit trade will

will prevail. It is the creature of the existing system of taxation, and will cease only with it. The evils of that taxation present themselves on every side, but in no way does it operate more perniciously to the interests of society than in the fatal incentive to crime which is thus supplied. The greater part of the military force stationed in Ireland is employed more or less frequently in still-hunting, as it is termed, and the peasantry are necessarily involved in struggles with it. If the vices of smugglers are sufficiently apprehended, what shall be said of a system by which the great bulk of the population of a country is infected with them?

The penalties on persons convicted of purchasing or being found possessed of illicit whiskey are now sufficiently great; and surely they ought to be the chief object of the vengeance of the law, while the punishment of the parties detected in the production of the article should be far lighter than they are. It is an object of prime importance, more especially in Ireland, (where the law is so little loved,) to maintain a distinction between the *malum per se* and the *malum prohibitum*; and that very circumstance which has often operated to the aggravation of punishment, the prevalence of offences, does in truth palliate the guilt of the individual offender. These observations apply particularly to the peasantry. The consumers of their manufacture have hitherto been little exposed to chastisement, and take scarcely any blame to themselves for their encouragement of a traffic so ruinous to those who are engaged in it, both in its immediate and its remote consequences. The Irish gentry, from the highest to the lowest, are deeply chargeable on this head; and we have heard of magistrates carrying with them from a county-town that *Poteen*, for making which they had denounced on the peasant some of the highest punishments known to the law.

In our survey of the various causes of irritation which prevail in Ireland, we cannot be expected to omit Tythes. It has been argued that, if the peasant did not pay them, he would pay so much more rent: this may be controverted: but, even if it be admitted, we must consider that the shape in which a charge is imposed may materially affect its operation. Certainly, it would be very desirable to take from the payment of tythes the appearance of a direct contribution to an alien church: but this may be found more difficult than to diminish the severities attendant on their exaction, which we understand to be very great. The usual practice is to farm them to a proctor, who levies the utmost penny under color of law. The whole impost being made up of a multiplicity

plicity of small sums, this proctor is necessarily peremptory in requiring instant payment of each, as the trouble of the collection would be otherwise immense; and in this way tythe occasions the peasant an annoyance and grievance quite disproportioned to its intrinsic value.

The Church's portion is ascertained by persons who, as it is termed, *view* the crops, (see Sir H. B. Dudley's Address, &c. p. 12. *et seq.*) and make an assessment in money according to what they deem the value of the tythe. If the party conceives himself aggrieved, he may give the tythe-owner notice to *draw* his share in kind: but this notice must be served with formalities which an ignorant peasant can seldom exactly observe, and he is therefore, in effect, altogether at the mercy of the proctor. In the apportionment of tythe, altercations unavoidably arise, and the persons with whom it is to be adjusted are usually of a character more likely to increase and provoke than allay irritation. It might perhaps be possible to abate very much the mischief of the present system, by assigning to vestries the power of appointing persons to view and collect tythes, with a reasonable remuneration for the trouble, who should be required to give security, and to take an oath for the faithful discharge of their trust; and it would be proper that the owner of the tythes should have a veto on the nomination. The practice adopted in collecting the assessed taxes in Ireland might be imitated with advantage, and a reduction made on payment within a certain period. Premiums are sometimes more effectual than penalties, in which way costs now act: they are also a species of proceeding more agreeable to both parties; and in the present case this is a paramount consideration. This plan is not altogether our own device, for something very similar has been pursued in many northern parishes, without any legislative sanction, much to the comfort and advantage of all parties. The existing evil is that the class of men who now usually levy church-dues are not within the control of public opinion; and that, as they make the farming of them a trade, their minds become steeled against indulgence or forbearance. Yet such persons will most assuredly be employed, because they know how to levy more, and can therefore afford to pay more than others. The appropriator, also, is anxious to remove from himself not merely the odium but the real pain of a rigid exaction of his dues; while we are desirous, if the scheme which we have already proposed be deemed inexpedient, to procure for the poor peasant the benefit of both remaining with him. This might be accomplished by a restriction on the power of setting or leasing tythes: but to such

a mode it is to be feared the Church would be adverse, though something might be said of the advantage of protecting the ministry against the consequence of their own improvident alienations.

The method of setting off and recovering tythe being wholly determined by statute, no great objection can be made to the legislature's interposition to effect some change, like the first with regard to vestries which we suggested. An enactment such as the other that we contemplated may be deemed a more direct and exceptionable interference with church-property: yet precedents ample in number and nature for such an interference are supplied by our history. Even in our own times, many sufficiently strong and decisive present themselves. We may instance the 40th Geo. III. c. 23., by which the church is deprived of all tythe-agistment on barren cattle; an encroachment on its prescriptive rights much more violent than any that we have intimated. The 5th Geo. II. c. 12. and 33d Geo. III. c. 25., for encouraging the improvement of lands, may also be noticed; — and the 28th Geo. III. c. 29., by which it is enacted that for hemp only a tythe of five shillings per acre shall be paid. In quoting this last statute, we must remark how weak the reasons are by which it is supported, compared with those that may be adduced in favor of an enactment fixing a very small acreable tythe on potatoes, or freeing them from it altogether. In the northern counties of Ireland, none is claimed on them: but in the southern the demand is enforced with the most frightful consequences. Mr. Grattan specified the tythe on potatoes as one of the most fruitful causes of discontent; and those who know, as that eminent man knew, the baneful effects of the present system, will recognize the necessity of resorting for some modification of it to that supreme controlling power over the rights of all, with which the legislature is invested.

It is to be observed that from the north of Ireland, where no tythes are paid for potatoes and flax, (main articles of produce,) we hear little complaint of their pressure.

As far as the bulk of the population are concerned, the Irish church is not merely inefficacious to all the purposes of a religious establishment, but its existence, as its interests are now managed, tends to the exasperation of the worst passions of the human heart. Let us be understood throughout to direct our remarks only to the Irish establishment; and, with regard even to it, that our only aim is to suggest such alterations in the mode of its support as will conduce to its security and stability. We do not think that, if our propositions were adopted, the clergy would eventually lose in emolument

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one farthing; and they must inevitably be most desirable gainers in ease and tranquillity. Were the church poor, and the benefices as paltry as some in England, it would be necessary to proceed with caution lest they should be curtailed: but the possessions of the Irish church are ample, and the smallest of her bishoprics rates much higher than some of the English.

Before we take leave of this part of the subject, we must be permitted to notice the objection which presents itself to tythe in its original nature and institution, as a charge on land. The objection is that, however the cost of production may increase, the church continues to demand a tenth of the produce; the result of which is that the tythe in many places far exceeds the rent. A similar effect is observable in collegiate property, under the operation of the 18th Eliz.; which enacts that one-third of the old rent shall be reserved in corn, estimating a quarter of wheat at 6*s.* 8*d.*, and of malt at 5*s.* Lord Burleigh has been complimented for the sagacity of this device, but he only took a lesson from the Levites. It may be well to add that, of 37 insolvent petitions from Cork, recently filed within one fortnight in Dublin, 30 were from persons incarcerated for non-payment of tythes.

Of the causes creating disquiet in Ireland, and to which the present dreadful disturbances in the south may be attributed, we have spoken. We now come to the consideration of the specifics which in this urgent case it has been judged proper to adopt. These are the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the revival of the Insurrection Act. Long before the meeting of Parliament, a cry for this latter measure was raised: under erroneous impressions, some persons of certainly the purest intentions have yielded to it; even in quarters not unworthy of respect and consideration, an impatience of the slow but secure operation of the established laws has prevailed; and in Parliament these bills were carried on the mere credit of the present chief governor of Ireland. Of that distinguished nobleman we are disposed to think and speak with deference: but we apprehend that this was not a case in which his authority, or that of any individual, demanded the submission of private judgment which was made; and it is moreover to be observed that Lord Wellesley has not, in the dispatches laid before Parliament, any where distinctly given his sanction to those measures. Without disregarding the statement made by Lord Londonderry on this point, surely it behoved his Majesty's ministers to have had from the Marquis Wellesley an unequivocal expression of his sentiments: which, if neglected in the first instance, might have been procured during the progress of the bills. We

cannot doubt Lord Wellesley's assent to them, but it was important that he should have been heard in his own words, and that the degree of confidence which he had in the effect of the acts proposed should be made known, as well as his conception of the amount of the necessity demanding them: — a communication through a third person was not sufficiently satisfactory. Had Lord Wellesley, however, declared himself in the strongest terms, it should be remembered that he had been at the seat of government only one month when Parliament met; and that in that time, with all his energy and great powers of mind directed to the subject, seconded by the utmost zeal and anxiety, still he could scarcely have collected such overwhelming evidence, or have formed a judgment so definite, as to require us to reverse all the conclusions which had been formed on the experience of centuries. What *was* his judgment, we were not informed in determinate language: but the evidence which was before him has been, we may presume, given almost entire to the public. His Lordship's dispatches contain, however, no matter of importance which had not been previously stated in the newspapers. The vague and general *representations* of individuals we must lay entirely out of view, because we can place no reliance on them: it is to the facts that we must confine ourselves; and of them we have been taught the necessity of exercising the most rigid scrutiny. Throughout the course of the present disturbances, we have observed the extreme frequency not merely of exaggerated statements of the violence of the offenders *, but of the most impudent fabrications. Fear and horror may have the effect of causing danger to be over-rated, and the crimes perpetrated to be represented with features more malignant and ferocious than belonged to them: but in no such way is it possible to explain the manifold falsehoods, wholly without foundation, which have been so industriously circulated. They have indeed been invested

* Mr. Grant observed in his place in Parliament that it would be well if the Irish gentry would stay at home and conciliate their tenantry, instead of calling out for strong measures; and he took notice of the constant exaggeration by which a quarrel was represented as a riot, and a riot as an insurrection. We cannot mention this gentleman's name without offering him the humble meed of our commendation for his administration in Ireland: but let it be his higher praise that, during the entire course of it, there was not a single government-prosecution for libel. He eminently possessed the first qualification for governing a people, — their confidence.

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with all the appearances of verisimilitude: times and places have been assigned; and the names of the objects of the feigned aggressions have been given. Though these calumnies have been met by the most direct contradiction, they have nevertheless contributed to mislead the public mind; and to excite the apprehension that the tumultuary assemblage of suffering peasants is an organized insurrection, that their aim is not the intimidation of land-jobbers and tythe-proctors but revolution, and that the government itself is menaced. Even the corporation of the metropolis of Ireland, influenced by terrors thus raised, were said to have had it in contemplation to fortify their city with palisades, in order to guard against a sudden incursion of the foe: it was also actually stated that the Castle-gates were closed each day at four o'clock; and districts most profoundly peaceful were with so much confidence reported to be in commotion, that the members for one county (Mayo) thus traduced felt themselves called to bear witness to its perfect tranquillity.

Before we enter on some remarks which we propose to offer on the Insurrection-Act, we will quote an authority which on this subject must have great weight. On the 15th of December, at Limerick, where he presided under the Special Commission, Mr. Justice Moore is reported to have said "that he knew it was the opinion of many that the present laws were not strong enough, but he would say to such persons, Try the means in your hands, and see what effect they will have. Others may cry out for strong measures, but I am persuaded that if the existing laws are enforced with vigor no insurgents can stand before them." It may be necessary to apprize our readers that the Extraordinary Police Act has been from the first in force; and that by it the Lord Lieutenant is empowered to create in any disturbed barony an extraordinary police, consisting of a chief magistrate, clerk, chief constable, and fifty police-men, with horses. The Insurrection-Act does not provide any increase of force, but its effect is to subject the peasantry altogether to the discretion of the magistracy; and it creates a court of special sessions, on which it confers the power, immediately and without the intervention of a jury, of transporting for seven years all persons who between sunset and sunrise may be found out of their houses. It empowers any justice of peace, or *person deputed by a justice of peace*, to break open houses *during the night*, and to require all its inmates to present themselves; and it enacts that the possession of arms, after the issue of a notice requiring the surrender of them, shall be conclusive against the party. Such are the chief provisions of this statute, of which we deem it right

that the full extent should be understood. Ere the close of the present session of Parliament, its policy will be again discussed, and it is likely that every effort will be made to procure its re-enactment. Our first objection to it is general: we conceive that in Ireland summary proceedings of every kind are injudicious, because they have the effect of strengthening the popular repugnance to authority, and of promoting the belief so unhappily prevalent that the sole object of government is to secure the possessions and enjoyments of the rich, and that, to use a phrase current among the peasantry, "there is no law for the poor man." On this account we think that the wisdom of the late Ejectment Acts may be questioned. Under them, when only one year's rent is in arrear, the tenant may in thirty days be turned out of possession; and though this power applies only to holdings on which the reserved rent does not exceed twenty pounds, they are precisely the cases in which its operation in the points of view that we have taken must be most mischievous. We have been accustomed to consider the tardiness and circumspection, with which the old law proceeded to ejectment, as not less valuable than the security conferred by it on every man's dwelling. Both, it may be said, are attended with inconveniences; and the impregnability of the outer door to a civil process may be represented as an obstruction and delay of justice, which no doubt it often is. Objections of a similar nature may be made to most of the privileges by which the British citizen is distinguished from the subject of other states: but we love them notwithstanding, and should behold with regret the surrender of their inestimable benefits, though we might thus be relieved from their occasional abuse. The facility of ejecting tenants makes a landlord careless as to the character of those whom he receives as such: it diminishes his interest in their prosperity; and, exempting him from all participation in their ruin, it removes a most salutary check on his cupidity. He needs not fear to demand too high a rent: the experiment *may* prove profitable, and the risk is trifling: if for a short time it be paid, and if in the effort any little capital possessed by the tenant be expended, he may be forthwith turned adrift, and a new occupant put in his stead to run the same career.

Evils of a like kind flow from such laws as the Insurrection Act. When, by enactments of the nature which it contains, all the rights and privileges of the peasant are sacrificed to what the gentry deem their security, — when they may confidently look to the protection of an extraordinary police, and the unsparing application of force, — they fail to exert themselves as they ought to check the progress of discontent; no anxiety

anxiety prevails among them to arrest the evil in its growth, but they abandon their duties, as they seem recently to have done; and thus the very provision of violent remedies makes a resort to them necessary. It will, however, be urged in favor of the hasty process of the Insurrection Act, that the celerity of punishment increases its efficacy: this is undoubtedly true in the abstract: but there are peculiar circumstances which render it unadvisable in the present case, and over-rule that consideration. Immediate chastisement has somewhat of the appearance of vengeance under the impulse of passion; and the Irish peasant is apt to imagine that government is unfriendly to him. He has never tasted the satisfaction of enjoying rights and privileges; would it not be therefore well to let him feel it, and even in the hour of his offence against law to let him experience its benignant caution? If we desire not merely to allay insurrection for the moment, but to prevent the recurrence of it, we must seek to rule by other modes than that of terror: the only way to tranquillize the Irish is to conciliate them; and the only way to make them obey and respect law is by teaching them to love it. If the country is to be for ever held in subjection by the bayonet, we may now unscrupulously use it: but, if we look to the dominion of British law and British usage, we must in the day of trial shew that they are effectual to restrain the evil doer.

Our next ground of objection to the Insurrection Act is, that the violence of its invasion of the liberties of the citizen is not recompensed by its efficacy in affording any additional safeguard of much value. The provisions of the White-boy Act are sufficiently comprehensive to embrace every species of delinquency that is likely to arise; and the only real advantage conferred by the Insurrection Act is that, as culprits may be immediately transported, it is not probable that they will crowd the prisons: though even this advantage must be greatly abated by the necessity of detaining them till a number sufficient for embarkation is collected. We consider the clause, by which the mere fact of being found abroad between sunset and sunrise is made so highly penal, not only as abhorrent to the fundamental principles of the constitution, but as almost entirely useless. The Act is not intended to be enforced except in conjunction with the Extraordinary Police Act, and the power established by the latter must be able to grapple with the unlawful assemblies, if any exist. When there is a moral certainty of detecting men in acts *per se* criminal, there can be no use in punishing them merely on suspicion of designing to do an act intrinsically harmless. This is in legislation a very "prodigality of naughtiness." It appears

that there were recently in the gaol of Cork 240 persons charged with offences under the White-boy Act; and at the Special Commission sitting there, 30 persons had been capitally convicted on the 19th of February, the *third* day only of the sittings. How much more signal and complete is it desired that the vengeance of the law shall be?—Above all, it must be borne in mind that, from the hasty course prescribed by this Act, many cases must inevitably occur in which individuals otherwise wholly innocent fall within the letter of the law, and endure its heavy penalties. We need not dilate on the extensive exasperation which may thus be occasioned; or represent how the resentment of the relatives and friends of the sufferer may urge them to join the unlawful associations, or to what fearful acts of retaliation it may incite them:—we rather invite the consideration of our readers to the beneficial influence which even an erroneous acquittal on a trial, according to the usual admirable forms, may produce. So peculiar is the state of Ireland, that the disappointment of justice, elsewhere highly prejudicial, may there be esteemed sometimes most useful: for, after such an acquittal, the party himself, and all who are acquainted with the facts of the case, will naturally reflect on the tenderness and caution of the tribunal which will not proceed on bare presumptions, but yields to the accused the benefit of the smallest uncertainty or failure in the proof of his guilt. So, when the event is adverse, it will be said that the trial was a fair one, that each circumstance in the evidence against the culprit was scrupulously examined before it was admitted, and that the whole chain has been clearly made out. The calmness of the Judge, his charge to the jury, his exhortations, and the solemnity of the whole spectacle, have also their share of effect, and present a strong contrast to the angry precipitation of the Insurrection-Act bench of Justices.

Strong as is the probability arising from their very nature, that the extraordinary powers of this Act must be productive of oppression, we cannot hesitate to form the most confident presumption on that head when we consider the description of individuals invested with them. Generally speaking, in all cases of popular disorder, the local magistracy are perhaps not the fittest persons to be employed in suppressing it: their province is rather, by the timely and discreet exertion of their ordinary powers, to *prevent* disturbance; and it is for that purpose that their connections with the people may be serviceable. If they be not concerned, more or less remotely, on one side or the other in the agitations, their apprehensions from the violence of the turbulent indispose them to judge the offenders with due equanimity and impartiality; and even were

were they able to free their minds from all passion and prejudice, they still could not escape imputation. The antient rule, which forbad any man to act as a judge in the county of his birth or residence, though conceived in a spirit of too much jealousy, was not wholly devoid of prudence.

It is not, however, until we consider the ignorance and the violence of many who in Ireland bear the Commission of the Peace, that we can rightly understand the tendency of the Insurrection-Act. The class of persons to which it is there intrusted is very different from that on which the Commission is conferred in England; and on this point we may appeal to the authoity of Lord Redesdale, who held the Irish seals a few years since. In the absence of many of the greater proprietors, every petty squire who barely possesses the qualification, (if it be always possessed,) every agent and sub-agent, every one who attempts to assume "the port of a gentleman," is a Justice of Peace; and in consequence of the disorders so frequently recurring, many inferior officers in yeomanry corps have also been included in the commission. Each of these petty Justices is anxious to recommend himself to the government: the most trivial disorders are magnified into insurrections; and the ordinary turbulence of the lower classes is styled sedition: but the industry, alertness, and activity of the magistrate are studiously displayed. In districts where party-feuds prevail, the Orange faction receives countenance and support from those to whom the administration of justice is confided, and too often numbers them among its brethren. A pamphlet written by a gentleman lately a magistrate for the counties of Down and Armagh, Mr. O'Hanlon, which appeared some time ago, and to which we shall soon more particularly refer, opens an important view of the magistracy in a part of Ulster. Far, therefore, from approving an extension, whether of a temporary or a perpetual nature, of the already large powers of the Commission, we should not repine to see the exercise of them subjected to a more immediate and efficient control; and at the Quarter Sessions especially, which have been well designated "the poor man's court," we might desire that the assistant-barrister should be something more than a mere chairman. Were responsibility exclusively attached to him, who could be more readily brought to account than the Justices, we cannot doubt that the administration of the law would be liable to less exception. We would at least recommend that the effect of reviving the old distinction, for which the quorum clause was framed, should be tried; and that the number of those who are included in it should be extremely limited.

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One of the most peculiar features in the existing disturbances is, that many of the actors in them are persons of reputation hitherto entirely unblemished. At the Special Commission held at Limerick in December last, Mr. Baron Mac Clelland, in charging the jury on a case in which evidence of the good character of the prisoner had been adduced, took occasion to remark that "few of those arraigned before him had not been able to prove their morality and respectability prior to the acts with which they were charged;" and the late Solicitor-general (Bushe) asked a gentleman who was produced for a like purpose, "Whether he did not know that many had engaged in the present associations who had previously demeaned themselves peacefully and honestly?" The reply was emphatically, "Yes, I do know it: it is certainly true." This fact we consider as of high importance, with reference to the means which should be employed to bring back the disturbed districts to peace and good order. If those who are concerned in the disturbances were persons of profligate manners and abandoned principles, force might be the best instrument to apply, and fear the only feeling on which it would be requisite to work: but, as it is, means of another sort should be used, and passions of another nature addressed. We may assure ourselves that just causes of discontent do exist, or that such are with some colour of reason apprehended to exist, when we find that it is entertained by persons heretofore honest, industrious, and peaceable. However violent are the excesses into which the fury of present exasperation may betray them, we find that it is idle to talk of the inherent depravity and savage nature of the offenders: they act under a frightful delusion; we should therefore set ourselves anxiously to remove, as far as possible, any real grievances that may be discovered, and to dissipate the prejudices and misconceptions which may be superadded. Our object should be not merely to avenge and repress outrages, but to remove the motives which prompt them: it is at the root of the evil that we should strike: "If you would destroy sedition, expel (says Bacon) the causes which excite sedition." We should remember that the speediest are not necessarily the best remedies, and that it behoves us to take heed lest, in our haste to remove the present evil, we leave behind the seeds of future disorder. If we desire to establish happiness and peace in Ireland, we must reconcile the people to the existing order of things; and to do this, we must effect such changes as justice and humanity demand. Those which lie within the scope of legislation it must adopt, and public opinion must enforce those which range beyond that sphere.

Some

Some commutation of tythes must take place, rents must be reduced, the peasant must be furnished with means to attain comforts, education must be promoted, Catholic-emancipation must be conceded, and the spirit of conciliation diffused by government throughout the entire range of its influence; and till these measures shall produce their effects, any disorders that may occasionally arise must be met by strong but not violent correctives.

Having shewn that the penal code has essentially contributed to reduce the people of Ireland to their present calamitous situation, by the animosities which it engendered, and by extinguishing the pride and destroying the independence of the peasantry, while it generated in the upper classes a disregard for them which operated to their yet farther debasement, we can have no difficulty in inferring that a total and entire repeal of that code is one of the first and most important measures which the interests of Ireland demand. It has indeed been sometimes said that, the more grievous penalties of the penal code having been repealed, the bulk of the Catholic population of Ireland is entirely unaffected by those which remain. Now it is true that of that population the portion is immeasurably minute to which many of the existing restrictions can by possibility apply: but it is not true that those members of a sect whom adventitious circumstances prevent from feeling experimentally, in their own persons, the penalties imposed on the body, are not galled by them. If they have not a direct, the penal laws have an indirect operation on all Catholics in all classes: they fix a stigma on them: they constitute a memorial of their subjugation, and of their wrongs; and to those evils, in abating which legislation can be directed circuitously alone, they add the venom of religious distinction. The repeal of them would be a pledge of the spirit of conciliation in which government was resolved to act: it would give the Catholic a hope: he would exult in his admission to a full and unqualified participation in the constitution of his country: its authorities would have his confidence: he would be proud to shew himself amenable to them; and with the blessings of equal law the great natural advantages of the country would rapidly be developed. Let it not be imagined that any policy short of emancipation will tranquillize Ireland; or that, could any such allay the discontents of the Catholics, it would be effectual to restrain the domination of the Anti-catholic factions. The mischief has been too inveterate, and of too much virulence, to be easily removed: an entire change of system is necessary. If it be desired to produce an oblivion of the past, the statute-book must retain no traces of antient animo-

animosities: if it be sought to unite all his Majesty's Irish subjects in concord and amity, those enactments by which they were and are divided must be wholly rescinded.

In corroboration of our statements with regard to the operation of the popery-laws, we may mention that in those counties of Ireland in which any considerable part of the population is Protestant, (comprehending in that term Dissenters of all denominations,) the condition of the labourer is very much better than in other counties. Down, Antrim, Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Derry, have a mixture of Catholics and Protestants, but not a dozen Catholic families of rank or property. The peasantry of the other counties is almost entirely Catholic, and in the south and west are some proprietors and gentry of that persuasion. These facts furnish a key to the existing state of things. It is found, as we might expect, that in the north, where the Catholic peasants "have not gentry to protect them," (as Mr. Wakefield states,) "atrocities arising from party-spirit are most frequent; and that in the south and west, where the condition of the poor is most abject, such outrages as desperate penury incites are most prevalent."

After all that has been said at various times on the general argument in favor of Catholic-emancipation, we do not think that much remains to be urged on it; nor do we find that in either House of Parliament, when the question was last agitated, any new ground of opposition was taken. On the contrary, we were happy to remark that many of the old objections were abandoned, and that the tone of the opponents of the measure (especially in the House of Commons) was much lowered. The doctrine on which they chiefly insisted was that Catholics must necessarily aim at subverting the establishment; to which it was well answered by Mr. Plunkett:

"He did not think that the Catholics would subvert all those rights which they enjoyed — the security of life — of property — the advantages of a free constitution, and the dignity of being members of a great community, in order to obtain a mitre and lawn-sleeves for their priests. [Hear, hear, hear!] The alliance between church and state was founded on no such principle. The Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Peel) was too good a statesman not to know that the connection of the two establishments was founded on a policy of the highest nature. It was a connection beneficial to every man, without reference to his religious profession. No man felt his religion degraded, because that religion was not the established one. But it was a very different consideration if that religion was proscribed — if its members were degraded into an excluded cast — if they were made an exception in the dispensations of a free constitution — if they were to be

be told that disqualification was the irrevocable doom of them and their posterity —

"*Nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.*"

He would ask the Right Honourable Gentleman to study such a state of disqualification and contempt in the book of human nature, and then answer whether it were possible that millions thus treated could be satisfied? [Hear, hear, hear!]"

We cannot doubt that any jealousy entertained towards the Protestant establishment will abate as the more invidious distinctions are removed; and surely, when admitted to a community of rights and privileges, the Catholics must lose the now prevailing sense of their separate existence as a degraded sect. "Is it," said Sir James Mackintosh, "to be supposed, that by giving to the better orders of the Catholic people motives for adhering more strongly to the constitution, the legislature will endanger the constitution?" In representing Catholics as unfit to fill judicial stations, Mr. Peel seems to have pursued his favorite doctrine to an extreme that formed an inconsistent part of a discussion, the spirit and temper of which were so satisfactory. When asked to define, with some sort of precision, the dangers which he apprehended, that gentleman replied that

"He was entitled to claim the opportunity of serious consideration. For the sake of argument, he would admit that there might, perhaps, not exist at the present moment any of that danger against which the laws which it was now sought to repeal were intended to guard. When, however, he was called upon to take an irrevocable legislative step, was it not fair that he should be allowed to consider the past — not for the purpose of reviving any hostile feelings, which ought to be for ever quelled, but to enable him to judge how far dangers similar to those which had formerly menaced might be expected in future? It was said by the friends of Catholic-emancipation, that when the Acts of the reign of Elizabeth were passed, there was danger to the Protestant establishment, arising from the claim of the Pope, not only to spiritual, but to temporal controul. It was said, that in the reign of Charles the Second there was another danger, arising from the monarch calling to his councils, against the existing law, persons of the Roman Catholic persuasion. It was said, that in the reign of James the Second there was another specific danger, arising from the professed attachment of that king to the Catholics and their principles. In the reign of William the Third it was said that another kind of danger existed from the Catholics. The power of Louis the Fourteenth also, operating in alliance with a party in this country, was described as a source of distinct danger. If, therefore, at five different periods, five distinct kinds of danger were allowed to have existed by those who now advocated the cause

cause of the Catholics, was not he (Mr. Peel) justified in conceiving it possible, that even after the lapse of ages, some other danger might arise of a character quite as formidable as any of those which had preceded it?"

Parliamentary Debates, 28th February, 1821.

We have quoted this passage at length, because we desire to lay before our readers the result of the *serious consideration* of the great advocate of the Anti-catholic party; and to shew how *strong*, and *distinct*, and *instant* is the apprehension of danger by which he feels warranted in his endeavors to perpetuate the exclusion of his Catholic fellow-subjects from the most estimable privileges of our polity. We cannot sufficiently admire the complacency with which this gentleman appeals, in justification of his alarm, to the sympathy which he finds in the fury of the Reformation; in the monstrous delusion of Titus Oates's plot; during the struggle with the High Prerogative; amid the ferment of the Revolution; and while the Protestant settlement was yet insecure!

Much of the repugnance to Catholic-emancipation may be attributed to a misapprehension of the political power which it would confer. Catholics now possess the elective franchise, and might nearly as well attempt to injure the Establishment through their nominees in Parliament, as if they were themselves eligible to sit there. They may, also, hold the highest rank in the army and navy; and their influence, if evil, might surely be exerted more injuriously over the men who are habituated to obey and respect them, than it could possibly be in the councils of the nation, where they would be subject to distrust and opposition. The *Establishment* is now, therefore, in as much peril as emancipation would leave it; and we might even say, it is now in greater peril, though we think that much exaggeration has prevailed on this point. We cannot agree with those who talk of the English church being in any jeopardy from the Catholics, or who represent the Irish Establishment as precarious, when we consider that the proprietors and gentry are all, except a small fraction, Protestant. Who is so visionary as to apprehend a revolution of property in Ireland? yet it is only such a revolution that could subvert the Establishment. The physical strength of Ireland is, indeed, Catholic: but it is at our option to attach it to the state, and consequently to the church which that state upholds, by ties abundantly powerful. Such, however, has not been the aim of the policy hitherto adopted; and even some of the individuals, who have most loudly proclaimed the existing danger, have sought to augment it by provoking discontent and fomenting division. We beg to suggest

suggest a comparison between the real and the present evils which we have had occasion to shew, in the course of our observations, have arisen from and are perpetuated by the existing statutes, and the remote and wholly conjectural dangers which are urged in opposition to their repeal.

Some of the provisions of Mr. Plunkett's bill were, perhaps, liable to exception; and, among others, the clause requiring an oath from Catholic clergymen ordained prior to its enactment seems to be such: but the details of the measure are of very subordinate importance, and, if the principle of it were decided, might be adjusted without difficulty. Within the last few years, much change of opinion has taken place among Catholics, respecting the ecclesiastical regulations under which it may be hoped to procure their admission within the pale of the constitution. It may, however, be supposed that they would not appear forward to embrace them; and that many, who would cheerfully and gratefully submit to such restrictions as those that were created by Mr. Plunkett's bill, would deem silence prudential while it was depending. When this circumstance and the nature and extent of the proposed restrictions are considered, it will perhaps be admitted, that the expression of satisfaction by the Catholic body was beyond expectation strong and loud.

Mr. Plunkett's speech, on moving for a committee in the last spring, is particularly distinguished by an argument founded on Lord Bacon's doctrine, that "by the law of England the subject that is natural-born hath a competency or ability to all benefits whatsoever;"—whence he inferred that it was incumbent on the adversaries of the measure which he recommended to shew why it should not be adopted. He said;

"It was the right of the natural-born subject to be capable of being selected to all the trusts and offices of the state; it was the right of the sovereign to possess the power of that selection without exclusion. The capacity to select in the sovereign, and to be selected in the subject, was the distinction of the free monarchy of England. *Exclusion was an upstart republican principle of modern growth. It invaded the prerogatives of the crown — it wrested the sceptre from the king's hand — it was only to be recognized in those lawless associations founded on a principle of lawless exclusion, where loyalty was dared to be made a condition depending on the continuance of that exclusion which proscribed millions of the king's subjects.* [Hear, hear, hear!] *Such, he repeated, were the original fundamental principles of the British constitution.*"

In juxta-position with this reasoning of Mr. Plunkett, we would place the extraordinary declarations of Lord Manners and

and Mr. Saurin, the Chancellor and the (late) Attorney-General of Ireland, as detailed by Mr. O'Hanlon in petitions presented to both Houses of Parliament, and since published in the pamphlet already mentioned:

"The Attorney-General said, *that your petitioner, in professing himself favourable to Catholic-emancipation, under any modification whatever, 'sought the overthrow of the government,' and that all those, Vetoists as well as Anti-vetoists, who promoted that measure, (including in this description, by name, some of his Majesty's ministers, many members of your Honourable House, and many of the highest political characters in the empire,) were alike seeking the overthrow of the government; and did alike found their arguments upon the principle of French Jacobinism.* He praised the Orange-associations of this country; said that their association and their oath of *conditional* allegiance were *perfectly* constitutional, and perfectly conformable to the principles of the settlement, at the period of the Revolution: that allegiance was only due to the crown so long as it was Protestant, and upheld the Protestant establishment.

"That your petitioner, in two interviews with the Lord Chancellor, each of considerable length, represented to his Lordship the state of parties in the neighbourhood of his residence — the participation of *many* magistrates in those local factions, and their public declarations of approbation of them. Your petitioner stated to his Lordship the particulars of his conversation with the Attorney-General; and his Lordship declared, in like manner, but with a politeness suitable to his more polished character, that he considered 'the Orange-associations, and their conditional oath of allegiance' *perfectly* 'constitutional,' and professed himself of a different opinion from some of the Judges who had pronounced them to be illegal. His Lordship declared, that he did *not disapprove* of magistrates avowedly Orangemen sitting as Judges on trials of offences, where persons of that association, as such, *were prosecutors or traversers.*" (Petition, p. 71.)

On the principles involved in these declarations of Lord Manners and Mr. Saurin, Mr. O'Hanlon thus comments in a letter to his Lordship:

"The justification of a '*conditional allegiance,*' adopted as the bond of certain secret associations, is not less rash, nor less at variance with the best principles of our constitution: it is a doctrine incompatible with the safety and permanence of any state. Hostility to the claims of the Roman Catholic people is the sole object of those associations: it is only the legislature, the King, Lords, and Commons, that can grant the emancipation prayed for, it is therefore the legislature which it is sought to coerce. It is against the power of the state that those societies are marshalled. But if we are relieved from the apprehension of revolution, by their limited powers, and the watchfulness of Parliament, which has prevented the extension of those associations to other parts of the

the empire, yet are we, in this country, kept in continual alarm, by the hostility they exhibit and excite. The minds of our people are exasperated by the array of angry factions, and the greatest crimes are become of familiar contemplation. One party is rendered habitually arrogant under the impunity it experiences, while the other is driven into counter-associations, in despair of legal redress, and as the only remaining refuge against the detail of vulgar oppression. After centuries of misgovernment, — after all the objects for which a reckless, ruthless domination, would have sought to justify its flagitious principles have passed away — is it not matter of astonishment, that any man assuming the character of a statesman can be found to breathe a wish for the perpetuation of so detestable a system?" (P. 34.)

Mr. O'Hanlon's pamphlet consists chiefly of details connected with the Chancellor's conduct towards him; which is important, however, greatly beyond the interest of the individual, as giving direct evidence of the spirit of the local Irish administration. It is indisputable that an unlimited discretion in the choice of Justices of the Peace is vested in the custodee of the great seal: but, like all other powers known to the constitution, it must be exercised under responsibility; and in this particular case it seems to have been carried to a stretch of prerogative highly critical to the independence of the magistracy. We are persuaded that in England no gentleman holding the Commission would have been visited in the same manner and degree, on a secret accusation of which all examination was denied, as well as all knowlege of the persons who preferred it, except the Chancellor's admission that "he had no doubt they were actuated by jealousy under a sense of inferiority to Mr. O'Hanlon!" (See Petition, p. 72.) It is not our place or duty to go into farther particulars; and we shall content ourselves with saying that much light will be thrown on the state of parties in Ireland by a perusal of this gentleman's pamphlet, and that we apprehend many of our readers will, on looking over the documents there inserted, agree with him in the opinion that "local prejudices alone are not the cause of the evil, but that the impulse has been given from high official stations." (P. 39.)

In a review of Irish affairs, it may seem strange not to take notice of the Orange-associations: but on the present occasion they do not appear to have been connected with the disorders to which we have chiefly directed our remarks; and we would fain trust that the subject is at last well understood in quarters of the highest influence. We believe, indeed, that a late visit to that portion of his dominions has opened the mind of the illustrious individual at the head of the government, to a conviction of the wrongs and sufferings of Ireland.

It is even certain, we conceive, that he was at no time much impressed with contrary sentiments: but, unless he sanctions those measures of legislative relief which have been so often recommended, little advantage will be derived from his benevolent dispositions: because the factions in Ireland (as we have before said) have been so long countenanced, that nothing short of those measures will convince them that government is earnest in its desire to extinguish them. In every event, it will be necessary to guard against the activity of that "jealous and exclusive spirit," by which the concessions already made by the legislature have been in a great measure deprived of their salutary influence, and by which the wishes of the sovereign himself will be thwarted. The accession of Lord Wellesley to the government of Ireland is calculated to give hope, for, in the enlargement and elevation of his mind, may be found some guarantee against the continuation of the sordid and narrow policy by which that country has been afflicted: but the host of prejudices which exists, and which is strengthened by the most active misrepresentation, renders the speculation a very anxious one; and our doubts are increased by reflecting on the strange perversion which seems to possess the minds of English statesmen as to the management of Ireland.* Far from appealing with exultation, which has been sometimes done, to the list of illustrious men who have been just to Ireland, we recollect with humiliation how many have been her foes. We are unacquainted with any subject, indeed, on which the errors of the understandings of men have been more disgraceful; and, in our eyes, to abet the system of misrule under which Ireland has suffered is a blemish on political reputation, such as it needs the most splendid endowments to countervail.

We may add that, dreadful as is the existing state of things, and extreme as is now the destitution of the Munster peasantry in particular, we must (we fear) anticipate miseries yet greater from information which has reached us that tillage is neglected, that the late potatoe-crop is deemed a failure, and that no preparations are making for procuring early potatoes for the ensuing season. — The noble subscription, however, for the relief of sufferers in Ireland, now so rapidly accumulating in this country, gives us some consolation with regard to their prospects, and excites our just pride in such a proof of the prompt beneficence of Englishmen; who have always shewn, but who within the last 25 years have furnished the most extraordinary evidence, that they never fail to sympathize

* Spencer, Cecil, Clarendon, Strafford, Davies, Cromwell, &c.

in

in affliction when its existence has been proved to them; and who, when they thus feel it, instantly endeavour to alleviate it by the most active measures and the most unbounded generosity.

ART. IX. *Sir Andrew Wylie, of that Ilk.* By the Author of the "Annals of the Parish," &c. 3 Vols. 12mo. 1*l.* 1*s.* Boards. Edinburgh, Blackwood; London, Cadell. 1822.

OF the "Annals of the Parish," we have already spoken; (Rev. for November last;) and we have now to remark that the tale before us will not disgrace the same paternity. It does not indeed necessarily happen that, in works of fiction, the subsequent efforts of an author are improvements on his first, because fancy is an exchequer which is by no means inexhaustible, and reiterated drafts sometimes diminish and impoverish it: — but, in the present instance, Sir Andrew Wylie is rather an improvement on his predecessors: for his biography has more the appearance of a regular and systematic story, and exhibits in its several parts more of symmetry and proportion than either "The Ayrshire Legatees" or the "Annals of the Parish." While we are making this acknowlegement, however, we cannot allow it to be unqualified; since the skilful construction of a plot does not seem to be the forte of this agreeable writer, and he is more at home in distinct sketches and insulated portraitures than in combination and grouping. Many of his characters are happily conceived, and are complete as to their delineation: but in their actual agency, when they are thrown into contact with other personages, and take their part in the business and bustle of the narrative, they appear to fall off. It is obviously one thing to paint characters well, moulding and combining with skill and judgment the elements which compose them, — and another to assign to them an harmonious and appropriate action in strict *keeping*, and in exact accordance with the nature of the piece and the scope of the author. The two things in fact require very different talents, and we are not sure that they do not disturb and interfere with each other: for the author who is conscious of his power in drawing portraits is too apt to obtrude them frequently on us, to stop the progress of his story by dwelling on minute lineaments and peculiarities of character, and to bestow a coloring too detailed and circumstantial on minor and inconsiderable agents. If we were permitted to suggest our own conceptions of a sort of *beau idéal* in this style of writing, it would be the coalition

of the two faculties, in which the general outline of the leading propensities or dominant humors of the principal persons would be gradually unfolded, not by the hand of the author, but by their own participation in the passions, perplexities, and vicissitudes of the plot to which they contribute. This, indeed, would be next to impossible with inferior artists: who would be too much disposed, as they went along, to modify and change their first conceptions of a character to suit their own convenience; and thus to break up its unity and consistency, in order to adapt it to the fluctuating and changeful events of their fiction.

Another little deduction, which we feel obliged to make from the just measure of praise in so many other respects due to this work, is the general improbability of its main story, as far as it regards the progress and fortunes of the hero. The writer has, in our opinion, exercised his sovereignty over this individual with a degree of caprice which far transcends the legitimate power of authors over their intellectual progeny; and Wylie, in his youthful pranks, exhibits nothing of the suppleness and pliancy of character, not to say low cunning, which it has been found convenient to give him in maturer life, when he renders himself subservient to the humors and by degrees necessary even to the existence of Lord Sandyford. If we mistake not, we discern occasionally a wide departure from the ingenuousness which, from the preliminary sketches of Andrew, we expected to see remaining among the prevailing traits of his habits and dispositions. There is also, we think, a gross improbability in the apparent facility with which Andrew becomes a constant guest at the Earl's table: as well as something very inartificial and clumsy in bringing Lady Sandyford to the precise spot where Mr. Ferrers was in the act of dispatching himself with a pistol, in order that at the very same instant the Dowager Lady Sandyford and Dr. Trefoil should be walking there. This, however, is minor criticism; and works of this description attain their ends if they recreate the languid or occupy the idle hour, without inculcating any lesson which virtue or modesty would disown.

We do not undertake to give either an analysis or an abstract of the story: but it would be injustice to this promising disciple of the Waverley school not to exhibit a specimen of his powers, both as to style and as to that graphic delineation of character which we have already ascribed to him. The family-mansion of Chastington-Hall, (the seat of the Sandyford family,) and the sketch of one of its inmates, will serve as an adequate sample of each of those talents.

'Chasting-

'Chastington-hall, the principal seat of the Sandyford family, was one of those fine old mansions, which are only to be seen in England, and which combine, with the antique grandeur of the baronial castle, the cheerful conveniences of the modern villa. It was erected in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the airy pinnacles, turrets, and tracery of the Gothic style, were first attempted to be assimilated to the symmetry of classic architecture.

'The court-yard was entered by a stately portal, surmounted by a clock in a templar edifice, crowned with a dome, in the form of an earl's coronet; and the quadrangle of the court, in the centre of which a marble-fountain threw up water from the shells of mermaids and tritons, was surrounded by an arcade. Numerous doors opened from this arcade to the lower range of apartments, and a spacious marble-staircase, richly adorned with allegorical paintings, in the taste of Charles the Second's time, ascended from the court to splendid suites of galleries and chambers, all furnished in that costly and massive style which accorded with the formal pageantry of the magnificent courtiers of the Stuarts.

'The situation was chosen with admirable taste and judgment. The mansion occupied the summit of a gentle rising ground, in the middle of an extensive park, naturally commanding a wide expansive prospect; and the approach was by a superb avenue of beech-trees, which seemed to droop their branches in salutation, as their master, towards the close of the day, was driven rapidly towards the portal.'—

'The carriage drove in to the foot of the grand staircase, where the servants were assembled to receive him. The men were, for the most part, grey-headed, and in their best liveries; but, although the colours were the same, the fashion of the clothes was not in so spruce a taste as those of their London compeers; and some of them, instead of smart white cotton stockings, *wore their legs* decently clothed in grey worsted. The household-appearance of the women was no less peculiar. They were likewise dressed in their gayest attire, but rather in the orderly Sabine simplicity of the grange and farm, than in that buxom neatness that characterizes the full-formed female domestics, belonging to those seats of the nobility which the families are still so patriotic as to visit regularly in summer, like the swallows and cuckoos.

'But we should be guilty of unpardonable incivility towards Mrs. Valence, the housekeeper, were we to allow a personage of her importance to be dismissed from our account of the Earl's reception, without some special and discriminative marks of our regard, particularly as his Lordship himself shewed, by the most courteous deference, the high esteem in which he held her character; and the equally great satisfaction with which he was persuaded, at the first glance, she had, on all occasions, upheld the dignity and consideration of the family. She was a tall and ample personage, with a gentle oscillation of the head, which seemed rather to indicate a lofty sense of her own supremacy, than the infirmity of a slight paralytic affection. She stood on the third

step of the stair, in the stately superiority of a full suit of dark-brown rustling double-tabinet, of which the anstinted flemness, and manifold ruffle cuffs, bore testimony to the taste and prodigality of the mantua-makers of other times; a vast well-starched kerchief souffle expanded her bosom into swan-like amplitude; and her hair was not only highly frizzled and powdered, but sustained a spacious structure of lace, muslins, catgut, and ribbons, the very wiry skeleton of which was sufficient to have furnished iron for the shackles of more than twenty perjured lovers in these degenerate days. Her hands and arms were invested with cambric gloves, as pure as the napery which it was her pride and delight, once more before she died, to give out that morning to old Corkly, the butler, for the use of her noble master; and her feet were in none of those slip-slop things that are only fit for the bed-chamber, but decorously installed in high-heeled red Morocco shoes, adorned with knots of white ribbon, so affluent that they attracted the attention of his Lordship, as she conducted him through the picture-gallery to the principal drawing-room, and he could not refrain from complimenting her, even at the expence of a pun, in having such handsome beaux (*bows*) at her feet.'

We subjoin part of a dialogue between the hero and a whimsical old baronet, to whom the former introduces himself in order to obtain his consent to the marriage of his daughter with Mr. Mordaunt, a friend of Lord Sandyford; a mission which he undertakes (such, it seems, is the universality of Wylie's talents) in behalf of that gentleman, though with some violation of probability and decorum.

'Andrew, when shewn into the Baronet's parlour, was rather startled at his appearance. Sir Thomas was reading in an arm-chair, with his feet on the fender; his clothes had been hastily huddled on — a condition that could not be altogether fairly attributed to having hurriedly dressed himself on account of the sharpness of the weather, for in all seasons he breakfasted in that state, and sat till about twelve o'clock. His stockings were loose, his knees unbuttoned, his neckcloth untied, and a slovenly grey duffle morning-coat carelessly invested the generality of his figure; while an old fur-cap had succeeded his night-cap, and was destined, when the sun passed the meridian, to be supplanted in its turn by a wig.

'"Well, friend," said he to Andrew, looking over his shoulder as he entered the room, "what are your commands?"

'"I hae something that I would say to you," replied our hero; and he glanced at the venerable Miss Lucretia, who was sitting on the opposite side of the fire, busily employed in examining the weekly bills of the family. This look, if Sir Thomas had observed it, was meant to intimate a wish that the lady might be requested to favour them with her absence; but it was unnoticed, and Andrew continued, "I believe, sir, ye hae some acquaintance with Mr. Mordaunt."

'"I know

'"I know the gentleman," replied the Baronet, closing the book, and looking from under his spectacles as if he expected something interesting.

'"He's a worthy gentleman," said Andrew, "and I am sure has a great respec for you, and would do ony thing to oblige you in his power."

'"Hem!" ejaculated the Baronet; and Miss Lucretia looked askance from her household-bills towards the sly advocate. "But what's the drift of all this, young man?" inquired Sir Thomas, laying his book on the table, and taking off his spectacles.

'"Nothing particular, Sir Thomas; but only as he's a good frien' to me, I wish him weel, and would fain hope that things are no past remedy between him and you; for if that's the case, he'a a gone dick — a dead man, as the saying is, and I doubt his death-ill will lie at your door, Sir Thomas."

'The Baronet looked in some degree of amazement; and Miss Lucretia, in her turn, glanced her inquisitive eyes first at our hero, and then on her brother.' —

'"What's your name?" inquired the Baronet.

'"My name's Andrew Wylie."

'"And did Mr. Mordaunt send you to speak on the subject to me?" resumed Sir Thomas.

'"No, sir; he was confounded when I offered to come; but better to hae a finger off than ay aching. There was nae need that he should pine ony langer in pain, or you, Sir Thomas, live in anxiety, lest Miss Julia and him should rin awa' to Gretna-Green; for the sic like has been before. I'm sure this sensible leddy here kens that ye're running a dreadful risk of an elopement."

'"I know nothing about it," exclaimed Miss Lucretia, with an indignant snort.

'"Nae offence, madam, I hope," replied Andrew; "but I'm vera sure ye wouldna, ony mair than Sir Thomas himsel, like to see Miss Julia and Mr. Mordaunt jehuing awa' in a chaise and four, and you and her father flying like twa desperate tigers after them, and no able to catch them."

'"Why, friend," said the Baronet, "this seems to be a very singular interference on your part — I don't understand it. How came Mr. Mordaunt to consult you in an affair of this sort?"

'"Ye wouldna, Sir Thomas, hae me to be my ain trumpeter?" replied our hero, significantly.

'"Then, to put an end to the business at once, my word is pledged to Mr. Birchland."

'"So Mr. Mordaunt said. But ye maun just break your word, Sir Thomas, for a broken word's naething to a broken heart."

'"I tell you, friend, that I will hear nothing farther on this subject," replied the Baronet.

'"We'll hae twa words about that, Sir Thomas. I dinna think noo, Baronet, that ye're just such a contumacious man as to be out o' the reach o' reason a' thegither, or I wouldna speak to you as I do, but help the lad and lass to be man and wife wi' a' expedient ability. Therefore, Sir Thomas, ye maun consider this

matter with a cool and a sound mind, an ye hae ony pretensions to gumshon at a': for it's no past the bounds o' probability that some morning or lang ye may rant and ring for your dochter, whiskit awa' wi' the Gaberlunzie, an ye continue in this contrarie disposition."

'"Does Mordaunt mean to force me in this manner to give my consent?" said the Baronet, angrily.

'"I'm sure," replied Andrew, "that I see nae forcing about it. But if ye will gar your dochter marry a man she doesna like, what comfort will ye get frae your dure word of honour, an ye hear, in less than a week after the wedding, a' the big wigs o' Doctors' Commons in a commotion?"

'"The insinuation is insulting to my daughter's honour and principles!" exclaimed the Baronet, wrathfully.

'"Vera true; but, Sir Thomas, ye ken marriages are made in heaven, and it's plainly ordain't that Miss Julia and Mr. Mordaunt were trysted there by their mutual affection; and ye're fighting against the laws o' God when ye would try to set aside this natural attraction or affinity o' their spirits."

'This touched the philosophy of the Baronet, and opened to him a view of the subject that had never presented itself to him before, and he said, "Are you acquainted with the Newtonian philosophy?"

'"'Deed no, sir; I never fash my head wi' sic havers; for if a man's void o' common sense, I wonder what the wiser he'll be wi' philosophy. Can philosophy mend a club-foot, or put understanding in a toom head — I doubt no. Truly, sir, it behoves you to think on what I hae said. Firstly, there may be an elopement; secondly, there may be worse; and thirdly, and assuredly, one way or another, there will be a broken heart, and the sin and blame o' a' will rest on your head. Talk o' words o' honour in a case like this! — What's a word o' honour mair than ony ither word? It's just wind, Sir Thomas; and if ye'll tak my advice, the sooner ye break it, ye'll be the easier. O, Sir Thomas, ye look like a man that has something fatherly in you! But think o' auld doited Jeptha; what did he get by his rash vow? What consolation was it to him to see his lovely daughter lying in her winding-sheet? Words o' honour, Sir Thomas! — Snuffs o' tobacco. But I'll sae nae mair at present, I see ye're prickit. Oh, Sir Thomas, Sir Thomas! there's nae plaister for a wounded conscience, nor solder for a broken heart. It will be an awfu' thing when ye lie down to die, to think o' the shame or misery o' your only daughter; and that but for your own outstrapalous obstinacy, ye might hae left her in felicity, or been laying your hand in prayer on the heads o' her bonny wee bairnies, a' greeting like bleeting lambies at your bed-side. Think o' that, Sir Thomas — think o' that; and if ye can then set yourself up against the laws o' God and nature wi' your daft words o' honour, I ken mysel what's the name that will best fit you."

'The ascendancy which our hero here assumed, and unconsciously felt, produced a profound effect on the Baronet's mind and

and heart. He rose from his seat and walked across the room he halted and looked at Andrew; he then seemed to turn his thoughts inwardly, and again he paused. "Tell Mr. Mordaunt," at last he said, "to come to me."

The trial-scene of the Gypsies, though highly improbable, and wholly inconsistent with the forms and usages of English judicature, is an episode which has considerable effect, and evinces the writer's powers of acuteness, eloquence, and pathos. His powers of fertility, too, are again and already evinced by the recent appearance of a new volume, intitled "*The Provost.*"—It may, perhaps, be well soon to commit his pen to prison.

ART. X. *Echoism; a Poem.* 8vo. pp. 257. Sherwood and Co. 1821.

WE have here a re-print, with additions, of a poetical satire which was published some years since under the title of "*Canting*," and reviewed in the M. R. in the course of 1815. The author now quotes the greatest portion of the article in question, and among other passages the following:

"So much good sense pervades the production of this easy satirist, and his strictures are so happily diversified, that we freely forgive him his negligences."

Be it so, at his *first* appearance: but, when he comes forwards again, and declares that 'he could not so easily forgive himself the negligences alluded to, and was therefore induced to make such alterations, abridgments, and additions, as he considered essential to render the poem more worthy the notice, and consequently more deserving the approbation of a liberal public;' when the author, we say, thus appears in the character of the correct and fastidious reviser of his former inaccurate publication, we must beg leave to alter our own style of criticism with the altered claims of the poet; and to deny that applause to an amended work, which we accorded to the negligent happiness of a clever though careless effort. The fact is that much good sense may certainly be found in this book, and *that* is high praise: but, when it is considered as the matured fruit of the author's lucubrations, and as having received the final polish of his critical file, it seems feeble and imperfect, compared to what it ought to be. For instance;

'Phrase, if indefinite, *is of no use*,
Or, being false, is language's abuse:
In either case, how can we judge or guess?
By one great rule which all the wise possess,
By Common Sense; the safest, surest guide.
Blest COMMON SENSE! o'er Truth thou dost preside;

Thy

Thy attributes are simple, mild, and plain;
But, destitute of Thee, all else is vain:
Like Saturn's ring, encompassing the whole,
Thou'rt of Truth's planetary sphere the soul!
Of every gift, of each acquirement best,
And oft the aggregate of all the rest!
What most men talk of, but what few e'er reach,
What Bigots never see, believe, nor teach;
Thou, COMMON SENSE! whether from earth or heaven,—
To man the rarest, greatest good that's given —
Thee I address! illumine thou each line,
No praise I ask — invoke no power but thine.

'How know we Truth? What sometimes takes that name
Is but the weak response of idle Fame,
Whose sounds, when Reason ascertains their force,
Instead of Truth, prove only — *words of course!*
Truth is the object, then, we most desire:
To know, and mark it's worth, we'd here aspire.
Be this our search, thro' brake or o'er the plain;
And tho' when off the scent we hunt in vain,
Each bush we'll beat, nor quit the ample field;
'Twill health of mind, and recreation yield.
For knowledge wholesome is, however gain'd;
Amusement rational, when thus obtained.'

This is all very true; nay, so saturated with truth that it might give the poem the character of *Truism*, as well as the title of '*Echoism*:' but does it bear the least sign, or symptom, of poetry? If we place it by the side of any passage in any satirical poem of Pope, there is no touchstone, no *Lapis Lydius* whatever, that will sooner discover counterfeit gold than that which we have mentioned will detect real prose.

It is unpleasant to say that, as we advance in the work, we find no improvement: but in fact we think it illustrates the observation that, as there are stones of too frail a texture to take a polish, so there are literary productions which will pass in the rough but are rejected in the smooth; and we are really of opinion that the passage which we quoted some years ago, concerning "the Smiths and the Jacksons," is still by far the best in the book. — We are glad to be able to vary the strain of censure with occasional applause, such as the following couplet deserves:

'Joyous, though mute, each subject-horde appears;
Man rules alone! — Imperial — but in tears.'

The author makes frequent attacks on the dullness of classical composition, and evidently sets up for a genius above all rule. This has become so stale a trick, and is so constantly played

played off in every species of modern performance, that it can deceive neither man nor woman, nor youth nor child, any longer. The *Echoist* takes a lofty flight of this description:

> 'High Tragedy is Farce, the broadest sort,
> If only serious meant, and not as sport:
> Broad Farce is sensible compared with this,
> For Farce sets up for nought but what it is:
> But Tragedy is like the frog i' th' fable,
> Swelling, to pass for what it is not able.
> 'Farce, Tragic, Epic, all one rank may gain;
> Their only end — to instruct and entertain!'

All degrees of difficulty, all discrimination between the different powers of the mind, are lost in such lines as the above. Yet well may there be this flippant frothiness in the text, when the notes (even those which are warned by their subject to be clear and distinct) exhibit such a failure as the author's attempted distinction between wit and humor; in which, (for the first time, we should hope,) he gives *humor* the higher character, and exemplifies *wit* by South's pun of *matrimony* being a *matter of money!* This he calls epigrammatic wit, as opposed to wit when it signifies the 'intellects.'

The remarks on the alterations in some passages in Pope's poems, made in different editions, are copied from Johnson's life of Pope, without acknowlegement: but how different is the spirit in which the great biographer of the poets mentions these variations, from that in which the present author censures them! The latter would have us believe that they arose *entirely* from regard to sound or melody, without *any* attention to the sense; while Johnson's more liberal reflection is the following: "To such oversights will the most vigorous mind be liable, when it is employed at once upon argument and poetry." We do not recollect to have seen it remarked that the final alteration of "Addison" into "Atticus," in the celebrated passage in Pope's Epistle to Arbuthnot, not only of itself indicates the softened spirit of the satirist, but that the change of the previous word into "*weep*" is a strong confirmation of that pleasing idea.

We are eager, on the first opportunity, to do justice to the present author's praiseworthy observations; — and the feeling which dictated the ensuing remarks is very commendable:

> 'It is universally acknowledged that Lord Bacon was one of the "wisest" and "brightest" of men; but is it possible that he could also be one of the "meanest?" Before this position is granted, (on the credit of a poetical antithesis,) ought not the truth of

of it, for the honor of human nature, to be fully ascertained? Has the character of this gigantic genius (Bacon) ever been done adequate justice to, free of all bias from reading the misrepresentations of his enemies, political and philosophical? Perhaps not. The decisions of courts are sometimes erroneous: posterity, however, should know the truth, and nothing but the truth.'

This is a subject on which we should rejoice to see something certainly established, if it were favorable to our great philosopher: but, at all events, *the truth*, be it ever so painful, should be known beyond a question, if that now be possible.

The quotation from *Lord Moira*'s speech to the College at Calcutta is a very eloquent passage: but where has the *Echoist* learned his own extravagant metaphors? He talks 'of the invigorating sunshine of extensive fertilizing jurisprudence'!!!

ART. XI. *A View of the Restoration of the Helvetic Confederacy;* being a Sequel to the History of that Republic. By Joseph Planta, Esq. 8vo. pp. 68. 5*s.* 6*d.* Boards. Longman and Co. 1821.

IN the bosom of the Helvetian Alps was a small republic, which, in order to maintain its antient liberty, ventured to struggle against a neighbour greatly its superior in force. Neither extent of territory nor military force, nor influence over the destinies of the world, fell to the lot of this people: but their misfortunes, their virtues, and their courage, have rendered them interesting, worthy of the pen of the historian, and deserving the contemplation of the philosopher. The history of the memorable struggle of a handful of brave men, roused by the unprincipled invasion of an ambitious despot to resist his veteran battalions, who were rendered doubly formidable by their numbers and by their victories over the most warlike troops in Europe, must, indeed, excite the sympathy of every generous mind. As Leonidas shrank not from the fate which, he foresaw, awaited him and his little band at Thermopylæ*, so did the immortal Aloys

* Leonidas desired his troops to get a hearty dinner, for they had a long journey to take;—they would have to travel to the other world before they supped. Aloys Reding, in like manner, encouraged his small heroic band by plainly telling them, on the eve of an engagement, that certain death awaited them; and two men, in the name of the rest, were appointed to shake hands with Reding, as a pledge of fidelity in life and in death. (See Zschokke's History of the Invasion of Swisserland by the French.)

Reding,

Reding, on the heights of Morgarten, fearlessly resist the myriads of the modern Xerxes.

Mr. Planta carried down his History of the Helvetic Confederacy, which has long obtained a standard-reputation, to its dissolution in 1798. That work having passed through two editions, and a third being required, it was desirable to continue the narrative to the period of the Restoration of the republic, in 1815; for which purpose, he tells us, he has procured abundance of documents: but, reflecting that this proceeding would injure the proprietors of the former editions by depreciating their copies, he has, from a sense of honor which is highly laudable, published this supplement separately; enabling them to complete their sets, and at the same time affording to readers at large an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the incidents that brought about the restoration. These few pages present, 1st, a summary of the distressful incidents that, for twenty years, kept the country in a state bordering on anarchy; and, 2dly, a statement of the deliberations and final conclusions of the congress of Vienna, in order to restore its tranquillity and independence: the issue of which was that a constitution has been established, and sanctioned by the guarantee of the principal powers of Europe. The cantons, jealous of each other, and after a number of abortive attempts being unable to raise the edifice of a constitution for themselves, agreed on the perilous experiment of soliciting the assistance of the congress of potentates at Vienna to construct one for them. If it be an edifice suited to their wants and wishes, wind-tight and water-tight, strongly built, secure, and affording accommodation to each without injury to any, most heartily do we hope that they may long continue to inhabit it in prosperity and peace; and far be it from us to lessen the merit of this single commendable action of the Holy Alliance, which is the more conspicuous if it stands alone.

The number of cantons is now increased from nineteen to twenty-two, and each has its own peculiar form of government: but the deliberations of the Helvetic Diet, assembled at Zurich in March, 1815, produced that Act of Union, intitled the Federal Compact, which is now become the fundamental code of the confederacy.

'The Supreme Federal Tribunal or Diet cannot exercise any positive authority or jurisdiction in religious matters; and whatever influence it may occasionally be called upon to exercise must depend entirely on the feelings and circumstances of the moment.

'The

'The principal rights of supremacy, which seem to belong to each individual canton, but which in fact extend over the whole collectively, are: The exercise of a strict superintendence and control over all religious establishments by the supreme secular power; the right of examining into the mode of acquiring and disposing of all ecclesiastical and monastic property: the liability of all such property to all burdens imposed by the state on secular possessions; and the subjection of all Papal bulls, pastoral letters, &c. to the *placet* or *exsequatur* of government, prior to their publication.

'Only three bishoprics exist at present in the country: viz. those of Lausanne or Friburg, of Sion, and of Coire; but it is in contemplation to establish two in addition, at Lucern and at Soleure. Besides these, the foreign sees of Milan, Como, and Annecy extend their jurisdictions over several parts of the country.

'Notwithstanding a few restrictive inhibitions in some of the Catholic cantons, such as Lucern, Friburg, &c., a general spirit of toleration seems to predominate throughout the republic; and how far the Papal power has dwindled may be gathered from the instance of the abbey of St. Gallen, the abbot of which, by his arbitrary proceedings, occasioned an insurrection in the year 1798, which drove him to seek refuge in a neighbouring state, and in the end brought on the secularization of that venerable foundation. The sovereign Pontiff exerted all the means in his power to bring about the re-establishment of the chapter; but neither his dictates nor his intercessions could avail, the cantonal Diet firmly adhering to their decision.

'It appears from the acts of several Diets, especially those of the Protestant cantons, that the ancient practice of providing for the clergy by the levy of tithes was generally abrogated, and that regular stipends were substituted to these remunerations, which being too often the inevitable causes of contentions between the pastor and his flock, must render the pious exhortations of the former of less effect.'

With all the respect which we entertain for the character of the Swiss, for the simplicity of their manners, for their love of country, and for their devotion to liberty, we cannot forget that one trait is recorded in the long annals of history, and stamped in the very heart of their antient laws, which can never be contemplated without regret. Since, however, the congress of sovereigns at Vienna recognized the perpetual independence and neutrality of the Swiss republic, and guaranteed the integrity and inviolability of its territories, within its present determined limits; declaring, also, that this inviolability and independence from all foreign influence are conformable to the true interests of the politics of Europe; we trust that the Swiss will preserve strictly this neutrality and independ-

ence

ence from all foreign influence: for ever abandoning their former custom of letting out their mercenary troops to any potentate who will hire them to cut the throats of his enemies. Robertson, the historian, eulogizes a law established among the cantons as not less political than humane, which prohibited them from letting out their troops by public authority, *to both* the contending parties in the same war: — but what a tale of horror does this law tell! A law was necessary to prevent the Swiss from marching, under the public banners of their common country, and turning their arms against each other, for mere hire! Still, the mercenary feeling prevailed; and, although the *public authorities* might shrink from the infamy of selling their subjects to fight against one another, private persons were yet allowed to enlist in any service that they pleased; not, indeed, under the public banners, but under those of their particular officers, though in opposite armies. Thus was the law eluded, and the disgrace preserved.

By the new federal compact, the cantons engage to support each other against all attacks from without and all disturbance within; and the second article provides that

'"In order to enforce this guarantee, and to uphold effectually the neutrality of Swisserland, a quota of troops shall be selected from among the individuals qualified for military service in each canton, in the proportion of two soldiers from every hundred men. These troops shall be furnished by the cantons in the manner following:

Zuric	3858	Friburg	1240	Thurgau	1670
Berne	4584	Soleure	904	Tessin	1804
Lucern	1734	Basle	818	Vaud	2964
Uri	236	Schaffhausen	466	Valais	1280
Switz	602	Appenzell	972	Neuchatel	1000
Underwalden	382	St. Gallen	2630	Geneva	600
Glaris	482	Grisons	2000		
Zug	250	Argau	2410	Total	32,886"'

We have copied this article to shew the arrangement and denominations of the cantons, as they now stand, and the relative as well as the aggregate military force which they can provide.

A very neat map of the 22 cantons accompanies this little volume.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE,

For MAY, 1822.

BIOGRAPHY.

Art. 12. *Lives of eminent Scotsmen, Poets*, by the Society of Ancient Scots. Part the Sixth. 12mo. 2*s.* 6*d.* Boys. 1822.

This number, which completes the Lives of the Scotch Poets, contains notices of the Earl of Ancram, Richard Lord Maitland, the Earl of Haddington, Lord Binning, Bruce, Blacklock, Logan, Macdonald, and Mercer; with an Appendix, a Supplement, and an Index. Of "the noble authors," the very names are now forgotten by the readers of poetry: of the others, Blacklock and Logan are the most generally known; and it is here justly observed that Blacklock's personal character gave a celebrity to his productions, which they could never have claimed from any intrinsic merit. We think that Logan's fame also, both as a poet and as a prose-writer, stands much higher with his countrymen than with others. As a specimen of Bruce's poetry, his biographer very judiciously selects his Elegy on the Return of Spring, written under the certain approach of an early death. The lines have always affected us as coming from the heart of an unfortunate sufferer, doomed to pine away in a lingering decline when only in the 21st year of his age.

'Now spring returns, but not to me returns
The vernal joy my better years have known;
Dim in my breast life's dying taper burns,
And all the joys of life with health are flown:

'Starting and shiv'ring in th' inconstant wind,
Meagre and pale, the ghost of what I was,
Beneath some blasted tree I *lie reclin'd*,
And count the silent moments as they pass.

'The winged moments, whose unstaying speed
No art can stop, or in their course ar*rest;*
Whose flight shall shortly count me with the dead,
And lay me down in peace with them that *rest.*

'Oft morning dreams presage approaching fate,
And morning dreams, as poets tell, are true:
Led by pale ghosts, I enter death's dark gate,
And bid the realms of light and life adieu!

'Farewell, ye blooming fields! ye cheerful plains!
Enough for me the churchyard's lonely mound,
Where melancholy with still silence reigns,
And the rank grass waves o'er the cheerless ground;

'There let me wander at the close of eve,
When sleep sits dewy on the labourer's eyes,
The world and all its busy follies leave,
And talk with wisdom where my Daphnis lies.

'There

'There let me sleep forgotten in the clay,
When death shall shut these weary aching eyes,
Rest in the hopes of an eternal day,
Till the long night is gone and the last morn arise.'

NOVELS.

Art. 13. *Langreath*, a Tale. By Mrs. Nathan, Authoress of "Elvington." 12mo. 3 Vols. 1*l.* 1*s.* sewed. Whittakers. 1822.

The plot of this novel is less new than extraordinary, and the style is pert and bombastic; abounding with grammatical errors, and with other mistakes which evince a very limited stock of information. For instances, in vol. i. p. 89., *Lady Templeton* should not have been given as the title of a Duke's unmarried sister; in vol. ii. p. 25. we read of the '*Chevalier de Saint Grammont*;' a name which has not hitherto appeared in the Romish Kalendar, and to which, from the associations connected with the celebrated '*Mémoires de Grammont*,' any other honorable title might have been affixed with less incongruity than the saintly one bestowed by Mrs. Nathan. In p. 43. of the same volume, a French lady is described as 'leaving Languedoc, and coming to Paris, that she might economize and live in retirement;' a circumstance in direct contradiction to French habits, and at variance with the comparative scale of expence between the metropolis and the provinces.

Art. 14. *The Woman of Genius.* 12mo. 3 Vols. 16*s.* 6*d.* Boards. Longman and Co. 1821.

The heroine of this tale is, to us, one of its least attractive personages; her harangues being misplaced and bombastic, and her difficulties such as would have vanished before a little common sense, "like chaff before the wind." The characters of Ann and Jane, though not pleasing, are far more natural; and those of Rashleigh and Sir Adelmar may be deemed interesting. We do not understand the writer's meaning when he speaks, vol. i. p. 42., of 'the celestial *ichor* of genius,' nor the French expressions which he has chosen to introduce; such as, p. 105., 'it has saved you all the *fade* of an introductory visit.' P. 146., 'there was nothing to be seen there but a few *demis*.' Vol. ii. p. 160., 'I have been *doing the honours of a proneuse by your mansion*.' Several passages are grammatically incorrect: as, p. 121., 'She found no consolation in the possibility of his having a good heart, many *people would have done*.' P. 155., 'Did you not discover who was his father? *I should have done*.' Vol. iii. p. 132., 'this is a question which we must ask *at* Lady Athol,' &c. This last comes "frae the north."

Art. 15. *The Renegade;* translated from the French of M. le Vicomte d'Arlincourt. 12mo. 2 Vols. 12*s.* Boards. Robins and Co. 1822.

Considerable attention appears to have been excited by the French romances which M. d'Arlincourt has lately published, under the titles of "The Solitary," and 'The Renegade;' and the French journalists insinuate that some *ruses de guerre* have

been adopted to heighten their popularity, such as the publishing a first and second edition in the same day, &c. Be that as it may, these works certainly possess sufficient interest and animation to ensure an ephemeral success: but 'The Renegade,' which appeared last, exhibits even more exaggeration and false taste than its predecessor. M. d'Arlincourt's affected inversions of language must remind his readers of the "*Bourgeois Gentilhomme*'s" love-letter; "*d'amour me font, belle Marquise, mourir vos beaux yeux;*" and some of the incidents are puerile; such as Ezilda's discovery of Nalrassan's plot, in vol. i. p. 93.: while the circumstances of Agobar's conversion and death appear to have been suggested by the closing scenes in the life of Malek Adhel, depicted in Madame Cottin's "Mathilde." As usual in translations, we have an occasional exchange of tameness for turgidity: but, on the whole, the English is respectably written, if we except the poetry; for which the translator himself apologizes, and which he ought to have put into other hands.

Art. 16. *The Priest.* 3 Vols. 12mo. Baldwin and Co. 1821.

In this novel we have to deal with a production altogether different from the usual run of imitations of the Waverley school: but it is rather an offshoot of the worn out and decayed stock which flourished under the warm auspices and romantic hand of Mrs. Radcliffe; afterward fostered by the more daring and luxuriant culture of such *naturalists* as Mr. *Monk* Lewis. Though guiltless of some of the exceptionable descriptions of the latter, it contains enough of their luxurious spirit, exaggeration, and absurdities, to deserve critical reprobation. The story, however, is by no means ill imagined, or badly told; the language is attractive and eloquent, and the characters are rather distinctly and powerfully drawn. That of the bold, wary, and ambitious priest, Father Valerius, we can conceive to be a tolerably correct picture of Catholic discipline and superstition; with its influence over the highest orders in society, its political intrigues, its private animosities, and its anti-social if not demoralizing effects, some centuries since. It is, however, the only one that gives interest to the volumes; the others, when not mere common-place, being extravagant, and out of nature; and each making its *exit* with the most tragi-comic air imaginable. We have a heroine in the thread-bare disguise of a page, pleading long and unsuccessful love to a handsome but hard-hearted young monk, who proves to be an earl's son, stolen away in his cradle by the priest: then the earl himself, full of melancholy musings; and the countess, haunted by the terrific presence and spiritual ascendancy of her father-confessor. Under his withering frown, the maternal duties and affections are all blighted, and by his bigoted prohibition cast away. On the return of this lady's daughter, whom she has not seen for fifteen years, the earl makes an attempt to recall her to more natural feelings, but in vain: for Father Valerius, in his cold, haughty, and imperturbable ascendancy, stands near, ready to snatch the countess from her husband's and her daughter's arms. In this scene the chief merit of the work resides, and it indeed well conceived, and skilfully wrought up.

POETRY.

POETRY.

Art. 17. *Eight Ballads on the Fictions of the Ancient Irish:* and other Poems. By Richard Ryan. Crown 8vo. *5s.* sewed. Warren. 1822.

"Blow all ye milder breezes, be hushed every ruder passion," as our greatest novelist intimated to be necessary when his heroine was introduced, while we mention a subject even remotely connected with Ireland, at the present moment. Grieved indeed, most sincerely, should we be, could it be possible that in one word we should now offend one individual of that much-suffering nation: — but, unfortunately, poetry has too little connection with the government of states that are advanced in civilization, or with their colonies; and, therefore, we feel at liberty to detach these Irish Ballads from their mother-country, and, considering them as *fictions* of the *antient* Irish, not to respect them as *truths* relating to their posterity. So far from having any feeling of an ungenial kind, we have such an esteem, such an affection we may say, for our Irish brethren, that we take this opportunity of earnestly recommending that the subscription for the relief of the suffering counties should be renewed, from time to time; and promoted in every religious as well as civil meeting in England, while the distress continues.

We might now perhaps venture to advance to a brief criticism on the present little book: but our account shall be formed solely of extracts, and thus our readers shall judge for themselves.

'*I dreamt Love lay in a Rose-bud's Breast.*

'I dreamt Love lay in a rose-bud's breast,
And Hope plac'd the plant in the sun's bright ray;
When awoke by the beam on his place of rest,
Love rose like a zephyr, and flew away.
Now Wisdom, it chanc'd, a garden had,
And Love, all carelessly, wander'd there,
Crushing each flowret bright and glad,
That loaded with perfume the fragrant air.

'Wisdom, the boy caught up in her hand,
And said, as she open'd the rose-bud's breast,
"There lie, by Wisdom's stern command,
And sink for ever! Oh, Love! to rest."
Love look'd in pity in Wisdom's face,
She frown'd — he saw his suit was in vain;
And deep he lay in the bud's embrace,
Till Hope awaken'd the boy again.'

Another:

'*The Fairy-form'd Harp.*

'There was a harp of old that hung
In fairy woods, — and youths of fire
Would touch the string, and, as they sung,
Breathe forth their inmost heart's desire.

'Then swift the harp an answer made,
An answer ne'er to be forgot,
And told the swain the bashful maid
Was his alone, — or she was not.

'Oh, were that harp existing now,
I would not seek its wild decree,
I'd trust unto my Mary's vow,
That she exists alone for me.

'I'd sooner trust her glancing eye,
Which hath for me a sun-shine wore,
Than hear the truth with heart-felt sigh,
Waking from love, — to love no more!'

We heartily wish Mr. Ryan all that success which every Irishman ought to obtain from his brother-Englishman, particularly at this moment.

Art. 18. *The Revenge of Taran;* a Dramatic Poem. By Edward Ball, Author of "The Sybil's Warning." 2d Edition. 12mo. 3*s.* 6*d.* Boards. Whittakers. 1822.

If we be asked why we are occasionally severe on some ephemeral productions which are noticed in our Catalogue, our answer must be that, although we abhor all unnecessary rigor, still the imperative duty of faithfulness to the public must supersede all such reluctance to give pain to an author as would compromise *that* duty. Indeed, when we detect any mixture of vanity with insignificance, ought a morbid sensibility to prevent us from exposing it, and thus offering some check to a *cacoëthes scribendi* which involves every rank, both sexes, and all characters, in its *vorago* of nonsense?

Alas! *can* such a check be offered by any thing?

"*Mussat tacito doctrina timore.*"

The disease, we fear, is incurable, and every species of regimen, tonic or antiphlogistic, is of equally little avail. If we praise with a mixture of censure, the gilding is all picked off the pill, and exclusively swallowed, as if it were gingerbread; while, if blame be generally predominant, it is set down to the gall of the critic, instead of the "ropy drivel" of the author.

Without applying these remarks peculiarly or severely on the present occasion, we must observe that, for any purpose of the diffusion of knowlege, or the variety of entertainment, or the amelioration of taste, 'The Revenge of Taran' might as well never have assumed a poetical dress; and might have *slept*, without detriment to the fame of any of the living, or the memory of any of the dead, in the prose-records of Dr. Johnson in his Journey to the Hebrides. — This allusion Mr. Ball will thus explain:

'*Advertisement.*

'The subject of this story may be traced to a Legend mentioned by Dr. Johnson, in his "Journey to the Western Islands," wherein it is recorded, that, in some remote time, the Macdonalds of Glengary having been injured or offended by the inhabitants of Culloden,

Culloden, and resolving to have justice or vengeance, came to Culloden while their enemies were at worship, and shutting up the church, set it on fire. Their piper played a tune while the unfortunate victims were burning.

'The design of this story is, to prove that a tale of real horror may be produced by *natural* means, without resorting to superhuman agents as in the "Vampire," and "Frankenstein," since we rest assured that such characters as are here represented, or worse, actually have existed.'

The style of this poem may be referred to that class which, for want of a better title, we may designate "*The Blank-Verse Byronian.*" For example;

'Well — well 'tis pass'd — *I am not what I was* —' P. 11.

Then

"Venus! take my votive glass!"

we should certainly advise: — but not so Mr. *Ball.*

'"My heart is flint *now*, I can tell it *all.*
He that I lov'd, another's prize became,
And e'en the image of himself, my child,
Was doom'd to leave his fond distracted mother.
O! I remember while my tearless eyes
Bent calmly on the corse of that poor babe,
How my heart swell'd, till it did seem too big
For the scant limits of its hiding-place.
Revenge! I cried, revenge! ———
Yes, and I call'd on God to witness it.
Months roll'd away, — a stern and sullen maniac,
Where'er I pass'd the voice of pity follow'd,
Or *fear*, with *timid* step, forsook the path."'

That *fear* should have a *timid* step is certainly one of those improvements in the hendyadis, vulgarly called tautology, which largely decorate the modern muse: — but this is nothing. Mark what follows:

'Wildly and franticly she gazed upon him, —
Her words were strange and desp'rate — "See!" she cried,
"That madd'ning form, O! hide me from her grasp!
The boy yet lives! what then has Rhoda done
To wake the thrilling presence of the dead?
See, see! it moves away; I may not follow —
'Tis peaceful there — but yon pursuing deep, —
O! snatch me from its billows; they are all
Of boiling lead ——
The ships that sail thereon are red with fire."'

The poet incurred much responsibility when he launched his "ships of amber" on "seas of milk." No great classical authors, of the Greek or Roman school, have ever thus far ventured on the very ravings of insanity: they have always shewn a method in *their* madness,

We proceed:

' " Not wed thy daughter!" cried the astonish'd chief,
While Ivvor's paleness caught a hectic glow —
" Not wed thy daughter? — ask me what thou wilt;
I'll pave her floors with angels, each of gold; —
The wind of heav'n shall not salute her cheek,
But thro' rich clouds of perfume, slow ascending
From sandal-wood, or branch of burning cedar." '

That the author is not deficient in vigour of words, or rhythm, will be perceived; although both are occasionally rude and excentric: — but what were the *angels* with which the floor was to be paved? Literally half-guineas, (not demi-sovereigns) or gilded cherubim? *Adhuc sub judice lis est.*

' Who boasteth of his might is *mightiless*.' P. 74.

A very admirable new compound; — and by the way it would not be an unserviceable task, if any person of sufficient leisure would make a little collection of lately coined words and phrases in English poetry. We should have some choice flowers of speech among them.

We conclude with an extract which (as Mr. Jenkinson and his cosmogony appeared to the Vicar of Wakefield) appears not exactly new to us. Do we dream, or is there not *a fire*, at the end of " Rokeby;" where Bertram is represented nearly in the same manner, though certainly not with the same degree of force and fury, as in the following quotation?

' But where is Taran?* lo! he stalks along,
On yonder steep that overlooks the flame,
And, as it were, in superhuman mould,
Seems the grim fire-king of the burning mound.
Hemm'd in by crackling rafters, heat, and smoke,
What hand of rashness shall arrest his step?
" 'Tis done!" he cries: " they slumber with their friends:
Peace to their ashes! peace to all but Taran.
' " Come to me, Desolation,
I'll hug thee to this breaking, bursting heart,
And laugh, forlornly, at thy meagre cheek; —
Here will we sit all day beneath these walls,
And roll across their reeking, blood-stain'd floors,
Those human skulls that blacken at our feet." '

If our readers wish for any more, they must refer to the book itself: — *we* depart, like satisfied guests; or, rather, like Domitian's senators, rejoicing to have escaped from the *feralis cœna*; the gloomy entertainment provided for them. — The second edition of this poem is dedicated, in terms of gratitude which do honor to the writer's feelings, to that respectable and benevolent character, Mr. Capel Lofft; — and we are moreover told, in this same dedication, of some favor with which the *first* edition has been

* This very question sounds familiar to us.

received.

received. If this be the case, we are sorry for it; because, in our judgment, it is another proof of the corrupt taste of the public, and may encourage a worthy young man to the prosecution of a study for which, according to all the established principles of criticism, he is unfitted. This is plain language, but it is very honest; and we shall ever use it, while we have a voice to raise against the degraded state of literary taste.

Art. 19. *The Carnival of Death.* A Poem, in Two Cantos. By Thomas Bailey, Author of "What is Life? and other Poems." 12mo. 4*s*. Boards. Longman and Co. 1822.

We have already had occasion to notice some poetical effusions from the pen of Mr. Bailey, which we considered, with all their defects and the inaccuracies of a youthful hand, as deserving of our notice and encouragement.

We certainly discover a poetical vein, though not of the richest kind, in the pages of Mr. B.: which express humane and gentle feelings, as well as a spirit of elevated and generous rectitude, of which the bold assertion, however uncourtly and unpolished, does honor to his heart. If, however, it may be doubted whether poetry be always the best and most appropriate vehicle of moral sentiments, we cannot hesitate to observe that Mr. B. has in the present instance been far from happy in the selection of his subject. Neither has he treated it altogether in the manner which we could have wished, and of which its nature was susceptible. In the revolting picture that he has drawn, we have too much of the physical horrors and naked calamities of war; which are by no means so effectual in awakening sympathy, or interesting the attention, as the exhibition of mental sorrows and distractions, combined with cases of individual distress. Occasional passages and descriptions occur, however, which amply repay us for a perusal of the volume.

Art. 20. *The Bridal of Caölchairn;* and other Poems. By James Hay Allan, Esq. 8vo. pp. 344. Hookham. 1822.

Our readers ought to consider themselves under great obligations to us, for the laudable patience with which we perform our task of laboring through many dull and tedious volumes, in order that we may forewarn them of their contents. Thus, by glancing their eyes over half a page of our Catalogue, they may perchance avoid an encounter with a perilous octavo of three or four hundred pages, which, from bitter experience we can assure them, possesses very little to recompense the labour of perusing it. Mr. Allan is one of the *servum pecus* who tread in the footsteps of Sir Walter Scott, and hope to revive the public admiration of a style of writing which even their great master's originality, and vivid powers of description, were not able to preserve in favour. We cannot forbear to quote the following stave of Border minstrelsy:

'*Quick March.*

'The Hay! the Hay! the Hay! the Hay!
Mac Garadh is coming, give way! give way!

The Hay! the Hay! the Hay! the Hay!
Mac Garadh is coming, give way,
Mac Garadh is coming, clear the way!
Mac Garadh is coming, hurra! hurra!
Mac Garadh is coming, clear the way,
Mac Garadh is coming, hurra!' (P. 232.)

Far be it from us to intimate that there are not less preposterous things in the volume than these lines; and the best, in our opinion, is the Lancer's song: but, on the whole, we are afraid that any grown person might say, "I'll rhyme you so eight years together, dinners and suppers and sleeping-hours excepted."

We should be glad to know from Mr. Allan why he invariably indulges in the orthographical whim of spelling lady with an *e* final, as ladye; and also what advantage he proposes, either to himself or *his readers*, (speaking hypothetically,) in printing the number of the page at the bottom instead of the top, like the attractive MSS. which issue from an attorney's office?

Art. 21. *Woman in India*, a Poem. Part I. Female Influence. By John Lawson, Missionary at Calcutta. 12mo. 2*s*. Lawson, Wesley, &c. 1821.

No species of criticism is more unwelcome to a mind of any delicacy than the censure of well-meaning pious men, who have fancied themselves poets, but whose fancies are justified by no adequate reality. Since we wrote our brief critique on Mr. Lawson's "Orient Harping," (Review for Sept. 1820,) we have heard much more of that worthy and indeed excellent man than we could possibly know before; and we therefore bear willing and pleased testimony to his merits as a Baptist-Missionary; to his devotion of time, health, talent, family, fortune, all earthly good, to the cause of Christianity in the East! Still, in the name of all that is sensible, what has this to do with his poetical powers, or correct literary taste? We must positively deny him the possession of either, *in any eminent degree*; and the grounds of our judgment are already before our readers. Mr. Lawson is either not a poet, or all the works of really vigorous and elegant writers are written on a wrong model, and they must bow to this mixture of prose and verse; of Cowper caricatured, and Grahame aggravated. We must cease, in a word, to profit by classical education, and corrected taste, before we can tolerate such writing as this:

'Thus Doddridge, yet a child, *gained the blest lore*
Of chimney-ornament.'

That is, thus the youthful Doddridge imbibed some portion of scriptural knowlege, from an explanation of the subjects of the Dutch Tiles on the sides of his mother's fire-place!

In the more decidedly feeling passages, the author is not free from similar faults. No ordinary instance of the *bathos* is afforded by the subjoined passage, in which the poet recollects his home, associated with the tenderest filial images, yet deigns to dwell on and even to close his remembrances with such an object as that which ends our quotation,

'Those

'Those warm caresses of a mother's love —
That look of tenderness, so full, so deep —
The thousand nameless charms which hung about her —
The form benignant — the soft beaming face —
And sigh of calm solicitude low breathed
For me, when pale and sick I listless lay
Upon her neck — are ever brought to mind,
Connected with some object much endeared,
Some rural spot, or oft frequented glen,
Or note of bird, or form of wildest weed.'

We turn to more solid matters; and we have great pleasure in announcing that this very amiable and indefatigable Missionary still continues the useful labors which, for twelve years, he has bestowed on our eastern brethren. We understand that those labors have been of a very peculiarly advantageous kind: — that he has cut the punches of two complete founts of type in the Chinese character; besides several others in the most prevailing languages of the East; — and that he has saved, annually, several thousand pounds, by these improvements, to the Baptist mission; while, at the same time, he has incalculably increased the opportunities of diffusing a knowlege of the Gospel over those immense and benighted regions. Why should he, who has gained the imperishable leaf of the laurel in such a cause, *aspire* to the unattainable daisy of poetry?

EDUCATION.

Art. 22. *Confidential Memoirs;* or, Adventures of a Parrot, a Greyhound, a Cat, and a Monkey. By Mary Elliot, late Belson. 12mo. 6*s*. Boards. William Darton. 1821.

Due care is taken to inculcate moral lessons in this lively and entertaining publication: but, if it were not unreasonable to expect correct English from a Brazilian parrot, or an Italian greyhound, we should object to the following expressions: p. 41., 'My cage was covered, *all to a* small space at the top.' P. 85., '*not but I was sensible* of Mrs. Dormer's kindness.' P. 127., 'the servants never buffetted me *as I have since been.*' P. 197., '*immediately I saw him in a slumber,* I leaped on his shoulder.' Mr. Julio the Italian is not successful in his French phrases; for in p. 62. he is made to say, 'The road was too moist for an *elegante* like myself.'

Art. 23. *Prudence and Principle.* A Tale. By the Author of "Rachel," and "The Authoress." 12mo. 5*s*. 6*d*. Boards. Taylor and Hessey. 1821.

The title of this book sufficiently announces the contrast which the writer intends to exhibit; and we may add that the tale is conducted with simplicity, while it has sufficient interest to attract the attention, and perhaps to influence the feelings and conduct of young readers.

POLITICS.

Art. 24. *Substance of the Speech of the Marquis of Londonderry*, in the House of Commons, 15th February, 1822, on the Subject of the Agricultural Distress, &c. 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*. Hatchard.

Art. 25. *The Speech of the Earl of Liverpool*, delivered in the House of Lords, 26th February, on the Subject of the Agricultural Distress, &c. 8vo. 3*s*. 6*d*. Hatchard.

The principal object of both these official speeches is to attribute the distresses of the country to any other cause than the excess of taxation, and to prove that any farther retrenchment in the expenditure of government not only is impracticable, but, if practicable, would be inexpedient. The Marquis of Londonderry's speech has been much condensed and improved in its progress through the press.

Art. 26. *Plain Reasons why political Power should not be granted to Papists*. By Samuel Wix, A. M., F. R., and A. S. Vicar of Saint Bartholomew the Less, London. 8vo. 1*s*. Rivingtons. 1822.

Mr. Wix grounds his objections on the temporal power which is assumed by the Pope in the territories of sovereign princes, and insists that, while Roman Catholics acknowlege such a right of interference in a foreigner, they ought to be excluded from political power. He goes farther, and brands the Catholics, from a little forgetfulness of history and confusion of terms, with the name of Schismatics; and, after having observed that we ought to contemplate with the deepest regret the prevailing separation of the Roman Catholics, he adds, 'separation from any branch of the church of Christ not corrupted by false doctrines and unscriptural novelties is a schism, and altogether indefensible.' We believe that all these arguments have been urged and answered as frequently as the warmest polemic can desire.

Art. 27. *An Answer to the "State of the Nation at the Commencement of the Year* 1822," &c. 8vo. 3*s*. Ridgway.

We gave in our Number for February rather an extended notice of the ministerial pamphlet to which the present is intended as a reply. The answerer's matter is much better than his style; and we think that the levity and flippancy with which the most important subjects are here discussed may with many readers not only create a prejudice against the author's opinions, but detract somewhat from the validity of conclusions which, if urged in a different manner, could not fail to make a considerable impression.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Art. 28. *Memoirs of a Life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania*, within the last Sixty Years. 8vo. pp. 430. 9*s*. 6*d*. Boards. Blackwood, Edinburgh; and Cadell, London.

This amusing volume appears to have been printed in America ten or twelve years ago, and is now republished by Mr. Galt, as likely

likely to interest the British reader. Although his eulogy concerning 'its rich and various excellences of style, descrip ion, and impartiality,' is glaringly overcharged, we agree with him that the author's views of manners in Pennsylvania before the memorable æra of 1776, and the incidental sketches of character which are mixed with his narrative, are not devoid of interest and local information: but, in reading the anecdotes of his early career in life, we must confess our disappointment at the inanity of many of them: though, when the war broke out, and he joined his countrymen under the standard of independence, his character acquired a degree of consistency and steadiness which might not have been anticipated by his juvenile exploits and connections. Having been captured at the taking of Fort Washington in the early part of the war, sent to New York, and thence to Long Island; where he remained several months, and not having engaged in active service after the exchange of prisoners, his personal narrative as to warlike operations is of a very confined nature. The object of his idolatry is General Washington, whose course of conduct he knew; and few among mortals perhaps was ever more deserving of the idolatry, if we may use so strong a word, of his countrymen than General Washington:—but this writer must volunteer his crude opinions on the political career of Milton and Fox, about whom, we suspect, he knows very little. John Milton is calumniated as the parasite of Oliver Cromwell; Charles Fox comes off but little better; and even Franklin is evidently no favorite. The reader will place what confidence he pleases in the following remarks: but we deem them intitled to none, because they contradict the whole tenor of Dr. Franklin's life, which was distinguished for activity, as his political conduct was marked by straight-forwardness and plain-dealing. Wedderburn insulted him brutally; and Franklin bore the insolence with almost more than Christian meekness. They are both deposited in "the house appointed for all the living," and one of them is nearly consigned to oblivion; while the other, like his fellow-labourer in the same cause, (Washington,) will exist in the grateful memory of Americans till the very being called man is swept from the face of their vast continent.

'Shortly after the declaration of independence by Congress, a constitution had been formed for the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. This was understood to have been principally the work of Mr. George Bryan, in conjunction with a Mr. Canon, a schoolmaster; and it was severely reprobated by those who thought checks and balances necessary to a legitimate distribution of the powers of government. Dr. Franklin was also implicated in the production; and either his participation in it, or approbation of it, was roundly asserted by its fautors. The Doctor, perhaps a sceptic in relation to forms of government, and ever cautious of committing himself, had thrown out an equivoque about a waggon with horses drawing in opposite directions; as, upon the adoption of the federal constitution, he told a pleasant story of a self-complacent French lady who always found herself in the right. But whether

ther he meant by his rustic allusion to show his approbation of checks or otherwise, is an enigma that has never been solved, nor is it worth the trouble of solution. The constitutionalists, however, claimed him; and, whether he thought with them or not, he was too prudent to disoblige them. It is rather probable the philosopher was of opinion that the ferment of the revolution should be left to work itself off; that the effect could not be produced by the exhibition of paper-sedatives; and that, therefore, the form of a constitution was scarcely worth quarrelling about. His observations embraced moral, no less than natural, subjects: and, as he had discovered that oil would smooth the ruffled surface of the sea, so had he found it most effectual in assuaging the troubled minds of his fellow-men. Hence, his demeanour to both parties was so truly oily and accommodating, that it always remained doubtful to which he really belonged; and while president of the executive council, to which office he had been elected on his return from France, he sedulously avoided voting on questions which partook of the spirit of party. No man had scanned the world more critically than the Doctor; few have profited more by a knowledge of it, or managed it more to their own advantage. Old, and without an object to intrigue for, he seemed wholly devoted to his ease and amusement; and I have been told by a gentleman who acted with him as vice-president, that he not only devolved upon him the whole business of the department, but even declined the trouble of thinking. As to the constitution, whose provisions it was sometimes necessary to consider, it did not appear to him that he had ever read it; or, if he had, that he deemed it worthy of remembering. In short, as to the political concerns of the state, he was apathy itself; and, like King Lear, it was obviously his "fast intent to shake all cares and business from his age." '

In the latter part of this volume, the author degenerates into a mere political party-writer; and his account of the ephemeral squabbles in Congress, a dozen years ago, have very little to attract attention on this side of the Atlantic.

Art. 29. *Stories after Nature.* 12mo. 6*s*. Boards. Allman. 1822.

A slight error in the title of this volume has been committed, which might with much greater justice have been called Stories *out of* Nature; for never, in antient or in modern time, no, "never yet in tale or history," was there such "nature" as is represented in this very unaccountable production. We say unaccountable; and in fact we are almost alike unable to understand the object of it or comprehend the style in which it is written; which is certainly one of the strangest compounds of affectation, folly, and cleverness, that it has been our fortune to encounter for some time. It might be supposed from the title, that the work was intended to be put into the hands of young persons: but it betrays so total a want of any thing like principle, and contains so many very objectionable passages, that it seems impossible that even the author could have had that purpose in view. The stories are chiefly love-tales, not of the most refined character; as for instance,

instance, the one called 'Claudius and Gertrude;' or (by a misnomer similar to that of the title-page) 'Love and *Delicacy;*' in which the lady, who is in love with Claudius, believing herself to be dying, indites an epistle to him, confessing her passion. Again, in the tale of 'Edmund and Edward, or the two Friends,' the latter becomes attached to a lady 'notoriously abandoned and beautiful;' and his friend, 'seeing the nobleness of his unfortunate passion, and that he was not alive to her dishonour, sends privily for money, lays it in his chamber, and helps him to this woman's company, as much as he is able; trusting that Heaven will by some means help his dear friend!' Nor can we pass over such indiscreet rhodomontade as the following; intended, as far as we comprehend the meaning of it, to be a comparison between the principles of government in antient and in modern times: at all events, it is a precious specimen of the author's style:

'Vapid, feverish, hectic policy, strikes inward. "The keen knife sees not the wound it makes." There all blows were outward. Nature had its full sway. The scales of fate were ever in motion; sometimes humanity came down, tyranny sometimes, and power: now they pause. Passion and nature both kick the beam, and crafty power with its leaden hand chokes the sweet breath of liberty; while pursy policy looks on and laughs, to see it makes us sick, and we could almost wish that "chaos were come again."' (P. 121.)

Notwithstanding the disguise of folly and affectation with which these tales are enveloped, and the great want of judgment which pervade them, they still display considerable power: the construction of the fable is often clever; the author possesses a singular faculty of imitating the language of our earlier writers; and some of them exhibit a degree of pathos which commands the interest of the reader. Perhaps the best are 'The Plague,' and 'The Maid of Provence.'

Art. 30. *The History of George Desmond;* founded on Facts which occurred in the East Indies, and now published as a useful Caution to Young Men going out to that Country. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* Boards. Scatcherd and Co. 1821.

How far this narrative adheres to the facts on which it is said to be founded, we have no means of knowing: but it is evidently written by a person who is acquainted with the Oriental scenery and manners which it exhibits; and the general style of it is more characteristic of an actual history than of a prepared fiction. Its utility, as a 'caution to young men' going out to India, if they chuse to profit by it, arises from its picture of the evils resulting from compliance with the expensive habits, and dissolute manners, which characterize too many votaries of display and of voluptuousness in the East; and of which the miserable consequences are depicted with feeling by the suffering and repentant writer. Besides this practical moral effect, however, the book seems to have been composed with the view of inculcating the author's religious opinions; the particular cast and bias of which will be adequately shewn by extracting a few paragraphs.

'I re-

'I respect too much the doctrines of that holy religion, on which all my hopes of future happiness depend, to seem even for an instant to suppose that there has ever existed a single exception to the general depravity of human nature, but in the man Jesus Christ.' (P. 224.)

'And now the Almighty began to deal effectually with me, and evidently to discover that it was his sovereign pleasure to snatch me, the chief of sinners, as a brand from the burning.' (P. 275.)

'Men are by nature dead in sin, unacquainted with all real good, and lifted up with a high conceit of their own virtues and talents. But when the Lord begins to perform his purposes of mercy towards a sinner, he brings down his high thoughts and his proud looks, convincing him of his lost and ruined state, and leading him to that adorable Saviour who, by his death upon the Cross, purchased a full and free pardon for all those who come unto God by him.' (P. 278.)

The writer is not contented, however, with his ample belief in the doctrines of our religion, as they relate to the being and attributes of the Creator and the efficacious offices of the Mediator, but seems more than half inclined to admit the existence of another and an evil supernatural power, under the denomination of witchery. For example: (p. 232.)

'It is a question with many whether such a thing as witchcraft still actually exists on earth. I have myself little doubt but that, if it ever existed, (a matter which several passages of Scripture render highly credible,) it is still to be found among idolatrous nations.'

Let us add, as some little exculpation of the writer's *taste* at least, that he does not, according to the old fashion, discern his witches in the shape of horrid old women riding on a broom-stick, but asserts their existence in the form of the seductive young females of the native Oriental tribes.

Art. 31. *Some Passages in the Life of Mr. Adam Blair*, Minister of the Gospel at Cross-Meikle. Post 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.* Boards. Blackwood, Edinburgh; Cadell, London. 1822.

From the title of this volume, we were led to expect an edifying account of the pastoral labours of some precious member of the Scotish presbytery, intermixed with sundry disputations on the most knotty points of polemical divinity. We were, however, surprised by discovering these 'Passages' to be a very interesting fictitious narrative, proceeding from that vast forge of novels which has within the few last years been established in the Scotish capital. The life of Adam Blair contains the history of a young Scotch minister, who possessed every virtue but that of doubting his own steadfastness; and who fell from virtue at the moment when he was engaged in a most Christian-like and charitable action. It would be useless to attempt any outline of the story, the interest of which does not consist in any variety of incident, but in the truth of feeling and character which it exhibits. In some instances, undoubtedly, we detect an exaggeration of sentiment;

ment: but, on the whole, the volume displays a very intimate acquaintance with the human heart. The author, whoever he be, (and we venture to assert that this is no lady-writer,) is one who, if he has not looked "*quite* through the ways of men," seems to have lost no opportunity of scrutinising with an accurate eye the secrets of our bosoms. The characters of the hero, and of old John Maxwell his friend and one of the elders of his people, are finely drawn portraits: — but with Mrs. Campbell we were not so well pleased, though there may perhaps be as much nature in the painting.

In one instance, we have observed a plagiarism, of which the author himself was probably unconscious; viz. the very striking similarity between the death-scene which is described at the commencement of the present volume, and that which Mr. Edgeworth has recorded in his memoirs, at the time of losing his wife Honora. A few inaccuracies of language also occur in these 'Passages,' which seem to be the consequence of hasty publication; — such, for instance, as in page 38., where we find, 'He could not bear neither to think,' for *nor could he bear to think.*

Art. 32. *An Appeal to the Public in Defence of the Spitalfields Act;* with Remarks on the Causes of the Miseries and Moral Deterioration of the Poor. By William Hale. 8vo. 1*s.* Holdsworth.

The statute 13 George III. chap. 68. enacts that the prices for labor shall be settled by mutual agreement between the master-manufacturer and the journeymen-weavers of the silk-trade, and, when settled, shall be ratified by the magistrates; and that the prices so ratified shall be the legal wages, until altered by some new mutual agreement. It is the object of Mr. Hale to shew that this Act has the experience of half a century in favor of its beneficial tendency; and he brings forwards many statements and calculations in detail, to evince that in times of distress the poor of Spitalfields have been relieved, in some degree, by this Act, from the pressure of difficulties which has overwhelmed the poor weavers in districts where the price of labor is left open, and the supply is regulated by the demand. The pamphlet is written with earnestness and ability.

Art. 33. *An Enquiry into the Elective Franchise of the Citizens of London,* and the general Rights of the Livery. By Henry Schultes, Gent. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.* Cowie and Co.

Mr. Schultes has here furnished a valuable little treatise on the municipal rights of the city of London, which contains much curious and recondite learning on antient usages and institutions. The principal authorities are quoted at some length in the notes, and the writer expresses himself to be under particular obligations to Mr. Richard Taylor for information respecting the Saxon laws. The antiquarian research condensed into this pamphlet might, in the hands of any professed book-maker, have been beaten out into a volume of ostentatious size and appearance.

Art.

Art. 34. *May you Like it.* By a Country Curate. 12mo. 6*s.* Boards. Boys. 1822.

Abating some affectation in this little volume, as well as in its title, it is nevertheless very pleasingly written; evidently the production of a juvenile author, and displaying some inaccuracy of style which a more experienced pen would have avoided. The tales are all of a highly moral character, invariably bespeaking excellent feeling; and, could any objection be urged against their tendency, it would be that they are too strongly tinctured with religious enthusiasm. In some instances, indeed, the *nomme de guerre* which the author has assumed in his title-page appears to have been judiciously chosen; since his fictitious narratives much resemble the spiritual exhortations with which he may be supposed hebdomadally to edify his parishioners: but the solemnity of these portions of his volume does not suit very well with his occasional sprightliness and even flippancy of style. The poetry, which is thinly interspersed, is what the author in his preface tells us it has been hinted to be, 'very gentlemanly.'

Art. 35. *Histoire de la Secte des Amis, suivie d'une Notice sur Madame Fry, et la Prison de Newgate, à Londres. Par Madame* Adéle du Thon. 12mo. 5*s.* sewed. Phillips, Lombard-Street; and Treuttel and Co.

This little volume contains a very pleasing and interesting account of the benevolent and meritorious Society of Friends, with a clear and simple explanation of their doctrines, their manners, and their customs. Annexed is a short detail of the highly commendable exertions of Mrs. Fry in Newgate, and of the regulations which have been there successfully adopted.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The letter from Colchester is received, but cannot now be farther noticed on account of the absence of one of our *Board*, to whom it refers.

X. X. is informed that the publication, about which he writes, has not yet come to our hands, as far as we are at present aware.

*** The APPENDIX to VOL. XCVII. of the Review is published with this Number, and contains the usual report of FOREIGN Works, with the GENERAL TITLE, TABLE of CONTENTS, and INDEX, for the Volume.

THE

MONTHLY REVIEW,

For JUNE, 1822.

ART. I. *The Speeches of the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, in the Irish, and in the Imperial Parliament. Edited by his Son.* 4 Vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 8s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1822.

WHO that cherishes or venerates the "*sanctus amor patriæ*," who that feels or does homage to great powers of eloquence exerted in the worthiest of causes, or who that has ever commiserated the sufferings of our sister-island, and has appreciated the efforts of her advocates and the glories of her ornaments, can fail to be interested in the name of GRATTAN, and thankful for the memorials of his career? They must all applaud the diligence and the pious affection of his son, who has here collected and presented to them the speeches of his illustrious parent, accompanied by a short biographical memoir. Long, indeed, has this gentleman occupied a considerable space in the public attention; and his vast talents and unintermitted labors intitle him to a high rank among those whose lives have been honorable and beneficial to mankind. The recorded services of such men are the most unperishable monuments that can be raised to their honor by the gratitude of their survivors.

Henry Grattan was born in 1746 at Dublin, for which city his father was a representative. He was educated at that University, but in 1767 entered as a student of the Middle Temple; and, while prosecuting his studies there, he frequently attended the debates in the British parliament. He is said to have been peculiarly struck with the masculine vigor of Lord Chatham's eloquence; and those who amuse themselves with fanciful analogies have imagined a sort of affinity between the style and character of these great speakers. He certainly was, however, peculiarly studious of that shining orator; he frequently took down in writing entire speeches as they were pronounced; and there is now extant, in the handwriting of Mr. Grattan, a speech of this celebrated statesman which is not to be found in any printed collection. Among the contemporaries with whom Mr. G. set out in life, were Mr. Macaulay Boyd, (one of the supposed authors of Junius,)

and Mr., afterward Judge Day; for the latter of whom he entertained an affection which grew with his years, and was extinguished only with his death.

In 1772, Mr. Grattan was called to the Irish bar; and he was then living in familiar intercourse with the many distinguished individuals who formed the gay, the polished, and the intellectual circle of his native metropolis. Among these were Mr. Parker Bushe, Mr. Flood, Sir Hercules Langrishe, and Dr. Marlay, afterward Bishop of Waterford; and, in concert with Mr. Flood, he wrote several *jeux d'esprit* in ridicule of Lord Townsend's *bon vivant* administration, which were inserted in a collection called *Baratariana.* The friendship, however, which was nearest to his heart, the purest satisfaction of his life, and afterward the subject of its most tender and pleasing recollections, was that of the accomplished Lord Charlemont. It was at the house of this nobleman that the patriotic band who delivered Ireland were wont to assemble; and it was through his influence that, in 1775, Mr. Grattan was returned to parliament for the town of Charlemont. In 1790, he was elected for the city of Dublin: in 1800, he was chosen for Wicklow, to oppose the Union: in 1805, he came into the Imperial parliament for Malton; and in 1806 he was re-elected for his native city, and sat for that place in the several parliaments summoned in 1807, 1813, 1818, and 1820. On the accession of his present Majesty, he came over to take his seat, contrary to the advice of his physicians and the remonstrances of his friends, his health being then in an alarming state. The project which filled his soul and animated its expiring efforts was the Catholic question: but he had tasked his strength beyond his powers of physical endurance. As he could not bear a journey by land, he went by water from Liverpool to London in a canal-barge, emptied of its lumber, and hung round with garden-mats. In this manner, for six days, he sat up in a chair without moving, sustained by his anxiety to bear with his last breath his testimony to the holy cause of religious tolerance, and to perform his last duty to his country. After much suffering, however, he expired a few days subsequently to his arrival in London, on the 4th of June, 1820; thus finishing, by a species of political martyrdom, a patriotic and honorable course of public service.

His private life well corresponded with the purity of his public conduct; and an interesting simplicity was manifested in his character, not unlike that which was the charm and ornament of the domestic retirement of Mr. Fox. He loved to "forget the statesman in the friend." On the subjects

that accidentally arise in social converse, philosophy, poetry, and politics, he was equally pleasing and instructive; every topic being illumined with the bright though softened rays of that powerful intellect, which was alike capable of elucidating the most perplexed and adorning the simplest matters on which it touched. When playful, he delighted the young; and when grave, even age itself was improved by his experience. His private conversations were replete with the purest morality, for he was never the momentary apologist of vice or profligacy. An instinctive innate horror of every thing low or corrupt, a religious devotion to public and private principle, from a rooted conviction that both were inseparably entwined together in their ethical relations, and a contempt for money, (the surest indication of a lively sensibility to the wants and sufferings of others,) were the chief outlines of his domestic character and habits. 'His life,' says his son, 'was one continued, gentle, moral lesson. It was impossible in his society not to become enamoured of virtue.'

Thus lived and thus died a man whom every age does not witness. Never was an individual exposed to the stormy elements of political strife, who experienced more of the proverbial levity of the people; — of that people whose political and moral depression he deplored, and devoted his whole life to ameliorate. He was the object of their fondest idolatry on one day; — in the next, rejected and despised. In 1798, he was denounced as the enemy to his country; — afterward, he was deified as the strenuous assertor of the constitution; — again he was traduced as the betrayer of the civil liberties of Ireland; — in 1812, he was elected by the unanimous voice of the people; — and in 1818 he was almost stoned to death in the midst of his native city.

For the honor of England, never insensible to native or to foreign worth, his death was universally mourned, and the sighs of the great and the good were mingled over his grave. Every individual, from the highest to the lowest, seemed to feel as if he had been deprived of a friend and a father; the interest of the sad solemnities was deepened by the unostentatious attendance at his funeral of all who were elevated in rank or ennobled by talent; and the warmest of his political opponents joined in the procession, as if solicitous to bury in his tomb the passing animosities and contentions of the hour. The spot of earth dedicated to his mortal remains adjoined that which incloses the ashes of Pitt and of Fox. "*Atqui hæc sunt indicia solida et expressa; hæc signa probitatis, non fucata forensi specie, sed domesticis insita notis veritatis.*" Cic. Orat. pro Plancio.

Concerning the character of Mr. Grattan's eloquence, a greater variety of opinion may be fairly indulged, than the uniform and consenting feelings of mankind will suffer us to entertain of the manly and undeviating rectitude of his public career. Though not liable to all the exceptions, which sound criticism and correct taste may justly make against that which is called the Irish school, his mode of speaking was far from being untinctured by its faults. His best and most popular harangues may be said to be a string of antitheses; and he appeared more solicitous to produce effect by strong and pointed sentences, than by continuous and systematic reasoning. We certainly perceive, and to a great degree we feel, in this extraordinary orator, a style glowing, animated, and enthusiastic: — but at the same time we find it incongruous, and not formed according to the best taste; nearly all the members of the composition being equally labored and expanded, without any due selection or subordination of parts. He is generally too epigrammatic, and his manner wants variety. There is an eloquence far beyond this sort; — the eloquence of reason, and of Fox: — which, conscious (as it were) of its native might, threw off when it started on its gigantic race all the trappings and ornament of a vulgar rhetoric, as incumbrances to its career. This was not the oratory of Grattan. He did not trust himself, like the Athenian, to the athletic and invincible strength of unadorned argument: but, infected with the prevailing taste of his countrymen, he could not resist the temptations which a figurative and metaphorical diction holds out to ardent and impassioned minds. We must add, also, the unconquerable love of point and antithesis, to which we have already made a passing allusion. It was this fault, which is hardly redeemed by a world of beauties, that imparted what may be called a mannerism to his mode of speaking that, on many occasions, counteracted the strength and impetuosity of his reasoning, and left the ear tired and sated with a ceaseless jingle of epigram and sentences. In early life, however, he was uninfected with this species of bad rhetoric; which grew on him towards the close of his career.

It is much to be lamented that scarcely a memorial exists of Mr. Grattan's first speeches, which are pre-eminently the best: but the true criterion of their excellence is manifest in the benefit which they were instrumental in effecting for Ireland. With respect to that country, it may be said of him as it was said of Augustus with respect to Rome, "*Latentiam invenit, marmoream reliquit.*" Ireland, before the time of Mr. Grattan, had scarcely a merchant, a manufacturer, or a

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name of note in literature: — the desart was planted by his hands. It is not easy, also, to imagine a more critical conjuncture than that in which he first appeared on the stormy theatre of Irish politics: which then exhibited, on one side, violence and power, — on the other, servitude and sedition; — a series of disgraceful alternations between exorbitant authority, sullen submission, secret repinings, and open rebellion.

Undoubtedly, no small part of these evils arose from the popery-laws; — the professed object of which was to reduce the Catholics to the condition of a miserable and despised race, without property and without education, and bound to the rest of the community by no ties of sympathy, no bond of common interest, no motives of affection. They divided the nation into two distinct bodies, one of which was to possess all the franchises, all the property, and all the education. Violence of conquest and tyranny of regulation, unintermitted for nearly a hundred years, had gradually reduced the people to a degraded mob, without estimation themselves, and holding in no estimation the rank and influence of others. To palliate these disorders, Mr. Grattan, and the few who accorded with his views of policy, exerted themselves to raise an interest of property and education among them, and to hold out to them the animating expectation of participating in the benefits of a constitution, "which," as Mr. Burke somewhere observes, "is not made for great, general, and proscriptive exclusions."

Having entered on his career with the most ardent resolutions to restore the independence of Ireland, Mr. G. introduced his celebrated Declaration of Irish Rights, the first step towards the recovery of that legislative power of which the country had been deprived for centuries. His great speech on this occasion was delivered on the 9th of April, 1790, and it is said to have been electrical in its effect. That the subject of it may be better apprehended, we must be permitted to make a few preliminary observations.

The right of Ireland to make laws was first invaded by the 10th Henry VII. in a parliament held before the deputy, Sir Edward Poynings: which enacted that no parliament should sit in Ireland without a certificate, under the great seal, of the acts that were to be passed; that they should be affirmed in England by the King in council; and that his licence to summon a parliament must be obtained under the great seal of England. Thus the English Privy Council acquired the right of altering or suppressing acts of the Irish legislature, which consequently was deprived of the power to originate, alter, or

 amend.

amend. Ireland lost, moreover, her judicial rights. Against this usurpation, Molyneux protested in his celebrated "Case of Ireland," which was burned by the hands of the common hangman. The English House of Lords, however, persisted in reversing on appeal the decrees of the House of Lords in Ireland; and the disputes on this memorable subject at last gave rise to the declaratory act, 6 Geo. I., stating that Ireland was a subordinate and dependant kingdom; that the King, Lords, and Commons of England had power to make laws to bind Ireland; that the House of Lords of Ireland had no jurisdiction; and that all proceedings before that court were void. Although the Irish nation sullenly and reluctantly yielded, the spirit of the times began to awaken, and the arming of the Volunteers gave weight and efficacy to their remonstrances. They had extorted a free trade from Great Britain; and many circumstances conspired to rouse them to a sense of their condition, and to an ardent aspiration after their rights. These circumstances are well introduced by Mr. Grattan:

'If this nation,' said he, 'after the death-wound given to her freedom, had fallen on her knees in anguish, and besought the Almighty to frame an occasion in which a weak and injured people might recover their rights, prayer could not have asked, nor God have furnished, a moment more opportune for the restoration of liberty, than this, in which I have the honour to address you.

'England now smarts under the lesson of the American war; the doctrine of Imperial legislature she feels to be pernicious; the revenues and monopolies annexed to it she has found to be untenable; she lost the power to enforce it; her enemies are a host, pouring upon her from all quarters of the earth; her armies are dispersed; the sea is not hers; she has no minister, no ally, no admiral, none in whom she long confides, and no general whom she has not disgraced; the balance of her fate is in the hands of Ireland; you are not only her last connection, you are the only nation in Europe that is not her enemy. Besides, there does, of late, a certain damp and spurious supineness overcast her arms and councils, miraculous as that vigour which has lately inspired yours;—for with you every thing is the reverse; never was there a parliament in Ireland so possessed of the confidence of the people; you are the greatest political assembly now sitting in the world; you are at the head of an immense army; nor do we only possess an unconquerable force, but a certain unquenchable public fire, which has touched all ranks of men like a visitation.

'Turn to the growth and spring of your country, and behold and admire it; where do you find a nation who, upon whatever concerns the rights of mankind, expresses herself with more truth or force, perspicuity or justice? not the set phrase of scholastic men, not the tame unreality of court-addresses, not the vulgar raving

raving of a rabble, but the genuine speech of liberty, and the unsophisticated oratory of a free nation.

'See her military ardour, expressed not only in 40,000 men, conducted by instinct as they were raised by inspiration, but manifested in the zeal and promptitude of every young member of the growing community. Let corruption tremble; let the enemy, foreign or domestic, tremble; but let the friends of liberty rejoice at these means of safety and this hour of redemption. Yes; there does exist an enlightened sense of rights, a young appetite for freedom, a solid strength, and a rapid fire, which not only put a declaration of right within your power, but put it out of your power to decline one. Eighteen counties are at your bar; they stand there with the compact of Henry, with the charter of John, and with all the passions of the people. "Our lives are at your service, but our liberties, we received them from God; we will not resign them to man."'

The peroration of this exquisite piece of oratory is singularly powerful:

'There is no policy left for Great Britain but to cherish the remains of her empire, and do justice to a country who is determined to do justice to herself, certain that she gives nothing equal to what she received from us when we gave her Ireland.

'With regard to this country, England must resort to the free principles of government, and must forget that legislative power which she has exercised to do mischief to herself; she must go back to freedom, which, as it is the foundation of her constitution, so is it the main pillar of her empire; it is not merely the connection of the crown, it is a constitutional annexation, an alliance of liberty, which is the true meaning and mystery of the sisterhood, and will make both countries one arm and one soul, replenishing from time to time, in their immortal connection, the vital spirit of law and liberty from the lamp of each other's light; thus combined by the ties of common interest, equal trade and equal liberty, the constitution of both countries may become immortal, a new and milder empire may arise from the errors of the old, and the British nation assume once more her natural station — the head of mankind.

'That there are precedents against us I allow — acts of power I would call them, not precedents; and I answer the English pleading such precedents, as they answered their kings when they urged precedents against the liberty of England, such things are the weakness of the times; the tyranny of one side, the feebleness of the other, the law of neither; we will not be bound by them; or rather, in the words of the declaration of right, "no doing judgment, proceeding, or any wise to the contrary, shall be brought into precedent or example." Do not then tolerate a power — the power of the British parliament over this land, which has no foundation in utility or necessity, or empire, or the laws of England, or the laws of Ireland, or the laws of nature, or the laws of God, — do not suffer it to have a duration in your mind.

'Do not tolerate that power which blasted you for a century, that power which shattered your loom, banished your manufactures, dishonoured your peerage, and stopped the growth of your people; do not, I say, be bribed by an export of woollen, or an import of sugar, and permit that power which has thus withered the land to remain in your country and have existence in your pusillanimity.

'Do not suffer the arrogance of England to imagine a surviving hope in the fears of Ireland; do not send the people to their own resolves for liberty, passing by the tribunals of justice and the high court of parliament; neither imagine that, by any formation of apology, you can palliate such a commission to your hearts, still less to your children, who will sting you with their curses in your grave for having interposed between them and their Maker, robbing them of an immense occasion, and losing an opportunity which you did not create, and can never restore.

'Hereafter, when these things shall be history, your age of thraldom and poverty, your sudden resurrection, commercial redress, and miraculous armament, shall the historian stop at liberty, and observe, — that here the principal men among us fell into mimic trances of gratitude, — they were awed by a weak ministry, and bribed by an empty treasury, — and when liberty was within their grasp, and the temple opened her folding doors, and the arms of the people clanged, and the zeal of the nation urged and encouraged them on, that they fell down, and were prostituted at the threshold.

'I might, as a constituent, come to your bar, and demand my liberty. I do call upon you, by the laws of the land and their violation, by the instruction of eighteen counties, by the arms, inspiration, and providence of the present moment, tell us the rule by which we shall go, — assert the law of Ireland, — declare the liberty of the land.

'I will not be answered by a public lie, in the shape of an amendment; neither, speaking for the subjects' freedom, am I to hear of faction. I wish for nothing but to breathe, in this our island, in common with my fellow-subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it be the ambition to break your chain, and contemplate your glory. I never will be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags: he may be naked, he shall not be in iron; and I do see the time is at hand, the spirit is gone forth, the declaration is planted; and though great men should apostatize, yet the cause will live; and though the public speaker should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast the organ which conveyed it, and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet but survive him.'

The great Irish patriots of that day had indeed undertaken an arduous enterprize. They did not, however, faint by the way-side, but proceeded with temper and with firmness. While Mr. Grattan was attacking the supremacy of the British parliament,

parliament, Mr. Flood and Mr. Yelverton (afterward Lord Avonmore) attacked the law of Poynings; Mr. Gervase Bushe assailed the perpetual Mutiny Bill; and Mr. Gardiner and Sir Hercules Langrishe opposed the Penal Code. The plans of the political campaign were laid at Charlemont-House.

Ireland is chiefly indebted, however, to her Volunteers for the celebrated revolution of 1782, though various other causes had their share in it; such as the losses of Great Britain in America, and the irresolution, weakness, and subsequent dissolution of Lord North's administration, which hastened it onwards. The Fox-party then came into power, and, as the first act of the new ministry, the Duke of Portland was sent to Ireland: when, by way of amendment to the address, Mr. Grattan moved a declaration of right, which was unanimously carried. The exordium of his speech on that occasion is so affectingly solemn, that we cannot abstain from extracting it. It is not, indeed, secure from criticism, for the characteristic habits of Mr. Grattan's style frequently appear in it: — but who can stop to make petty exceptions to a rapid and impetuous eloquence, pronounced on one of the most awful and interesting subjects that can affect the dignity, the happiness, or the destiny of man?

'I am now to address a free people: ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation.

'I have spoken on the subject of your liberty so often, that I have nothing to add, and have only to admire by what heaven-directed steps you have proceeded until the whole faculty of the nation is braced up to the act of her own deliverance.

'I found Ireland on her knees, I watched over her with an eternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift! spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation! in that new character I hail her! and bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua!*

'She is no longer a wretched colony, returning thanks to her governor for his rapine, and to her king for his oppression; nor is she now a squabbling, fretful sectary, perplexing her little wits, and firing her furious statutes with bigotry, sophistry, disabilities, and death, to transmit to posterity insignificance and war.

'Look to the rest of Europe, and contemplate yourself, and be satisfied. Holland lives on the memory of past achievements; Sweden has lost her liberty; England had sullied her great name by an attempt to enslave her colonies. You are the only people, — you, of the nations in Europe, are now the only people who excite admiration, and in your present conduct you not only exceed the present generation, but you equal the past. I am not afraid to turn back and look antiquity in the face: the Revolution, — that

— that great event, whether you call it ancient or modern I know not, was tarnished with bigotry: the great deliverer (for such I must ever call the Prince of Nassau,) was blemished with oppression; he assented to, he was forced to assent to acts which deprived the Catholics of religious, and all the Irish of civil and commercial rights, though the Irish were the only subjects in these islands who had fought in his defence. But you have sought liberty on her own principle: see the Presbyterians of Bangor petition for the freedom of the Catholics of Munster. You, with difficulties innumerable, with dangers not a few, have done what your ancestors wished, but could not accomplish; and what your posterity may preserve, but will never equal: you have moulded the jarring elements of your country into a nation, and have rivalled those great and ancient commonwealths, whom you were taught to admire, and among whom you are now to be recorded: in this proceeding you had not the advantages which were common to other great countries; no monuments, no trophies, none of those outward and visible signs of greatness, such as inspire mankind and connect the ambition of the age which is coming on with the example of that going off, and forms the descent and concatenation of glory: no; you have not had any great act recorded among all your misfortunes, nor have you one public tomb to assemble the crowd, and speak to the living the language of integrity and freedom.

'Your historians did not supply the want of monuments; on the contrary, these narrators of your misfortunes, who should have felt for your wrongs, and have punished your oppressors with oppression's natural scourges, the moral indignation of history, compromised with public villany and trembled; they excited your violence, they suppressed your provocation, and wrote in the chain which entrammelled their country. I am come to break that chain, and I congratulate my country, who, without any of the advantages I speak of, going forth as it were with nothing but a stone and a sling, and what oppression could not take away, the favour of Heaven, accomplished her own redemption, and left you nothing to add and every thing to admire.'

We could have wished that no memorial existed of the memorable dispute between Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood, on the subject of the Repeal of the Declaratory Act. The controversy was, in fact, merely verbal: but the invective of Mr. Grattan, though not unprovoked, was unmeasured in satire, poignancy, and bitterness. The disputants were in after-life reconciled; and it is to be lamented that even a transient cloud lowered over two eminent men, engaged in the sacred cause of their country's deliverance.

It is by his exertions in behalf of the Irish Catholics, that Mr. Grattan has formed the most lasting monument of his greatness. Never was perseverance in effecting a great object of policy and justice more steadily, and, we may add, more beautifully

beautifully exhibited. The great law of Christian tolerance and religious charity seemed the inexorable rule of Mr. Grattan's political life: — but it is disgraceful to an age abounding in the mature fruits of literature and philosophy, to state that, down to 1782, the Catholics had no rights of property and education. The bill which enabled them to acquire lands by purchase, grant, descent, devise, &c., restored them to the free exercise of their religion, secured them from the confiscation of their houses and property, and removed their disabilities as to education, was first carried (without a division) in that year.

Thus slowly do the vain prejudices of man fade before the increasing lights of reason and humanity! — but the progress of better opinions, though tardy and impeded, is at length mighty and irresistible. In the present state of enlightened feeling, it will be difficult to believe (what is strictly true) that, when the Catholic question was first introduced into the Irish House, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Dennis Browne, who supported it, could scarcely obtain a hearing. The petition of the Catholic body was even ignominiously rejected; and it is said that Sir Henry Harstonge actually carried it down to the bar, and kicked it out of the House. These difficulties, however, were as resting places only to the victorious progress of Mr. Grattan's exertions. It was his uniform opinion, — almost a part of the constitutional frame of his mind, — that the fate of Ireland as an independent nation hung on that decision; and that the constitution could not be upheld unless all classes and ranks were interested in its conservation. — His labours were not consecrated only by the justice of his cause: — he *succeeded* in his pious struggle for the rights of religion and humanity. Concessions to the Catholics went *pari passu* with the free trade and independence of the country; and never was political prophecy so literally verified as his celebrated exclamation, frequently remembered since it was uttered, — "The day you reject the Catholic question, that day you vote the Union."

In the Imperial parliament, he repeatedly introduced that question, and on one occasion nearly triumphed in carrying it. He spoke also on other topics of moment: — the Orders in Council; the Walcheren expedition; Irish tithes; the Irish Convention-act; and the war with Bonaparte in 1815; and at these times he was heard with the most respectful attention. Indeed, his venerable age, his long life consecrated to the advantage and happiness of his country, and the eminence which he had so early acquired and so long retained, could not but secure to him from the urbanity of the first assembly

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in the world a silent and patient audience:—but the peculiar character of his eloquence suffered much in being transplanted from its kindred soil, where it had been nurtured by local associations which now had no existence. Its habitual warmth, its tone of high moral indignation and virtuous contempt, which struck so forcibly on the chords of national sympathy, when he hurled his invectives against those venal and corrupt parasites of the Castle by whom Ireland was blighted as by locusts, had no longer the same exciting causes to call them into play. Of a settled country, secure in its recognized privileges, and having rather to defend those privileges than to struggle for their acquisition, the popular eloquence is principally of a sedater and more subdued description; and principles being too thoroughly established to be called into doubt, or exposed to jeopardy, the usual controversies turn on questions which chiefly require accuracy of detail and justness of reasoning. Hence it was that, in the English House of Commons, the strong and vehement though frequently disjointed and abrupt sententiousness of Mr. Grattan had little effect, beyond that of rareness and singularity.

It is remarkable that Mr. Grattan was at variance with many of the Whig-party in parliament, on the question of a war with Bonaparte after the violation of the treaty of Elba; and it is also to be observed that one of the most powerful orators of modern times, his friend and countryman, Mr. Plunket, was fighting by his side on that important occasion. Having stated the real question to be whether we should go to war when our allies were assembled, or when they should be dispersed, Mr. Grattan thus proceeded in his speech:

'Sir, the French government is war; it is a stratocracy, elective, aggressive, and predatory; her armies live to fight, and fight to live; their constitution is essentially war, and the object of that war, the conquest of Europe. What such a person as Buonaparte at the head of such a constitution will do, you may judge by what he has done; and, first, he took possession of the greater part of Europe; he made his son King of Rome; he made his son-in-law Viceroy of Italy; he made his brother King of Holland; he made his brother-in-law King of Naples; he imprisoned the King of Spain; he banished the Regent of Portugal, and formed his plan to take possession of the crown of England; England had checked his designs; her trident had stirred up his empire from its foundation; he complained of her tyranny at sea; but it was her power at sea which arrested his tyranny at land; the navy of England saved Europe. Knowing this, he knew the conquest of England became necessary for the accomplishment of the conquest of Europe, and the destruction of her marine necessary for the conquest of England. Accordingly, besides raising an army of 60,000 men

men for the invasion of England, he applied himself to the destruction of her commerce, the foundation of her naval power. In pursuit of this object, and on his plan of a western empire, he conceived, and in part executed, the design of consigning to plunder and destruction the vast regions of Russia; he quits the genial clime of the temperate zone; he bursts through the narrow limits of an immense empire; he abandons comfort and security, and he hurries to the pole, to hazard them all, and with them the companions of his victories, and the fame and fruits of his crimes and his talents, on a speculation of leaving in Europe, throughout the whole of its extent, no one free or independent nation: to oppose this huge conception of mischief and despotism, the great potentate of the north from his gloomy recesses advances to defend, against the voracity of ambition, the sterility of his empire. Ambition is omnivorous, it feasts on famine and sheds tons of blood, that it may starve in ice, in order to commit a robbery on desolation. The power of the north, I say, joins another prince, whom Buonaparte had deprived of almost the whole of his authority, the King of Prussia; and then another potentate, whom Buonaparte had deprived of a principal part of his dominions, the Emperor of Austria. These three powers, physical causes, final justice, the influence of your victories in Spain and Portugal, and the spirit given to Europe by the achievements and renown of your great commander *, together with the precipitation of his own ambition, combine to accomplish his destruction. Buonaparte is conquered; he who said, "I will be like the Most High;" he who smote the nations with a continual stroke; this short-lived son of the morning, Lucifer, falls, and the earth is at rest; the phantom of royalty passes on to nothing, and the three kings to the gates of Paris; there they stand, the late victims of his ambition, and now the disposers of his destiny, and the masters of his empire; without provocation he had gone to their countries with fire and sword; with the greatest provocation they come to his country with life and liberty; they do an act unparalleled in the annals of history, such as nor envy, nor time, nor malice, nor prejudice, nor ingratitude can efface; they give to his subjects liberty, and to himself life and royalty. This is greater than conquest! The present race must confess their virtues, and ages to come must crown their monuments, and place them above heroes and kings in glory everlasting.

'When Buonaparte states that the conditions of the treaty of Fontainbleau are not performed, he forgets one of them, namely, the condition by which he lives. It is very true there was a mixture of policy and prudence in this measure; but it was a great act of magnanimity notwithstanding, and it is not in Providence to turn such an act to your disadvantage. With respect to the other act, the mercy shown to his people, I have underrated it; the allies did not give liberty to France, they enabled her to give a constitution to herself, a better constitution than that which, with much laboriousness, and circumspection, and deliberation,

'* The Duke of Wellington.'

and

and procrastination, the philosopher fabricated, when the Jacobins trampled down the flimsy work, murdered the vain philosophers, drove out the crazy reformers, and remained masters of the field in the triumph of superior anarchy and confusion; better than that, I say, which the Jacobin destroyed, better than that which he afterwards formed, with some method in his madness, and more madness in his method; with such a horror of power, that in his plan of a constitution, he left out a government, and with so many wheels, that every thing was in movement, and nothing in concert, so that the machine took fire from its own velocity; in the midst of death and mirth, with images emblematic of the public disorder, goddesses of reason turned fool, and of liberty turned fury: at length the French found their advantages in adopting the sober and unaffected security of King, Lords, and Commons, on the idea of that form of government which your ancestors procured by their firmness, and maintained by their discretion. The people had attempted to give the French liberty, and failed; the wise men (so her philosophers called themselves) had attempted to give liberty to France, and had failed; it remained for the extraordinary destiny of the French, to receive their free constitution from kings. This constitution Buonaparte has destroyed, together with the treaty of Fontainbleau, and having broken both, desires your confidence; Russia confided, and was deceived; Austria confided, and was deceived. Have we forgotten the treaty of Luneville, and his abominable conduct to the Swiss? Spain and other nations of Europe confided, and all were deceived. During the whole of this time, he was charging on England the continuation of the war, while he was, with uniform and universal perfidy, breaking his own treaties of peace, for the purpose of renewing the war, to end it in what was worse than war itself, — his conquest of Europe.'

We have quoted this passage because it exhibits in a limited compass the excellences and defects of Mr. Grattan's oratory. In contradiction to the ordinary progress by which the fire of imagination becomes cool with advancing years, it should seem from this specimen that he allowed it a more unbridled career as he drew nearer to the verge of his political and his natural existence. The aberrations of the human intellect naturally resemble each other; and when we were reading, in the speech of which we have just extracted a part, 'of heaven and earth being set adrift from one another,' and 'making God Almighty a tolerated alien in his own creation,' we were forcibly reminded, by the extravagant mysticism of the passage, of one of the flights of the Della Crusca school of poetry, where the poet makes

—— "the Creator blush to see
How horrible his works can be."

We now close this article; which we have conscientiously lengthened, from a conviction that even our frail and perishable

able pages ought to assist in upholding the just fame of a great and good man. Such persons, who are equally the ornaments of public and private life, ought not to be penuriously praised. To Mr. Grattan, making due allowance for the imperfections of our common nature, we sincerely believe that the words of one of the most philosophical poets of antiquity may be strictly applied, and we know not whether human panegyric can go beyond them:

> "*Compositum jus fasque animi, sanctosque recessus*
> *Mentis et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.*"

ART. II. *Memoirs of the Wernerian Natural History Society.* Vol. III. For the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820. With Twenty-five Engravings. 8vo. pp. 572. 18*s.* Boards. Constable and Co. Edinburgh; Hurst and Co. London. 1821.

FOR the originality and the accuracy of information which characterize the records of this Society, the public are perhaps indebted, at least in some measure, to the cautious tardiness with which the volumes are prepared for the press. The present, like its precursors, bears testimony to the virtue of selection and trituration: but the undiminished pressure of claims on our attention compels us to report its materials with our accustomed brevity.

Observations on the Anatomy of the Orang Outang. By Dr. Thomas Stewart Traill, Liverpool.—The subject of these observations was a young female Orang, of the African or Black species, which was brought to Europe by the late Captain Payne, and died at Liverpool. From the natives of Gaboon, Captain Payne received information respecting the natural history of this animal, which accords with the recitals of Dampier, Battel, Bosman, &c., though they were long suspected of exaggeration. The circumstance, in particular, of its carrying off Negro girls, and detaining them for years in captivity, was distinctly stated, and has been recently and pointedly averred by gentlemen who have lived in Western Africa.

From the confusion which has prevailed in various descriptions and figures of the Orang Outang, and from the interesting history of the present specimen, Dr. Traill was induced, in conjunction with his friend Dr. Vose, a zealous and skilful anatomist, to devote some leisure-hours to the examination of its external appearance and internal structure. Camper, Cuvier, and others, had indicated some of the more prominent differences of organization between this species and the human subject;

subject; and Dr. Traill, in consequence of minute and patient investigation, has considerably multiplied the points of dissimilarity: but these we cannot enumerate without transcribing large portions of his paper. He has likewise occasionally noticed in what respects of conformation the Orang agrees with or differs from the Baboon.

'On reviewing,' says he, 'the structure of the organs of respiration, of the tongue and larynx, there does not appear any reason why the Orang Outang should not speak. The organization, as far as we can judge, seems perfect; yet this animal, according to the best evidence, has never been known to make any attempt at articulate sounds. Indeed, in this respect it seems inferior to several other animals, which have been taught to imitate and repeat words or sentences. If animal organization were alone necessary to speech, the Orang Outang, from its striking approach to man, ought to possess this faculty in an eminent degree. We must, therefore, refer its deficiency in this respect not to corporeal but to mental peculiarities. It would be, perhaps, extremely difficult to point out the exact boundary between human intellect and the faculties of the lower animals; but one grand distinction peculiar to the human species is the possession of that intellectual power, by metaphysicians denominated *abstraction*. As the expression of ideas by arbitrary sounds implies the exercise of this faculty, which does not seem granted to the brute creation, it may not be going too far to conclude, that the want of speech in the Orang and other animals, with a corporeal organization so similar to that of man, is wholly to be attributed to the absence of the faculty of abstraction.'

We are aware that Dr. Traill is by no means singular in asserting the analogous structure of the organs of voice in man and the Orang Outang: but the cause of the incompetency of the latter to articulate words may possibly be that the air, as it issues from the larynx, is distributed into the hyothyroidian sacs; so that, whenever these animals cry, the sacs are inflated, and then emptied, and the mouth is not supplied with the sounds which its different parts might otherwise contribute to enunciate. At all events, we cannot implicitly adopt the Doctor's theory as a satisfactory solution of the problem: both because the conduct of several of the inferior animals, especially as they advance in life, and acquire knowlege from experience, appears to be occasionally regulated by processes of generalization and abstraction; and because children and women, not particularly addicted to abstract trains of reasoning, will often enunciate more smoothly and freely than the most profound metaphysician. The mere physical act of human speech, when the organs are perfect, seems to result from imitation; and, while we admit on the

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one hand that both oral and written language are greatly indebted for their copiousness and energies to the superior powers of abstraction with which our species is endowed, we ought not to deny, on the other, that our inductions and judgments derive precision and extension from the use of conversation, and our appeals to the recorded wisdom of ages. From the very decided propensity to imitate human actions and gestures, which is inherent in the monkey-tribes, we cannot doubt that they would acquire the faculty of articulating sounds, at least to a certain degree, if they were provided with a complete apparatus for the purpose; and, although the defect of the speaking instrument may have eluded the search of anatomy, it may nevertheless exist, and be ultimately traceable to some very simple cause.

On the Connection between the Primitive Forms of Crystals, and the Number of their Axes of Double Refraction. By David Brewster, LL.D., &c.—The ingenious author of this paper, who has devoted much of his penetrating attention to the optical structure of minerals, in the course of his researches ascertained certain relations between the primitive nucleus of crystals and their number of axes of double refraction; and these he has here very distinctly stated, in a tabular form, with the few exceptions to which they are liable. 'When I had examined,' says he, 'the greater number of those bodies whose primitive nucleus was known, I had the satisfaction of observing that all the crystals with *one axis* arranged themselves under a certain series of primitive forms; and that those with *two axes* arranged themselves under another series; while the remaining primitive forms were occupied by those crystals whose doubly refracting forces were in equilibrio by the combined action of *three equal and rectangular axes*.' According to these principles, the first class of primitive forms, or crystals with one axis, exhibit the rhomboid, with an obtuse summit; the second class, or crystals with two axes, assume certain modifications of the prism, with a varying base, but reducible to nine definitions, which are here enumerated; and the third class, or crystals with three axes, are comprized in the cube, the regular octohedron, and the rhomboidal dodecahedron. Availing himself of the correctness of these general views, Dr. Brewster proceeds to shew that various crystals, of which the primitive forms had not been hitherto determined, may now be classed in some of the preceding divisions; and their primitive form either deduced from, or approximated by, an examination of those that are secondary.

Description of a Species of Delphinus, which appears to be new. By the late George Montagu, Esq.—From the head

and a few of the teeth only having been preserved, Mr. Montagu's description is very imperfect: but, if we might hazard a conjecture grounded on his cautious observations, we should be tempted to pronounce the specimen in question to be synonymous with the *Delphinus Rostratus* of Cuvier, as described in the 19th volume of the *Annales du Muséum*. We concur, however, with the late venerable author in the remark that much obscurity still hangs over the history of the *Delphini*; and systematical writers have, perhaps, laid too much stress on the number and characters of the teeth, which seem liable to vary even in individuals of the same species.

Observations on the Mineralogy of the Neighbourhood of Cork. By the Rev. John Fleming, D.D., &c. — These annotations apply to the greywacké, lime-stone, and clay-slate strata, with their subordinate members, constituting a series of transition-formation in the south of Ireland. In the greywacké, or, as some would term it, sand-stone of the independent coal-formation, are found impressions of certain dicotyledonous plants, and in some places bivalve shells, but too much incorporated with the rock to exhibit their peculiar characters. The lime-stone, which is universally used for building, and is sometimes polished as a marble, includes various remains of testaceous mollusca, several of which have been figured and described by Sowerby, in his Mineral Conchology. Subordinate to this compact lime-stone, and in the form of a thick bed, or of large irregularly shaped masses, occurs common compact dolomite, or magnesian lime-stone, containing groups of crystals of brown or pearl spar, quartz, &c. 'In some of the larger druses, crystals of amethyst have been found of considerable size and beauty. Some of these have exceeded two inches in diameter, and four inches in length. In one place, close by the marshy banks of the river, and near the town, the best crystals have been found; but in consequence of a dispute between the King and the proprietor of the soil, with respect to the right of search, all access to the cavity is prevented.' The rocks of clay-slate are situated to the south of the preceding, and, though variable in texture and aspect, occasionally afford quarries for roofing slate, black chalk, and wavellite. This last-mentioned mineral substance, which is somewhat rare, was pointed out and described by Dr. Fitton; and Dr. Fleming has added a few particulars: but he entreats the indulgence of the Society towards his hurried survey, being aware that they 'do not attach much value to mail-coach mineralogical observations.' The rapidity of Irish driving seems even to have jostled his associations of noun and verb into an *unconformable* condition;

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as, for example, 'Neither this oval form, nor the oblique position of the valves of the terebratulæ, *arise* from any bruise, but *is* quite natural.' — 'The character of the rocks *are* well exhibited.' — 'The appearances which the wavellite of this place *exhibit*,' &c.

Mineralogical Notices and Observations. By the Rev. Thomas Macknight, D. D. — These memoranda will prove serviceable to the geological traveller who may be desirous of making the *grand tour* of the Scotish Highlands, by indicating various interesting localities of the primitive formations; such as the junctions of the granite and gneiss, the slate-repository of Balahulish, the rocks which overlie the great mica-slate formation, &c. Of *Cairngouram*, more commonly written and pronounced *Cairngoram*, producing a stone now used for seals and other purposes, the ensuing particulars may not be unacceptable even to the general reader:

'The great mass of this magnificent and extensive range, whose summit appears little inferior to Ben-Nevis in height, is composed of granite, in general uncovered *with* soil, and unaccompanied with other rocks; but containing a rich store of the precious stones, so well known by the name of the mountain, where they are found in veins and drusy cavities, associated chiefly with rock-crystal: of which, indeed, for the most part, they are only varieties of different colours, as yellowish-white, clove-brown, or brownish-black, &c. Accordingly, in traversing this range, for a considerable distance, I had an opportunity of verifying Professor Jameson's conjecture respecting the original repository of the Scotch topaz.* I was shewn a number of places, where the crystals had been extracted from the rock by means of blowing and the pick-axe, &c.; and could observe many openings in the rocky fronts, where, if at all accessible, the adventurous searcher would, it is likely, find his labour and risk amply repaid, by valuable treasures of the same kind.

'We can, therefore, now easily understand, how the topaz of Aberdeenshire (for a particular description of which I must refer to Mr. Jameson's paper already quoted) has so often been found, as well as amethyst, and precious beryl, in the alluvial soil. The fact, however, I believe, is, that by far the greater number of these gems are gathered among the debris of the granite rocks, in the beds or ravines of the small streams which issue from the mountains in this district. Those who employ themselves in searching for the stones pay the proprietors a small rent for the liberty of searching. The part of the range which lies to the east, and is called Ben-Aven, is at present reckoned the most productive; yielding the proprietor, I was told, about 150*l.* or 200*l.* a-year. What is properly called Cairngouram, opposite to Aviemore, and skirted on the north by the extensive woods of Rothie-

'* Wernerian Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 452.'

murchus,

murchus, has now been so completely stripped of its products in the ordinary track of examination, that a mere traveller, limited in time, has little chance of meeting with specimens of much value; but the people in the neighbourhood have always a number to offer for sale.

'The granite of Cairngouram consists chiefly of quartz and felspar, both compact and crystallized; the mica occurs but sparingly. In some places, the materials of the rock appear to be disposed in layers or strata; almost horizontal. I remarked, that, perhaps, there are few instances in which a mineral substance, spread over so great an extent of surface, exhibits so little variety of oryctognostic character, as the granite of this range. Specimens collected at the distance of several miles can often scarcely be distinguished from each other, by the nature or appearance of their constituent parts. If the zealous mineralogist could submit to spend days in traversing the dreary untrodden regions and to pass his nights among the bare rocks of Cairngouram, there is little doubt that his toil and patience would be rewarded, by the discovery of many valuable gems and curious minerals.'

Additional Observations on the Coal-Field of Clackmannanshire, and a Description of the absolute Shape or Form of the Coal-Fields in Great Britain. By Robert Bald, F.R.S. E. &c. — Many of these statements will be best understood by references to the plates: but others require no such illustration; and they all derive importance from the nature of the subject, and from the consideration of their practical usefulness, or from the curious information which they convey.

Of the antient and the more recent beds of alluvial matter, which form the uppermost strata of the Clackmannanshire coal-field, it is not a little remarkable that the former, which is the most elevated, and nearest to the hills, is destitute of organic remains, although the coal immediately under it exhibits them in abundance, as do the later alluvia of the Forth and Devon. It is also worthy of notice that the older deposition, which is of a very miscellaneous character, being composed of clay, sand, large smooth and rounded stones, and gravel, involves fragments of all the strata found in the coal-field, but preserving their sharp angles, and bearing no marks of attrition, although of a comparatively soft texture. These alluvial investments are of very various depths, from a few inches to many fathoms. In the more recent coverings, are found trunks and branches of large trees; beds of sand, containing sea-shells, particularly a variety of oyster much larger than any now known to exist in the Forth; horns of the stag; and large bones, probably belonging to some of the cetaceous animals:

'There is one remark regarding the stratification deserving particular attention, which is, that the immediate stratum or pave-

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ment on which the beds of coal rest, is almost without exception a greyish-black rock or fire-clay, which, when made into bricks, strongly resists the effects of fire. This fire-clay is found from the thickness of the tenth of an inch to several fathoms. In no instance have I seen the coal incline to contact with any other of the strata, excepting where the coal was intersected with numerous slips and dislocations: and this particular observation I have found to hold, in all the coal-fields I have examined in Great Britain. When this fire-clay is of any considerable thickness, it abounds with the remains of the vegetable kingdom, with a few kidney-shaped pieces of clay-iron-stone.'

The *partings*, as they are technically called, or foliaceous dissepiments, which mark the separation of the various strata, usually consist of clay, or sand. Having defined the bearings and accidents of the coal-strata of the Clackmannan district, and particularly their *saddle* or *mantle-shaped* disposition, Mr. Bald adverts to the prevalence of red sand-stone in the field; which, as it has by some been mistaken for the old red sand-stone of the Wernerians, he terms *blush-coloured*.

As the following rule may prove of essential service to coal-miners in general, we give it all the publicity of our circulation:

'With regard to slips in coal-fields, we find that there is a general law connected with them as to the position of the dislocated strata, which is this: when a slip is met with in the course of working the mines,—if, when looking at it, the vertical line of the slip or fissure forms an acute angle with the line of the pavement upon which the observer stands, we are certain that the strata are dislocated, or thrown downwards upon the other side of the fissure. When the angle is 90°, or a right angle, it is altogether uncertain whether the dislocation throws up or down on the opposite side of the slip. When dikes intersect the strata, they generally only separate the strata the width of the dike, without any dislocation either up or down; so that if a coal is intercepted by a dike, it is found again, by running a mine directly forward, corresponding to the angle or inclination of the coal with the horizon.'

In the remarkable coal-field at Johnstone, near Paisley, the upper stratum of rock is compact green-stone, more than 100 feet in thickness; and this is followed by a few fathoms of alternating and soft sand-stone and clay: under which, in one place, are not fewer than ten beds of coal, lying immediately above one another, with a few thin divisions of dark-coloured indurated clay. These coal-beds are 100 feet in thickness, presenting a mass of combustible matter which is scarcely paralleled in the annals of mining.

At Brora, in the county of Sutherland, the coal is completely insulated, and borders on mountains of red granite,

lying under a few beds of dark-coloured slate-clay, ferruginous lime-stone, and indurated clay, mixed with lime and lime-stones; including a profusion of organic remains, particularly large *cornua ammonis*, belemnites, bivalve shells, and fossil wood. The coal, in burning, emits the odour of rotten wood.

Another peculiarity in the history of our coal-fields is a stratum of thirty feet thick, at the Castle-hill, near Dudley, in Staffordshire; where the coal strata exhibit an example of the inverted basin-shape, the reverse of the general position, which is more or less that of a regular basin, or segments of that form.

Account of some Sand-stone Petrifactions found near Edinburgh. By the Rev. James Grierson, M.D. — Dr. G. here describes three fragments of trunks of trees, the largest of which measured three feet ten inches in circumference, at its thickest extremity: but they do not materially differ from numerous other specimens that might be quoted. The author ingeniously attempts to account for their origin on the principle of the chemical solution of the siliceous particles, and the escape of the vegetable elements in a gaseous form; and this view of the subject, as we have more than once hinted, is at least as conceivable as the ordinary doctrine of the mechanical substitution of the mineral for the vegetable molecules, although this last is sanctioned by the weighty and venerable name of Haüy: — now, alas! no longer a living name.

Description of the Simia Sagulata, or, Jacketed Monkey. By Dr. Traill. — The specific characters of this addition to the catalogue of Simiæ are, 'head black and bearded; tail not prehensile, thickly set with black hairs, claviform; body below black; back well clothed with an ochry-coloured fur.' The general aspect of the animal somewhat resembles that of *S. Beelzebub*, or the *Preacher Monkey*: but the form of the tail and the colouring of the upper parts are different. It is a native of the forests of Demarara. Nothing is said of its manners.

Description of a New Species of Felis from Guyana. By the Same. — This is another non-descript quadruped, from the same region of the world, and has been denominated *Felis Unicolor*, or *Spotless Cat*, from the uniformity of its colour. Its specific definition is, 'Cat with a long tail; the whole body spotless, and of a clear reddish-brown colour.' In general appearance it approaches to the *Puma*; from which, however, it differs in various respects. It resides in the deep recesses of the forests, climbs trees to prey on birds, monkeys, &c., and will even boldly attack the large quadrupeds.

On the Water Rail. By the Rev. John Fleming, D.D. &c. — As the Water Rail is not often observed, and has been by many very imperfectly described, Dr. Fleming's indications, which are minute and accurate, may contribute to obviate future mistakes. — The Doctor having thrice met with this species in the winter-season, it probably remains with us during the whole year.

An Account of the Change of Plumage exhibited by many Species of Female Birds, at an advanced Period of Life; intended as a Supplement to Mr. John Hunter's Memoir upon that Subject, in the Philosophical Transactions. By John Butler, F.L.S. Surgeon to the South Devon Militia. — From Mr. Butler's induction of well authenticated cases, we are warranted to infer that the common domestic hen, as well as other female gallinaceous fowls, and probably many more, assume in an advanced age in a greater or less degree the plumage and physiognomy of the male; that they then cease to breed; that they do not long survive this critical period; and that the transmutation in question, so far from being monstrous or anomalous, is probably a regular stage in the constitutional progress of their existence. Future observation and experiment may possibly corroborate these conclusions. In the mean time, Mr. Butler seems to have ascertained that the domestic fowl may live fifteen or twenty years; though it usually falls a sacrifice to *political economy* long before that period, and is therefore very seldom seen arrayed in the decorations of the male.

Account of some Fossil Remains of the Beaver, (Castor Fiber, L.) found in Perthshire and Berwickshire, proving that that Animal was formerly a Native of Scotland. By the Secretary. — Two passages, one in the *Leges Wallicæ* and the other in the *Itinerarium Cambriæ* of Giraldus de Barri, have more than once been quoted in testimony of the former existence of the Beaver in Wales; and the Welsh and Gaelic appellations of this quadruped, which have obviously the same etymology, and denote the *Broad-tailed Otter*, together with the assertion of Boethius, have also been cited in support of its quondam residence in Scotland. More satisfactory evidence of the latter fact has now occurred, the skeletons of two Beavers having been dug up, the one in Perthshire and the other in Berwickshire, both in the neighbourhood of former marshes. The circumstances are minutely recorded by Mr. Neill.

On the Rocks of Sandside, in Caithness. By Professor Jameson. — The purport of this paper is to shew that the syenites, granites, conglomerates, sand-stones, and lime-stones

of the district described, pass into one another, and are therefore to be regarded as of contemporaneous formation. The geological phænomenon of the transition of quartz, or sand-stone, into highly crystallized granite-rock, is either of rare occurrence or has been seldom noticed.

*Geognosy of East Lothian.** By the Same. — In his introduction to this contribution, the learned President somewhat *loosely*, in our apprehension, classes *gravel* and *peat* among the alluvial *rocks*. As the transition-series of strata in East Lothian had been previously described by a member of the Society, the Professor passes to the consideration of the secondary rocks, and limits his present range of inquiry to the red sand-stone; a deposit which constitutes a considerable portion of the county, and which, where its junctions can be observed, is found to rest on transition-rocks, and to be covered by the coal-formation. Its associate members are varieties of the trap-series, and lime-stone, of which the characters, positions, and bearings, are carefully particularized. The trap-rocks occasionally contain amethyst, either imbedded or in the form of veins, red and white zeolites, and jaspers, of various descriptions. Along the coast are extensive and interesting displays of trap-conglomerate, which is sometimes quarried for oven-stones. The structure of the sand-stone beds is often apparently irregular and capricious: but, according to the author, most of the puzzling appearances vanish when we consider the dips and directions as belonging not to different strata, but to the structure of a stratum, or series of rocks, composed of distinct concretions. — The insulated conical hill, called *North Berwick Law*, composed of trap-conglomerate, amygdaloid, and clink-stone porphyry, is presumed not to overlie the sand-stone, but to rise through it, and to form the upper portion of a huge imbedded mass.

Account of the Effects of the Juice of the Papaw Tree (*Carica Papaya*), *in intenerating Butcher's Meat.* By the late Dr. Holder. — The marked action of the juice of this tree on the consistency of the muscular fibre, and on the fibrin of the blood, is a fact well known to the inhabitants of Barbadoes, who daily avail themselves of it in their cookery. Unless cautiously applied, however, the effect is too powerful; and the flesh may be rendered sufficiently tender by simply suspending it for some time to the boughs of the tree. The induced relaxation of the muscular fibre seems to be independent of the putrefactive process, which, however, it has a tendency to promote and accelerate. Although the fruit is used by all

* See Memoirs of the Wernerian Society, vol. ii. p. 618.

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ranks with impunity, the juice obtained by incision into the tree, and taken internally, produces the same effect on the living animal as when applied externally to a dead one: but the quality, on which this property depends, appears to be readily volatilized by heat.

Account of the Travelled Stone near Castle Stuart, Inverness-shire. By Thomas Lauder Dick, Esq. — The transportation of a mass of conglomerate rock, supposed to weigh about eight tons, to 260 yards from its former position, and independently of human aid, may at first be deemed hardly credible: but the fact in the present instance is perfectly well attested, and the circumstances by which it is explained are not inadequate to the effect; for the immense sheet of ice in which it was enveloped had rendered it buoyant, and its movement was aided by the retiring tide and a concurrent hurricane.

Abstract of a Paper on the Scale of Being, and particularly on Organization and the Living Principle. By John Campbell, Esq. — Without plunging into the darkest recesses of metaphysical speculation, we cannot pursue the train of argumentation which is suggested by this short abstract. Suffice it to mention that the author labors to prove the existence of a living principle, independent of organization and of the human soul; a principle which we may recognize in the vegetable kingdom, destined to regulate the functions of which the organs have been rendered susceptible, and to vanish with the extinction of mere animal existence. Is this principle, then, we may ask, *spiritual?* and, if so, does it *originate* and *perish* with the formation and dissolution of every organized being? Are a soul and a living principle, and capacity of vital functions, all distinctly impressed on the rudiments of every animal, when in the form of an almost imperceptible speck of matter? or, if not, at what other stage of the living being are they superinduced on the organic elements? — Of many questions, however, as of many books, there is no end.

On the Nutrition of Cuticle, Nails, Hair, Feathers, and Plants. By H. Dewar, M.D., &c. — Much of philosophical conception and masterly writing is evinced in this memoir; and we perfectly agree with the author in thinking that the nutrition of the parts in question cannot, in fairness, be explained on the commonly received notions of circulation; because, in the laws of capillary action, limits are prescribed to the tenuity of the sanguiferous vessels; and in hair, feathers, &c. or at least in a great proportion of their extent, no vessels whatever are discernible. Again, the position that these parts are mere secretions is equally untenable; for, when the

hair

hair becomes grey, the change does not in the first instance take place at the root, and then gradually ascend, but occurs simultaneously over the whole length. Besides, to hairs of all descriptions a maximum of growth is assigned, and a particular constitution, which they do not pass.

'We cannot suppose that the case is different with the nails of the fingers and toes. We are never told that those personages in the East who preserve the nails of the fingers without paring receive a constant accession to the length of these organs during the whole of their lives. Indeed, we find that, when the paring of the nails of the toes is utterly neglected, although their length becomes inconvenient, it reaches a *ne plus ultra*. In these particulars, therefore, the nutrition of hair, nails, and feathers, must be concluded to obey similar laws.

'The only question which remains is, how can we suppose the nutriment to be conveyed to all the parts of these organs? The answer which I return to this question is, that this matter is sent to the parts by vaporization, and appropriated by hygrometric attraction. The halitus is maintained, and prevented from escaping by various circumstances.

'In some of these organs, it is kept up by the close apposition of all their parts to organs which are pervaded by flowing liquids. This is the case with the cuticle and the nails, which lie flat upon the *cutis vera*.

'In those organs which are connected with the body by a minute area, such as hairs and feathers, the halitus is retained partly by hygrometric attraction, and partly by the close envelope afforded by their own most superficial stratum. These two properties bear an inverse proportion to one another; where the one is in a small degree, the other makes up for the deficiency, by being in itself more considerable. The sum-total of retentive powers of moisture thus possessed may not be strictly equal in all, but proportioned to the degree of adaptation of the different substances to circumstances of external condition.

'We are, therefore, to conceive, on the whole, that there is in the interior of all such organs a constant dampness without any flowing liquidity; and that this dampness contributes to the transmission of all nutritious impregnations; in the same manner in which we find, that the presence of moisture promotes the evolution of those exhalations which announce to the sense of smell certain differences of character in the properties of different animal substances. The quantities of matter thus conveyed must be more minute than those which pass in the state of blood. But the transmission is constant; the assimilating functions of the nourished parts are always active; and we are not authorized to pronounce on the maximum of the proportion which is taken from the transmitted substance for the purpose of assimilation.

'The structure, though thus open, must not be conceived to be indeterminate. There are passages of various qualities, through some of which the halitus is conveyed more readily, and through others

others less. These passages differ not only in width, but in the constitution of their parietes, both with respect to hygrometric properties, and to the degree and kind of their assimilating power. In short, we are warranted to conceive a nutrition to go on in this manner with as exquisite niceness and as rich variety, as by means of circulating liquids. Here, however, we must stop. The particular laws by which the ultimate minutiæ of the process are accomplished elude our inquiry. But they are not more mysterious in the epidermis, in nails, in hair, and in feathers, on the doctrine which I have ventured to advance, than in the organs in which the circulating apparatus is traced in the most satisfactory manner.

'This doctrine, it is obvious, may be also called into the aid of the physiology of insects and of that of plants. To many of the latter, it will be found indispensably requisite; as, for example, those of the class Cryptogamia, and more especially the tribe of lichens.'

A similar principle may be applied to the case of various animals and plants, wholly immersed in fluids; and in which any propulsion of fluids, in the way of circulation, remains to be proved.

Observations on the Genus Picus of Linnæus, with Descriptions of two New Species from the Interior of Brazil. By William Swainson, F.L.S. — A highly commendable zeal for the prosecution of natural science induced Mr. Swainson to explore the remote regions of Brazil, and the public have already reaped much interesting knowlege from his labors. The two additions, which he here contributes to the marked family of *Pici*, are denominated *Chrysosternus*, or the *Golden-breasted*, and *Braziliensis*, or *Brazilian Woodpecker*. The former, which is banded with whitish streaks, has the sides of the head, the neck, and the breast, gold-yellow, and the crown of the head and the throat black. It was observed in the arid tracts of table-land, in the *Sertem*, or inland county of Bahia. Unlike the rest of its tribe, it utters a short plaintive cry, while flying, and frequently perches on stunted trees. The Brazilian species is olive above, tawny beneath, with transverse black striæ; the upper part of the head is subcrested and red, and the sides shaded with olive, yellow, and red. It inhabits the same situation as the former.

Descriptions of several new or rare Native Plants, found in Scotland, chiefly by the late Mr. George Don of Forfar. By David Don. — The species to which this title refers are *Veronica Setigera*, *Poa Stricta*, *Poa Leptostachya*, *Chorophyllum Aromaticum*, *Orobus Tenuifolius*, *Lychnis Alpina*, and *Potentilla Opaca*.

On the Rocky Mountain-Sheep of the Americans. By Professor Jameson. — The animal in question seems to belong to a genus

a genus intermediate between that of the sheep and of the goat. As it yields excellent wool, and resides in a climate somewhat analogous to our own, it is proposed to have some living specimens sent over to Scotland, for breeding.

On the Bed of the German Ocean, or North Sea. By Robert Stevenson, Esq. Civil Engineer. — Having considerably enlarged the sphere of his personal observations since his last communication on the same subject, Mr. S. comes forwards with fresh arguments in support of his general doctrine that the waste of the lands, being conveyed by rivers into the ocean, must necessarily contribute in the lapse of ages to elevate its bed. Hence encroachments of the water on the land, in various directions: but the proofs exhibited in the present paper are principally deduced from the extensive sand-banks in different parts of the North Sea. In various districts of our coasts, however, indubitable vestiges occur of the waters of the sea having considerably receded from their antient elevation; and Mr. Stevenson himself notices the banks of the Forth, near Alloa, as an example of such a retrocession, which is not very satisfactorily explained on his own hypothesis. With regard, again, to the distribution of the surplus water, occasioned by the accumulation of *debris* at the bottom of the ocean, he seems to feel conscious that he can derive little aid from the doctrine of evaporation, because it may be met by the countervailing doctrine of condensation. He is, however, at no loss to make an honorable retreat.

'Another view has been suggested as applicable to the distribution of the surplus waters produced by the gradual filling up of the bed of the ocean. These waters, in place of being elevated in any sensible degree, may be naturally disposed to find their level in the great polar basons, or oblate portions of the surface of the globe which are known to exist next the poles. The oblate figure of the earth at the poles makes these imaginary points the nearest to the centre of the earth, and consequently, with regard to level, they are also the lowest. It therefore appears to follow, that any filling up of the bed of the sea near the equator, or at a distance from the poles, will have the effect of promoting the retiring of the surplus waters to the polar regions by their own gravity while the centrifugal force occasioned by the earth's diurnal motion, will prevent their being farther removed from the equator, without a corresponding elevation of the waters in the great polar basons.

'In this manner, such an accumulation of water may, at a former period of time, have taken place at the then poles of the globe, as to have altered the position of these points, and given rise to the flood or temporary general overflowing of the waters over the earth's surface, producing a change in the beds of the seas or oceans of former times. In this way may have been produced

duced many of the phenomena observable in the crust of the earth, which are otherwise with much difficulty accounted for.

'Of what has now been advanced, regarding the waste of the land by the operations of the sea, it will be proper to notice, that much consists with my own personal observation. The consequences of this process must be the deposition of debris, and a tendency to raise the bottom of the ocean, and produce a proportional elevation of the water. With regard, however, to the distribution of the surplus water that is produced, what I have now said is offered with much deference, in hopes that some one better qualified than myself will turn his attention to this curious subject.'

Additional Observations on the Connection between the Primitive Forms of Minerals and the Number of their Axes of Double Refraction. By David Brewster, LL.D., &c.—These supplementary observations and tables confirm the correctness of Dr. Brewster's deductions, exhibit their accordance with the mineralogical arrangement of crystals by Mohs, and indicate the primitive forms of minerals and crystals which the Doctor had determined from their optical structure.

An Account of some of the Cryptogamous Plants of Devonshire. By Robert Kaye Greville, Esq. — This list of plants, and the annotations, are equally creditable to Mr. Greville's diligence and skill: but, without greatly exceeding our limitations, we cannot encounter the various particulars which they suggest.

Account of a Beluga, or White Whale, killed in the Frith of Forth. By Dr. Barclay and Mr. Neill. — The latter of these gentlemen details the external appearances of the animal, and Dr. Barclay gives its internal structure as far as it could be ascertained in the putrid state of the carcass. To persons who are strangers to the natural history of this Dolphin, we would recommend De la Cépède's interesting account of it, in conjunction with Dr. Barclay's observations.

Description of a New Species of Fucus, found in Devonshire. By R. K. Greville, Esq. M.W.S. — For this recent addition to the British Fuci, the public are indebted to Mrs. Griffiths, a lady who has devoted much of her attention and leisure to the study of cryptogamous botany, and who discovered this plant on Waldon rocks, Torbay, 14th February, 1820. It is denominated *Fucus Devoniensis*, and is thus defined: 'Frond cartilaginous, nerveless, dichotomous; branches linear, entire, rounded at the apices; tubercles spherical, situated at the apices, and immersed.'

On the British Species of the Genus Beroe. By Dr. Fleming, of Flisk. — The Doctor states that he found, in a pool in the Frith of Tay, an exhausted specimen of a Beroe, somewhat resembling the *ovata* of Baster, and corresponding to Ellis's

Ellis's general description in the fifty-ninth volume of the Philosophical Transactions.

Descriptions of several New Plants from the Kingdom of Nepaul, taken from Specimens preserved in the Herbarium of Aylmer Bourke Lambert, Esq. Communicated by Mr. David Don. — The nine species, whose characters are here exhibited, are intitled, *Rhododendron Setosum*, *R. Anthopogon*, *R. Campanulatum*, *Andromeda Cupressiformis*, *Lilium Nepalense*, *Delphinium Scabrifolium*, *Leontodon Eriopodum*, *Tragopogon Gracile*, and *Saussurea Gossipiphora*. — The plants, which clothe the sides of the Nepaulian mountains, present the types and general physiognomy of those of the north of Tartary, Siberia, and Europe, although the species are generally distinct; and the extensive herbarium of Pallas, now in the possession of Mr. Lambert, has proved of material service in ascertaining the specific limitations.

Description of a New Species of Potentilla, from the West Coast of Greenland, with some Account of the Arctic Flora. By R. K. Greville, Esq. — Mr. G. has designed this elegant Potentilla, *Jamesoniana*, in compliment to Mr. Jameson, surgeon, who found it on Hare Island, in June, 1818. The rest of the paper is occupied with some pertinent remarks on the Arctic Flora, and with an arranged catalogue of plants observed by Mr. Jameson in Greenland, as well as of those that were found in Spitzbergen by Mr. Scoresby.

Account of the Lutra Vittata, and of the Viverra Poliocephalus. By T. S. Traill, M.D., &c. — As all the feet of the former of these quadrupeds are perfectly webbed, Dr. Traill has removed it to the family of Otters. It seems to correspond to the Martin of Guiana, described by Buffon; and, in its young state, to the *Grison* of the same writer, and *Mustela vittata* of Gmelin and Shaw. Under the designation of *Viverra Poliocephalus*, the author describes, from a stuffed specimen imported from Demarara, Buffon's Great Martin of Guiana.

On the Leaves, Capsule, and Root of Buxbaumia Aphylla. By R. K. Greville, Esq. — These remarks furnish an interesting supplement to the excellent account of this minute and rare moss by Dr. Hooker, in the fourth number of the New Series of the *Flora Londinensis*. Some of our botanical readers may be gratified by the information that the Buxbaumia has been found on the hills in the neighbourhood of Peebles, in North Britain.

Account of a Singular Fossil-Skeleton, discovered at Whitby, in February, 1819. By the Rev. George Young, A. M. Whitby, Yorkshire. — The most feasible conjecture, to be drawn

drawn from the figure and description of this curious fossil-remain, is that it has belonged to the family of Dolphins, although it does not exactly correspond with any of the species at present known.

Physiological Notice concerning the early State of the Common Frog. By James Wilson, Esq.—From an observation which an accident prevented him from repeating, Mr. Wilson is inclined to believe that the Tadpole, while enveloped in the gelatinous matter which is supposed to contribute to its nourishment, is attached to it by an umbilical cord. He likewise notes the several periods of its progress to the state of a perfect frog, and the faculty which it possesses of reproducing the tail, when that member has been cut off.

On the Luminosity of the Sea. By John Murray, Esq.—This brief communication does not materially augment our former stock of knowlege relative to the phænomenon in question: but it contributes to confirm the prevailing notion of its being attributable to marine animals, and in particular to some of the minute Medusæ.

Explanation of an Apparatus, suggested by Colonel Yule, for discharging Ordnance upon Mr. Forsyth's Plan, and an Account of some Experiments performed with it. By Mr. John Deuchar.—Without intending the slightest disparagement to Colonel Yule's ingenious invention, or to Mr. Deuchar's discovery of a powder which never fails to inflame the cartridge, we may be allowed to demur to the *legitimacy* of the present article in a work devoted to botanical, mineralogical, and zoological pursuits. The apparatus will be best understood by the help of the plate.

Description of two new Philosophical Instruments. By Alexander Adie, F.R.S. E., &c.—The first of these instruments is denominated a *Sympiesometer*, and is constructed for the purpose of indicating the changes in the pressure of the atmosphere by means of hydrogen gas, and an *unctuous oil*. From the report of Captain Ross, and other competent judges, we learn that it is well adapted for use at sea. The other instrument is a Hygrometer, which is thus constructed:

'A small bag, made of the internal membrane of the *Arundo Phragmites*, is attached to the lower end of a thermometer-tube, so as to form, as it were, its bulb. It is then nearly filled with quicksilver, which rises and falls, in consequence of the contraction and dilatation of the membrane, by any change of moisture; and these changes are indicated upon a scale attached to the tube, the zero of this scale marking absolute humidity, and the other extremity of the scale absolute dryness. The lower end of the glass-tube, instead of being merely inserted into the top of the bag,

bag, may pass through it, the quicksilver in the bag communicating with that in the tube by one or more openings made through the sides of the tube. By this means, the bag is supported by the glass, and prevented from being injured by any slight accident; and the instrument is also less affected by any change of temperature.'

Description of an Instrument for ascertaining the Specific Gravity of Bodies, without the Use of Weights or Calculation. By the Same. — This appears to be an ingenious and useful contrivance, being an improvement of that of Dr. Coates: but we can convey no adequate idea of its nature and application, in the form of an abstract.

Continuation of an Account of some Experiments performed with an Apparatus for discharging Ordnance, without the Use of a Light or Match-lock; in which several Inferences are drawn with regard to the Nature and Source of the Flame. By John Deuchar, M. W. S., &c. — This learned lecturer again *returns to the charge*, and satisfies us that he has succeeded in firing cartridges by means of his fulminating powder and Colonel Yule's apparatus: but the particular cases in which the gun-powder was not inflamed, and other circumstances attending his experiments, have involved him in a train of theoretical discussion which we cannot venture to pursue.

An Appendix comprizes a series of minutes of the history of the Society, since the publication of the second volume; many of which have a reference to the papers just reported. The closing entry runs thus:

'The Secretary read two notices from Dr. Colladon; one relative to Cinchonin and Quinin, or the Alkaline Substance existing in Cinchona; the other relative to the Travels in Brazil of Messrs. Spix and Martens, sent thither by the King of Bavaria. Professor Jameson also read a notice in regard to the use of Iodine in the cure of Goître, and of the existence of Iodine in the Peat of this country, and in cryptogamous land-plants. The Professor then exhibited, 1. A preserved head of a New Zealand chief, having the skin and tatooing of the face in a very perfect condition. 2. A section of a log of Elm, containing the nest of a titmouse, completely encircled by the solid wood of the tree, the specimen having occurred in one of the Royal Dock-yards, and being sent by Lord Melville to Professor Jameson, for the Regius Museum of the University.'

The list of members recently elected is both numerous and respectable.

ART.

ART. III. *A Natural Arrangement of British Plants*, according to their Relations to each other, as pointed out by Jussieu, De Candolle, Brown, &c. including those cultivated for Use; with an Introduction to Botany, in which the Terms newly introduced are explained; illustrated by Figures. By Samuel Frederick Gray, Lecturer on Botany, the Materia Medica, and Pharmaceutic Chemistry. 2 large Vols. 8vo. With 21 Plates. 2*l.* 2*s.* Boards. Baldwin and Co. 1821.

WE have here the first natural arrangement of plants growing wild in Great Britain which has appeared in our days, that of Professor Hooker and Mr. J. Lindley being limited to the plants of Scotland; and, as this work is written entirely in the English language, we have no doubt that it will be eagerly sought by those who are unacquainted with Latin, more especially such of the fair sex as devote their leisure hours to the innocent and delightful science of botany. Among the various methods of arranging vegetables, antient writers considered only their uses, dividing them into timber-trees or fruit-trees, corn, pulse, culinary and medicinal plants, or such as were used for dyeing, for garlands, &c.; and while those that are deleterious to man or beast were called poisons, or those which impede the growth of cultivated plants were jumbled together under the sweeping denomination of weeds, the great mass, to which neither utility nor harm could be attributed, were entirely omitted: except a few of the most curious, such as the hygrometric *Anastatica*, the sensitive *Mimosa*, or the pitcher-bearing *Nepenthes*. Succeeding authors, being more philosophically inclined, bestowed an equal degree of attention on all the vegetable productions of the creation, and have left us general or local catalogues variously arranged; some alphabetically, but none affording any means by which a student might discover in their works the place of a plant that was unknown to him. To remedy this defect, Lobel, Cæsalpinus, Ray, Tournefort, Herman, Boerhaave, and others, endeavored to give the characters of several natural classes arranged in a regular series; so that a student, instead of relying on his own conceptions of the affinity of any plant, might by a careful examination refer it to its proper genus and ascertain its name. Later authors attempted more simple but purely artificial methods, by selecting fewer parts common to nearly all vegetables for the characters of their primary classes; and, among these, Rivinus took the lead, establishing his method on the regularity, the irregularity, and the number of petals. He was followed by Hebenstreit, Knaut, Ludwig, and Ruppius: the botanists of that school justly regarding their method as only a ready way

of determining the genus of any plant, and leaving all farther knowlege of it to be sought in works arranged according to natural affinity.

The want of locomotion in vegetables making it generally necessary for their organs of reproduction to be closely approximated in the same individual, the fertile mind of Linné was struck with the great difference between vegetables and animals in this point; and, taking the number of their male and female organs for the greater part of his classes and orders, he produced his celebrated sexual system. Departing, however, from the strict simplicity of Rivinus, and introducing the situation, connection, and proportion of the same parts to establish other classes, he rendered it as anomalous and intricate as many of those in which only kindred plants were put together. Yet his short and useful nomenclature, of which no one ever thought before, gave such credit to the sexual system, that it has been considered by some of his followers as superseding the necessity of any other; contrary to Linné's own declaration that he proposed it only as a temporary substitute, until the natural method could be so far improved as to admit of a clue being added, by which the place of any plant in it might be found. That great naturalist, indeed, who had not time to study the fruits and seeds of vegetables, despaired of finding this clue: but, by the united labours of other botanists, more especially those of Bernard de Jussieu, Adanson, Antoine Laurent de Jussieu, Gærtner, and, though last not least, the scientific Dryander, who communicated to his friends whatever he thought or had ascertained, this desirable point appears to be nearly attained; and the present work 'exhibits the results of the latest investigations into the mutual affinities of plants, the synopsis of the subdivisions attached to the divisions furnishing a clue which will enable a student to trace their connection and dependence on one another.'

An introduction to botany, prefixed to the first volume, is divided into two parts. In the first, the uses of this charming study are detailed; and we cannot refrain from quoting the concluding words of the intelligent author:

'Another use, if I may so express myself, is the contemplation of the beauties of nature; and in this respect botany yields to no other branch of human knowlege, and in one respect surpasses most, in that, while wealth may exhibit its splendour in collecting living plants, yet the study is also compatible with the most humble fortunes, and may be made to beguile the tedious hours of convalescence, while it needs not confine the sufferer to his room, but will even entice him forth to breathe the dewy incense of the morn. Few are the studies that require so little apparatus,

or

or less trouble to produce a collection, which will lie in a small compass, and afford an agreeable exhibition to friends or visitors.'

The second part of the introduction is devoted to the rise and progress of botany, particularly in England. Much of this detail has necessarily been given by others: but, relatively to this country, we learn that 'Anne of Cleves, when transformed by act of parliament from the wife into the sister of Henry the Eighth, endeavored to forget the slights of the monarch in the cultivation of vegetables; and it is probable that some of the kitchen-gardeners at Chelsea are the descendants of Flemish gardeners, whom her real brother sent over to manage her garden there.' The chapter concludes with a chronological epitome of the principal writers, especially on English botany, since the invention of printing in 1442: but this art was not introduced into England till about 1471, by Caxton. An explanation of all the terms hitherto used in botany, which follows, is the most copious and intelligible that we have seen, and stamps a peculiar value on this production: few if any of the numerous innovations of the French school being omitted, without a knowlege of which neither Richard's nor Cassini's works can be understood; and examples of each term are likewise given in a manner very superior to that of preceding writers. The account of the plants themselves then commences, which are arranged after De Candolle's method in his *Théorie Elémentaire*, but reversing his series so as to begin with those which are most simply organized. He is not, however, always blindly followed, several judicious transpositions and orders being introduced, which we shall notice presently.

The *Plantæ Cellulares*, or cryptogamous plants of Linné, form the first and second classes, distinguished from one another by the absence or the presence of leaves. The former contains 12 orders, to which Greek names are given. 1. *Hydrophytæ*, or the *Algæ* of former writers. 2. *Thalassiophytæ*, consisting solely, as its name indicates, of *Fuci*, or Sea-weeds. 3. *Homothalameæ*. 4. *Cenothalameæ*, both composed of Lichens. 5. *Idiothalameæ*; these are also Lichens, with some of Acharius's dubious *Algæ* intermixed; and the geographic *Opegraphas* form a separate section. 6. *Sarcothalameæ* introduce the imperfect *Fungi*, or *Hypoxyla* of De Candolle, growing usually under the epidermis of decayed plants, such as *Actidium*, *Hysterium*, *Xyloma*, and the fairy-balled *Sphærias*. 7. *Protomyceæ* are a nearer approach to the perfect *Fungi*, such as *Lycoperdon*, *Æcidium*, and *Puccinia*. 8. *Nematomyceæ*. This order, making family synonymous

 with

with genus, differs from the last in the Sporidia being attached to a simple or branched Thallus, and is divided into many genera.* 9. *Gasteromyceæ* are a still closer approach to the *Agaria* of Linné, containing *Lycogala*, *Physarum*, *Trichia*, &c. besides *Pyxidium*, a genus established from *Sphærocarpus Sessilis*, and very common under the bark of the trembling Poplar. 10. *Sarcotheceæ*, a small order, defined by its solid thallus with a thick epidermis; where a hasty observer of nature will be surprized to find the minute *Erysibes* joined to the *Truffle*, but we believe correctly; and analogous extremes of size occur in forest-trees, birches and willows, for instance. 11. *Hymenotheceæ* have thalli either long or expanded into an hemispherical cup: these are vulgarly called Mushrooms, including the esculent one so common in our fields after the first autumnal rains, as well as cultivated in the back sheds of our stoves, or on beds of dung closely covered with mats. This esculent mushroom is, however, justly separated from the *Agaricus Aurantiacus* and *Deliciosus* of Linné. 12. *Lytotheceæ* are a smaller order, of which *Phallus* may be regarded as the type, and distinguished from the preceding by its superficial expanded hymenium, (or seed-bearing membrane, analogous to the gills of the common mushroom,) deliquescing into a slime which surrounds the seeds.

The *Plantæ Cellulares* that have leaves are very naturally connected with the preceding, which have none, by the *Hepaticæ* of Jussieu, of which *Riccia*, *Targionia*, *Anthoceros*, *Marchantia*, *Blasia*, and *Jungermannia* are known to every dabbler in cryptogamy. *Marchantia* is here subdivided into many genera, but whether judiciously we are incompetent to give an opinion. Similar subdivisions are made in *Jungermannia*, of the propriety of which we have less doubts, having formerly examined many species; and indeed we have long regarded *Jungermannia* as a distinct order, characterized easily by its elaters, Mr. Gray making a separate section of them, which amounts nearly to the same thing. Many cele-

* We cannot here refrain from interrupting the abridged account which our limits force us to give of this arrangement, by mentioning some of the very appropriate English names, which Mr. Gray has suggested for these last mentioned obscure and neglected vegetables; such as Twin-mould for *Trichotecium*, Dust-mould for *Sporotheçium*, Meal-mould for *Byssotheçium*, Skein-mould for *Haplaria* of Link, Chain-mould for *Acrosporium*, Oak-leather for *Xylostroma*, the terror of ship-owners, rapidly destroying unseasoned timber; destroyed by green vitriol, sal enixum, common salt, but especially by a free current of air.

brated

brated names, such as our countrymen the Rev. and Hon. William Herbert and Mr. Cavendish, and, among foreigners, Villaritini, Salviati, Pandulpho, Mylius, and Knaut, are here perpetuated. The *Musci*, or Mosses, succeed the *Hepaticæ*, *Andrea* and *Sphagnum* being the connecting links. Deeply regretting that our attention to the great number of exotics with more plainly developed organs of reproduction has prevented us, hitherto, from investigating these inimitable vegetables thoroughly, we can only here give the characters by which they are divided into sections; which, nevertheless, every analogy induces us to think are truly natural, that is to say, do not interrupt the affinities of each genus. These sections are five; 1. Peristome none, or wanting, as in *Sphagnum*. 2. Peristome single, and formed of a folded membrane; this contains only *Diphyscium*. 3. Peristome single, and formed of teeth or hairs; *Tetraphis* and *Splachnum* afford examples. 4. Peristome double, the inner of separate hairs. 5. Peristome double, the inner either membranaceous or of connected hairs. We are glad to find that, though Mr. Gray in his preface gave us to understand that the figures of English botany would not be quoted, they are here very frequently inserted; in this way, some of those which Sir J. E. Smith had published for distinct species are made one and the same; for instance, *Phascum Schreberianum*, Engl. Bot. t. 2026., and *Curvisetum*, Engl. Bot. t. 2259., are joined to *Cuspidatum*; Engl. Bot. t. 2025.; and of this species *Piliferum*, Engl. Bot. t. 1888., is made only a variety: the latter must not be confounded with *Phascum Piliferum* of Withering, which is a true *Anictangium*. Most complete indexes of the author's terms, and of the plants, finish the first volume.

An artificial arrangement of the natural orders and anomalous genera of phænogamous plants, according to the number and situation of their sexual organs, is the first novelty in the second volume: which would have delighted Linné, had he been living, as it affords a still surer key to them than any yet published. De Candolle's arrangement is afterward resumed; where, of his Endogenous Cryptogamous Vegetables, *Filices* are placed first, and divided into 10 orders; viz. *Osmundaceæ*, *Polypodiaceæ*, *Aspidiaceæ*, *Aspleniaceæ*, *Scolopendreæ*, *Blechideæ*, *Pterideæ*, *Cyatheæ*, *Botrychieæ*, and *Ophioglosseæ*. We doubt, nevertheless, the propriety of separating *Botrychieæ* and *Ophioglosseæ* from *Osmundaceæ*, leaving all the other *Filices* with an elastic ring in the interval; and we object still more to make *Botrycheæ* the connecting link of mosses, their habit as well as fructifications approaching much nearer to those of *Trichomanes* and *Hymenophyllum*. Yet a similarity of

habit or leaves is of little use in guessing at the affinity of *Filices*, which must be determined exclusively by their fructifications. *Lycopodiaceæ* follow *Filices*, and in the character of the order a mark of interrogation is placed after their globular seeds; a doubt which is completely removed by Mr. Salisbury's paper, with faithful figures of their germination, in the last volume of the Linnéan Transactions, whence they appear to be a strong connecting link of cryptogamous and dicotyledonous plants: for, though their plumula springs up perpendicularly opposite to their radicle, out of the middle of two equal regular Cotyledons of a different shape from the next leaves, a lateral solid process, exactly like the internal part of the embryo in cryptogamous plants, is attached just under the Cotyledons, and remains within the seed-coat. — *Isoetes* is placed under *Lycopodiaceæ*, which we should rather have joined to the next order, *Marsileaceæ*. *Equisetaceæ* and *Charadeæ* terminate the cryptogamous plants.

Of the *Endogenous* phænogamous plants, 1. *Fluviatiles* of Ventenat follow *Charadeæ*. 2. *Aroideæ*. 3. *Typhaceæ*, justly separated in our opinion from *Aroideæ;* and here Dodonæus's genus of *Platanaria* (*Sparganium Natans*, L.) is restored and distinguished by its ovate peltate stigma. 4. *Cyperaceæ*, divided into two sections, *Caricæ* and *Cyperaceæ:* of the former, all the species with three stigmata are detached from *Carex* by the name of *Thrasus*, perhaps derived from τρσω, the foliage being arid, and not so juicy as in some of the Grasses. 5. *Gramineæ*. To the genera of this extensive natural class, which we yet know but partially by our own examination, the author prefixes a key, the wards of which are made by the similarity of the *Locustæ*, the shape of their rachis, the number of flowers in each glume, and the shape of the glumes, or chaff, as it is vulgarly denominated. In the natural arrangement, he makes the eight following sections, or orders; *Hordeaceæ*, *Chlorideæ*, *Bromeæ*, *Arundinaceæ*, *Avenaceæ*, *Agrostideæ*, *Stipaceæ*, and *Paniceæ;* of which, we think, the names alone indicate the propriety, though we have some doubts of the series. 6. *Restiaceæ*. 7. *Juncæ:* prefixed to these we are surprized at finding Acorns, a genus which Dryander always supposed to be allied to *Aroideæ*, and Mr. Robert Brown says it has the same embryo. *Narthecium Ossifragum*, under Adanson's name of *Abama*, is also left among *Junceæ*, to which it has so little affinity that more than half the genera of *Monocotyledones* intervene in a truly natural series; for *Narthecium* unquestionably is very near akin to *Pleca*, *Tofieldia*, *Aletris*, *Lophiola*, *Anigozanthus*, *Conostylis*, *Phlebocar*, *Hæmodorum*, *Gyrotheca*, *Argolasia*, *Dilatris*, and

and *Wachendorfia*, which form one if not two intermediate orders between *Hypoxideæ* and *Veratreæ*. 8. *Colchicaceæ*. We have long suspected that two distinct species of *Colchicum* exist in Great Britain. In that which grows north of the river Trent, especially between Doncaster and Ferrybridge, continuing through the lime-stone parts of Wharfdale, the leaves are longer, petals narrower, without any tessellation of color, and anthers much paler, than in the southern plants so common near Bath and Bristol. 9. *Liliaceæ*. 10. *Asphodeleæ*. Having lately examined all these plants most closely, we must observe that none of them have the smallest immediate relationship to *Asphodelus*. *Anthericum Serotinum*, L., here referred to *Phalangium*, has a bulbous root, laterally beaked at its base, as in *Colchicum*, and must with *Gagea* join *Colchicaceæ*. As for the Linnéan genera of *Scilla* and *Ornithogalum*, we feel confident that hereafter they will constitute orders by themselves, distinguished from one another by the longer and more complete persistence of the petals in the latter; among which Mr. Gray justly detaches *Ornithogalum Nutans*, L., calling it *Honorius*. He also excludes *Moly* and *Cepa* from that most heterogeneous assemblage, *Allium*. 16. *Asparagi*. It is here observed that 'the young shoots are diuretic, and communicate a violet scent to the urine:' but, instead of that charming perfume, we have invariably perceived a most disagreeable fœtid odour. 17. *Smilaceæ*. Here the author inserts *Paris*, possibly misled by Mr. Robert Brown's Prodromus: but it has totally different petals, as well as seeds, and ought to be placed even in a different class of *Monocotyledones*, *Tetræ*, with *Esdra*, *Trillium*, and a new genus from Nepal. 18. *Tamaceæ*. 19. *Amaryllideæ*. 20. *Irideæ*. 21. *Orchideæ*. Many of Richard's and Mr. Robert Brown's genera are adopted in this order, or rather class; and Apuleius's name of *Entaticus* is given to *Satyrium Albidum*, which Mr. Robert Brown has joined with *Habenaria*. 22. *Alismaceæ*. 23. *Butomaceæ*. 24. *Juncagineæ*. 25. *Hydrocharideæ*.

The *Exogenous* phænogamous plants, or *Dicotyledones*, now succeed; and the author says, 'This series contains full two-thirds of the whole number of natural families, but the arrangement of these families among themselves has not yet been determined, and therefore they are arranged for the present by De Candolle into four artificial sub-series, resting upon the differences observable in their petals and stamens;' namely, *Monochlamydeæ*, *Corolliflorœ*, *Calyciflorœ*, *Thalamiflorœ*. Here are placed 1. *Abietideæ*. 2. *Cupressideæ*. 3. *Taxideæ*. 4. *Salicinæ*; of these difficult trees, or shrubs, Dr. Hull's divi-

sions are adopted, first by their sessile or pedicelled ovaries, then by their short or long styles, and, lastly, those of which the female aments remain unknown. 5. *Betulideæ.* 6. *Corylideæ.* 7. *Myriceæ.* 8. *Ulmaceæ.* 9. *Urticeæ*, where *Xanthium* is introduced. 10. *Euphorbiaceæ.* 11. *Aristolochiæ.* 12. *Santalaceæ.* 13. *Elæagneæ.* 14. *Thymeleæ.* 15. *Polygoneæ*, under which *Rumex Digynus* is detached as *sui generis*, with Hill's name of *Oxyria.* 16. *Chenopodeæ.* 17. *Amaranthideæ.* 18. *Plantagineæ.* Here all the 2-locular fruited species with one seed in each cell are separated by Dioscorides's name of *Arnoglossum: Plantago Coronopus*, L., having more cells and seeds, is called *Asterogeum;* and *Littorella Lacustris* alone constitutes a 19th order, *Littorellideæ.* 20. *Staticineæ.* 21. *Primulaceæ.* Here *Irasekia, Naumburgia*, and *Numularia* are removed from *Lysimachia*, leaving a mark of doubt after *Primula Farinosa*, which has a totally different calyx from *Primula.* 22. *Rhinanthaceæ.* 23. *Orobancheæ.* 24. *Lentibulariæ;* these surely ought to have followed *Primulaceæ*, as they do in the artificial arrangement prefixed to the sub-series. We met with a nearly regular or pelorized flower of *Pinguicula* last summer near Buxton, which was 4-androus, and another flower was 5-androus, but not so regular, the lobes opposite to the fifth stamen being much larger. 25. *Scrofularinæ.* 26. *Solaneæ.* 27. *Gentianeæ.* In this order, many genera are detached from the officinal species, as *Pneumanthæ, Ericala, Erythræa*, and to these is added '*Franquevillia.* R. A. Salisbury. MSS.' but its characters, as well as those of the other genera, are by the author, of whom it may be truly said, "*Nullius addictus in verba jurare magistri.*" 28. *Polemoniaceæ.* 29. *Vincæ.* 30. *Convolvulaceæ;* here Mr. Robert Brown is quoted as the author of *Calystegia*, but that genus was proposed by Solander, and described in his MSS. a very long time since. Under this order, also, *Cuscuta Major* is separated from the *Minor* by Gesner's name of *Cassytha*, its filaments being devoid of scales: but *Cuscuta* and *Cassytha* being in fact only different pronunciations of the same Arabic word *Keschout*, and the latter being applied by Linné to a genus which has flowers very similar to those of *Laurus*, if *Cuscuta Minor* be really *sui generis*, it must have another name. 31. *Borragineæ;* here again we find several necessary reforms of genera, though more remain to be added. 32. *Labiatæ.* 33. *Pyrenaceæ;* the only genus of this order, indigenous in Great Britain, is *Verbena*, which has not a pyrenaceous fruit, and Persoon's name of *Verbenaceæ* is now more generally adopted for the order. 34. *Oleinæ.* 35. *Fraxineæ.* We doubt greatly the propriety of separating these two orders of M. Lindl. from

from one another, or even from *Jasmineæ*, having found the differences brought forwards by Mr. Robert Brown not so constant; for the seeds of *Jasminum* are often horizontal, or even somewhat pendulous, and frequently two in a cell. A parallel anomaly to that which occurs in the æstivation of their flowers is found also in the order of *Cinchoneæ*, where *Cinchona* has a contorted but *Exostema* a valved æstivation. 36. *Ericinæ*; here *Chamæcistus* and *Uva Ursi* of the old botanists are very properly restored; the former differing from *Rhododendron* in its strictly regular corolla, and the latter from *Arbutus* in its fruit, which is not a berry, but a true Pyrena, composed in those which we have examined of from six to ten seeds grown so firmly together as to be inseparable. Of other genera, *Erica Daboecia* has been referred to *Menziesia* by Jussieu; but this little shrub is totally distinct in habit, inflorescence, fruit, and seeds, from that genus. *Andromeda Cærulea*, referred also to *Menziesia* by Swartz, is here separated under Mr. Salisbury's name of *Phyllodoce*. *Erica Cinerea*, L., is also detached with the last-mentioned botanist's name of *Eremocallis*, to which Mr. Gray joins *Erica Tetralix* too hastily; for even these differ materially in fruit and seeds. *Erica Vagans* is made another genus, and called *Gypsocallis*; *Erica Vulgaris* has the name of *Calluna*; and *Pyrola Uniflora* that of *Moneses*; all from Mr. Salisbury's MSS. At the end of this order, *Monotropa* is added; its supposed affinity, first published by Nuttal, having been confirmed by Mr. J. Lindley. These are both high authorities, but the structure of the anthers is so different from those of all *Ericeæ* and *Andromedeæ*, and they so closely resemble the anthers of many *Personatæ*, L., that we cannot yet adopt their opinion. The situation of the embryo will perhaps determine this point. 37. *Vaccinieæ*. 38. *Campanulaceæ*. 39. *Compositæ*. Under the third division of this numerous class, *Inula Crithmifolia* is very justly separated: but we cannot account for the author's name *Erithais*. 40. *Dipsaceæ*, where Xenocrates's name of *Galedragon* is applied to *Dipsacus Pilosus*. 41. *Valerianeæ*. 42. *Rubiaceæ*. 43. *Caprifoliaceæ*. 44. *Loranthideæ*; under this order we are surprized to find *Adoxa*, the author nevertheless remarking that 'it is an anomalous plant, scarcely referable to this or any other order.' Its seeds will perhaps ascertain its real affinity. 45. *Umbelliferæ*. 46. *Saxifrageæ*. Here *Robertsonia* of Haworth is adopted for the *London Pride* and its congeners; Necker's objectionable name of *Hydatica* for *Saxifraga Stellaris*; and that of Dr. Kingstone is commemorated in *Saxifraga Hirculus*, he having discovered it growing wild on Knutsford-moor. 47. *Crassulaceæ*. 48. *Portulaceæ*. 49. *Paronychideæ*

ronychideæ are divided into three sections, one containing *Scleranthus*, and *Arenaria Peploides*, L., under Rafinesque's name of *Adenarium*: but this plant surely has no immediate affinity to *Scleranthus*. The second section contains *Illecebrum*, the author regarding with Gærtner *Verticillatum* as the type, *Corrigiola*, *Herniaria*, and *Polycarpon*. The third section has only *Larbrea* of Aug. St. Hilaire. 50. *Grossulareæ*. 51. *Cucurbitaceæ*. 52. *Salicariæ*. 53. *Tamaricinæ*. 54. *Ceratophyllæ*. 55. *Haloragеæ*. 56. *Onagrariæ*. 57. *Pomaceæ*; where *Pyrus* remains divided into the three Linnéan sections of *Pyrus*, *Malus*, and *Sorbus*, followed by *Cratægus* and *Mespilus*. 58. *Rosaceæ*. It is to be regretted that Mr. Gray had not studied Mr. J. Lindley's Monograph, who reduces the number of British species to 12, making *Doniana* a variety of *Sabini*. Mr. G.'s *Villosa*, *Scabriuscula*, *Heterophylla*, *Pulchella*, varieties of *Tomentosa*; his *Gracilis*, *Nuda*, *Cæsia*, *Sarmentacea*, *Bractescens*, *Dumetorum*, *Collina*, and *Surculosa*, varieties of *Canina*; and, lastly, *Micrantha* and *Borreri*, varieties of *Rubiginosa*. 59. *Agrimoniaceæ*. 60. *Dryadeæ*. 61. *Ulmariæ*. 62. *Drupaceæ*. 63. *Leguminosæ*. 64. *Celastrinæ*. 65. *Rhamneæ*. 66. *Geranieæ*, where *Oxalis* and *Impatiens* each form a section. 67. *Hypericineæ*, of which *Androsæmum* is restored. 68. *Acerineæ*. 69. *Tiliaceæ*. 70. *Malvaceæ*. 71. *Lineæ*. These vegetables, we think, shew the inutility of laying down rules *à priori* for combining vegetables naturally: for *Lineæ* have no affinity to *Malvaceæ*, being oligandrous, with a totally different insertion of their floral envelopes and stamina, as well as different fruits: but they introduce very naturally the next order. 72. *Caryophylleæ*. Jussieu has removed these plants from several others, to which he confesses that they have a close affinity, on account of the supposed hypogynous insertion of their petals and filaments: but many of them are perigynous in Jussieu's strictest sense of the term, and they are all so in ours; since, although their alternate filaments are often attached to the petals, their bases run down projecting in front, and terminate in the same common circle of the receptacle or disc, which always adheres more to the calyx than to the stipes of the pericarpium, and is dilated either into a marginal ring or manifest saucer, exactly as in *Scleranthеæ*. We therefore do not hesitate to consider it as a legitimate perigynous receptacle, occasionally stipitated like that of *Passifloreæ*; and, in this view, how many apparent interruptions of the chain vanish, by which the Creator has linked all vegetables! Thus *Larbrea* of Aug. St. Hilaire is no longer to be regarded as essentially anomalous to the immediate relatives near which all preceding writers had

had placed it. In this order, Mr. Gray separates *Arenaria Serpyllifolia*, *Trinervis*, and *Ciliata* from the stipuled *Arenarias*, under Dillenius's name of *Alsinella*; and we have little doubt that other characters besides their 6-toothed capsule will confirm this genus. 73. *Cistineæ*. 74. *Frankeniaceæ*. 75. *Droseraceæ*. De Candolle is quoted as the author of this order, but it was established 15 years ago in the *Paradisus Londinensis*. The genera quoted in that work are *Drosera*, *Ladrosia*, of which *Drosera Lusitanica* is the type, *Ireon* of Burman, *Byblis*, an *Australasian* genus, and *Dionæa*. The validity of the order is thus confirmed; for, when De Candolle published the first edition of his *Théorie Elémentaire*, he was not aware of our countryman's labours. 76. *Resedaceæ*. Our opinion of the erroneous view which Mr. J. Lindley has taken of their inflorescence, or rather the structure of their flowers, namely, that each of them is compound and not a single flower, has been mentioned in a former number. 77. *Polygaleæ*. 78. *Violaceæ*. 79. *Parnassiæ*. We are induced to believe that these plants are the regular type of *Resedaceæ*; they all agree in their thin shining cuticle, in the scurfy pubescence on the under side of the leaves which occurs in several species, in their 1-locular fruits soon pervious at the top, in the structure of their stigma as far as affinity of order is concerned, and in having seeds without albumen. 80. *Cruciferæ*. De Candolle's invaluable arrangement, both natural and artificial, of these plants, we suppose was published too late for Mr. Gray to adopt it here. 81. *Fumarideæ*. 82. *Papaveraceæ*. Our indigenous yellow *Poppy* is here called *Cerastites*, but we prefer De Candolle's more appropriate name of *Meconopsis*, first published in the Supplement to his *Flore Françoise*. *Papaver Dubium*, *Hybridum*, and *Argemone* are also joined to *Cerastites*, though in two sections; and the two latter species, we think, have equal claims to the rank of a genus. 83. *Nymphæaceæ*. By some mistake, Mr. R. A. Salisbury is here quoted as having first assigned the Arabic name of *Nuphar* to our *Yellow Water Lily*, whereas he left it under its antient Grecian and Latin name of *Nymphæa*. 84. *Berberideæ*. 85. *Ranunculaceæ*.

In the additions to the second volume, *Lemnadeæ* are made a separate order, and directed to be placed after *Aroideæ*. — We cannot conclude our account of this work without saying that, to any person who is desirous of knowing our British plants unaided by coloured figures, and who is conversant only with the English language, it is by far the most useful that has yet appeared.

ART.

ART. IV. *A Tour through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples.* By the Honorable Richard Keppel Craven. To which is subjoined a Sketch of the immediate Circumstances attending the late Revolution. 4to. pp. 450. With 14 Plates. 2*l.* 15*s.* Boards. Rodwell and Martin. 1821.

IT is with much satisfaction that we hail this production from the pen of a gentleman whose name has, hitherto, been better known in the fashionable than the literary world. We are pleased, also, to find that he has struck into a path of research not altogether familiar to us; and that, instead of our being called to toil through a volume replete only with what has been observed and described a hundred times, we are conducted by a well educated guide into countries that have been rarely explored or elucidated.

As, in the course of the brief analysis of the work which we mean to give, we have to travel through twenty-three chapters, we must not linger on the threshold of the first, to notice the description of the gate called Porta Capuana, by which we emerge eastward from Naples on the road that leads to Nola and Avellino. We pass the church of La Madonna del Pianto, and the public cemetery of Campo Santo, the description of which includes the particulars of the national mode of sepulture, and approach Arienzo; a well-built town containing several thousand inhabitants, who appeared easy in their circumstances, and industrious in their habits. We next reach a narrow defile between Arienzo and Arpaia, which is said to be the position of the *Furcæ Caudinæ*, or Caudine Forks; the scene of that memorable stratagem of the Samnites, by which the Romans found themselves inextricably entrapped amid inaccessible mountains, and compelled to surrender on the most ignominious conditions. Into the consideration of this long-disputed question, Mr. Craven enters with all the antiquarian interest which is natural to a classical scholar; citing authorities, antient and modern, in support of the several opinions as to the identical site of the Forks. As the generality of our readers, however, will probably feel little anxiety on this subject of debate, we shall proceed to the city of Benevento: which, we are informed, is well built, and contains several good houses: but its most populous streets are the most narrow, and so steep that many are impassable for carriages. In common with Rome, Athens, Rhodes, or Mitylene, it may boast of many fine vestiges of antient sculpture; of which the most considerable is the arch of Trajan, which is not only the most perfect as to preservation, but is perhaps the best specimen of Roman workmanship existing. It is used as one of the five city-gates, and is called Porta

Aurea. The climate is not unhealthy, though somewhat resembling the humid, heavy, and foggy atmosphere of England. The population of the whole domain is 24,000: that of the city, 18,000. The original name was Maleventum; supposed to have been derived from the furious winds which, according to Procopius, blew on this city from the coast of Dalmatia: but the Romans changed it to the more auspicious denomination which it has preserved to this day. Here are few picturesque beauties to strike the traveller, but he is amply repaid by those which he may enjoy from the town itself. Beyond the river Calore, which encircles the town, is the plain that witnessed the bloody struggle between Charles of Anjou and Manfred of Suabia. We pass over the elegant and pathetic eulogy of the latter prince, the description of the cathedral, of the antient monastery of Santa Sofia, the citadel, or castle, and the historical sketch of the duchy of Benevento, and advance into the province of Apulia: this is now subdivided into Capitanata, Terra di Bari, and Terra d'Otranto, and grievously infested with banditti, who make its woods their lurking places, and its plains the scene of their exploits.

On the arrival of Mr. Craven at Foggia, he found the whole city in a state of tumult, caused by a skirmish between the remains of the Vardarelli banditti, and the military who were stationed in the place. It terminated in the defeat of the robbers, some of whom retired to a cellar, the opening of which they obstinately defended, refusing all terms of capitulation. As the only means of overcoming their resistance, therefore, a straw-fire was lighted at the entrance of the cellar, and the orifice was blocked up with stones: but they still asked not for quarter. Two hours afterward, the cellar was entered without opposition; and the lifeless bodies of the desperadoes, covered with wounds, indicated the death which they had received at each other's hands. Having viewed some of the dead bodies, Mr. Craven makes these remarks on their appearance:

'The infliction of a sudden and violent death on a robust and active frame is far from producing those effects which the repeated attacks of disease, or the gradual decay of the vital powers, leave impressed in characters so awful or offensive on the human countenance:—the setting rays of the same sun which had cast its morning radiance on beings moving in the full energy of existence, now shone on their lifeless but not inexpressive features. The turmoil of passions which had agitated the last dreadful moments of their existence was visibly though variously depicted in every face, nor could the expression be mistaken; the sullen brow, strongly contracted over the glaring eye-ball, the pallid lip curled

to

to a Sardonic smile, each bespoke the final agonies of desperate bravery, ineffectual revenge, or the hopeless struggles of expiring crime. The colour of the cheeks was fixed but not extinct, and nought but the attitude was that of death. They had been stript of every article save the reliquaries or consecrated images, which the lower classes in Italy invariably wear round their neck, and which now rested on the ghastly wounds that disfigured their bodies, some of which were also blackened by smoke. None of these men were above the age of forty, while most of them were considerably younger. It was said that individuals of every nation were to be found in their ranks; but I believe that a Frenchman and an Hungarian were the only two who were not natives of Italy.'

Foggia is well built and paved; the streets are wide and clean, the shops large and well supplied; and the whole has an air of opulence, prosperity, and population, which, in spite of its ill-chosen situation and reputed bad air, gives it a more animated appearance than any other city in the whole kingdom, except the capital. The inhabitants are computed at 24,000: but the numbers greatly increase during the fair-time. Wheat and wool form the principal objects of commerce at this great annual mart, which is held on the 17th of May. Foggia possesses also a cathedral, a good theatre, a very handsome intendenza or governor's palace, and several excellent private houses.

From this town the traveller made an excursion, in the course of which he visited, after having crossed the Candelaro, (probably the antient Cerbalus,) the remains of the monastery of S. Leonardo, once belonging to the Teutonic order; and thence he proceeded to the site of the antient Sipontum, one of the colonies planted by Diomed. The town of Manfredonia, handsome, regular, and strikingly clean, with a population of 5 or 6000, abounding in every vegetable production, but unfortunate in the unhealthy vicinity of the Sipontine marsh: — St. Angelo, with streets irregular, narrow, and filthy, situated amid the rugged tops of Mount Garganus, the whole chain of which now passes by its name: — the church and sanctuary of St. Michael, thronged with innumerable devotees arriving to celebrate the anniversary of the apparition of the angel, from which, according to the popular legends, the place derives its sanctity: — all these subjects supply materials for description, to which we can only refer our readers for a just impression of the author's powers. — This excursion ended, we again start from Foggia; and, passing on our right the towns of Deliceto and Ascoli, — the antient Asculum, where the Romans defeated Pyrrhus, — at Cirignola we again meet with traces of banditti. Their practice was to seize travellers

for the sake of their ransom, a part of which they would demand in the form of materials for wearing apparel, and other requisites which they found a difficulty in purchasing. Except in revenge for treachery and breach of faith in the fulfilment of agreements, they have generally been found true to their word: few among the objects of their rapacity have fallen victims to a spirit of wanton ferocity; and the prisoners are always restored for much less than the sum originally required.

Through the corn-fields and well cultivated gardens of a flat country, the road leads to the sea-port of Barletta. It contains 18,000 inhabitants, and is remarkably well built: its style of architecture being more simple than ornamented, and its general effect being that of solidity and grandeur. Its prosperity is chiefly derived from its trade with the Gulf of Venice and the Ionian islands. On the whole, as a residence, Barletta appeared to Mr. Craven greatly superior to any town that he had seen since he quitted the metropolis. He was disappointed in his project of visiting the celebrated field of Cannæ, which lies in the way to Canosa, some miles distant: but he consoled himself with reflecting that these plains are scarcely better identified than many other scenes of Roman disaster. A good and pleasant road for thirty miles, but more indebted for its charms to art than nature, leads from Barletta to Bari, and is called the Marina di Bari.

At the opening of his sixth chapter, Mr. Craven complains of the necessity of accepting the hospitality of private gentlemen, instead of the accommodations afforded by inns; describing the overstrained attentions of persons whose habits and modes of life are so opposite to ours as irksome and oppressive, and inconsistent with that degree of liberty and independence which constitute so much of the charm of travelling.

Bari is an old town, containing 19,000 persons. The streets are dark, narrow, and winding; and, as no sewers or conduits are to be found in all Apulia, the consequences may be imagined in a town of which the level, in many parts, is not higher than that of the adjoining sea. It carries on a brisk trade with Trieste and the ports of Dalmatia, which gives it an appearance of animation, ease, and opulence. — In this part of the work, we meet with a short dissertation on Malaria, by which it appears that the disorders ascribed to this cause do not always arise from marshy effluvia. Indeed, it is well known that malaria is frequently observable in the driest spots: and other causes are adduced to account for this phenomenon:

'Wherever

'Wherever water is furnished abundantly it must occasionally stagnate, and the superincrease of vegetation, produced by the powerful agency of humidity joined to extreme heat, is supposed to be as productive of malaria as the effluvia of putrescent waters. The effects of these invariably assume the form of that fever so well known, and unfortunately so widely diffused over the south-east portion of Europe; but the inconveniences complained of by the natives of the above-mentioned towns, though infinitely less detrimental to the human constitution, take a much greater variety of shapes, and, I believe, are very often the mere result of excessive heat and want of ventilation.—In the places most notorious for malaria, the richer inhabitants are all disposed to think light of its effects, in confining its operation to a very short period of the year, or perhaps to one particular quarter of the town; at the same time the precautions they take against it are so numerous, and, to a native of our climate, so extraordinary, that I was always hesitating between excessive alarm or total incredulity. At this period of my journey the evil had not begun, as it is seldom supposed to exist before the month of June; yet in every house the windows and shutters were carefully closed half an hour before sunset, nor did I ever venture to transgress their injunctions in this respect by opening them until, when left to myself, I had first locked my door. I am far, however, from recommending my example, nor am I presumptuous enough to treat the opinions of a whole nation with disregard: in this instance, habit had rendered it a matter of necessity, if I wished to secure any sleep; and I own, that never having experienced any bad effects from it during a residence of two years at Naples, where it is as cautiously avoided as it might be in the Pomptine marshes, I was, during my journey, induced to persevere in it, where prudence might have suggested the contrary practice.'

The traveller now proceeded through the corn-lands, olive-grounds, and vineyards of a country devoid of any extraordinary interest, to the city of Lecce. It is surrounded on all sides by a desart of stones, and nothing can be more dreary than the immediate approach; although the extensive tracts of waste land, which must be previously crossed, are abundantly productive in all the wild aromatic shrubs of the south, such as mastic, cistus, and myrtles, interspersed with wild olives and vines. The population of Lecce amounts to 14,000. It is a dull town, and remarkable for the bad taste of its large heavy buildings. Hence we make an excursion in the Terra d'Otranto, and meet with the following short notice of the celebrated castle:

'The castle of Otranto, a name calculated to awaken feelings of pleasing recollection in an English mind, is far from realizing the expectations created by the perusal of the celebrated romance bearing the same appellation. It is now, what it ever was, the citadel

citadel of this town, a fort of no considerable extent or power, but not entirely deficient in picturesque beauty, especially on the land side. Two large circular towers, features always observable in the fortresses built by Charles the Fifth, rise from the rich foliage of the trees which fill the town-ditch, and among which a very high palm is eminently conspicuous. On the opposite wall a drapery of interwoven creepers exhibits a fine contrast to the colour of the stone of which the edifice is constructed. From its summit the view is extensive, but bare of objects, especially to the south, where a ruined church of St. Nicholas occupies the site of an ancient temple of Minerva, and forms the only feature in the landscape.'

At Brindisi, we are referred to Strabo for a description of its antient greatness, of which only a few vestiges can now be traced. Its decrease of commerce, and the noxious exhalations arising from its belt of stagnant waters, have reduced the number of inhabitants to 6000: but the last-circumstance, we are informed, is no check to the beauty and brilliant complexions of the women; which, as at Manfredonia, are very remarkable. The castle is also recorded as a most beautiful structure. We next reach the boundary of the Terra d'Otranto; and the traveller, having for some days wandered over a dreary, parched, and waterless plain, hails with delight the mountains of Basilicata and Calabria; 'the extensive forests which clothe their sides, the shady glens which wind round their bases, and the cool and transparent streams which bubbled through their valleys.'

The tenth chapter opens with a disquisition concerning Magna Græcia, from which we learn chiefly that the origin of its name and the probable extent of its boundaries have never hitherto been satisfactorily defined. Leaving, therefore, inconclusive speculations for the amusement of antiquaries, we shall proceed to notice the town of Taranto. It contains 15,000 inhabitants, and is strikingly and singularly situated: but the outline of an amphitheatre, some substructions apparently Roman, and an immense mass composed of fragments of pottery, constitute the only remains of a city which was once the largest and richest in Magna Græcia. We are next introduced to a succession of the princes of Taranto, as well as to the shell-fishery of the Mare Piccolo; from which branch of commerce the government draws a yearly revenue of 24,000 ducats. The shells of these seas are used in the formation of pictures resembling Mosaic, which constitute a particular though not extensive branch of Tarentine industry; as well as the gloves and stockings, knit from the tufts of silk, which grow on the large bivalve called Pinna Marina. Con-

cerning the bite of the Tarantula spider, Mr. Craven informs us that his intelligence was very indecisive as to the real cause of the disorder, though its existence was well authenticated, and not a year passes without affording more than one example of its appearance. He gives a detailed description of the ceremonies enjoined for the cure of the disorder, and takes his leave of Taranto with an admonition to the author of the "Diary of an Invalid," on the subject of a misrepresentation in his work that is injurious to the dignified clergy of these realms. Mr. C. observes that 'a more mature inquiry into facts would have convinced the author that the individual he alludes to is incapable of the degrading conduct imputed to him; and an extension of that inquiry would have taught him that no bishops can remain in the capital, since the rules of the Neapolitan church enjoin their constant residence in their respective dioceses.'

The author now travelled along the sea-shore for twenty miles, exposed to the deafening roar of the surge breaking under his horse's feet. He crossed the Lieto, or Lato, and the Bradano, which now forms the boundary of the provinces of Otranto and Basilicata, and entered a vast plain which formerly supplied the town of Metapontum with the grain that constituted the source of its opulence, and was typified on its medals. Torre di Mare is supposed to stand on the precise site of the antient city. Mr. Craven visited the banks of the river Basiento, in a fruitless search after some vestiges of Metapontum: but he ascribes his want of success to the ignorance of the country people, as also to an inadvertence committed by Swinburne (whom he perpetually quotes) in calling the Bradano the Basiento: for, on his return to Naples, he learnt, to his great mortification, that the ruins of a Doric temple actually exist 'very near the river Bradano, between a small town called Girifalco and the sea, and distant about four miles from the last.' This he states for the information of future travellers.

The small town of Amandolara stands on an insulated cone, surrounded on all sides but one by a precipice of frightful depth and steepness. Its inhabitants experienced the advantages of such a situation in the year 1806, when they successfully defended it against 200 brigands, who retired from the siege which they had begun. The city of Cassano presents an agreeable subject of contemplation. Its aspect is rich and striking: it contains 5000 industrious inhabitants, is the seat of a bishop, and has several flourishing manufactures: it abounds in fine timber, in every vegetable production, in flocks of cattle, and every variety of game: its elevated situation

ation places it beyond the reach of the malaria which infects the valley of the river Crathis: the Duke of Cassano, proprietor of the city, has caused it to be supplied with good water from a distance of six miles: the neighbouring Marina affords it abundance of fish: it has an easy intercourse with the capital, and appears to unite more advantages as an habitual residence than any other spot at so great a distance from the metropolis. It has, moreover, pretensions to remote antiquity, being placed on the site of Cosa or Cossa, a city of the Enotrians, included in later times within the Thurian territory. The Crathis forms the boundary of the territory of Cassano. It derives its fame chiefly from the town of Sybaris, which rose between its stream and that of the river to which that city gave or from which it took its name. Sybaris was destroyed by the Crotoniates, 'by directing on its magnificent edifices the waters of the very river which had so long contributed to enrich and embellish them, and which now render all research after their vestiges impracticable.' For the benefit of our unlearned readers, we extract a short account of the origin of these antient cities which are so often mentioned in the course of the present work:

'Ancient authors inform us, that among the several chiefs who had united their hostile arms against Troy, few returned to their hereditary dominions; and many who did, were compelled, through domestic treason or foreign usurpation, to seek other shores, and found other kingdoms. The names of Diomedes, Idomeneus, and Philoctetes, stand foremost among those who sought an asylum in the southern extremity of Italy, then called Ausonia or Œnotria. The first of these heroes colonized Daunia, which comprizes the extent of coast from Mount Garganus to Barletta, and is now termed Capitanata. The Cretan wanderers formed settlements in various parts of the Iapygian promontory, or Terra d'Otranto; and the last founded cities in this part of Calabria. The intermediate portions of these regions, so established by nature and favoured by climate, boasted of names equally distinguished in fabulous history; but tradition is here so involved with the marvels of mythological fiction, and so unassisted by authentic documents, that we scarcely dare to fix upon any particular source of information, or quote with security any author who has treated upon the subject.'

Chapter xiii. opens with a description of the former splendor of Croton, now Cotrone, followed by the contrast of its present impoverishment and decay. Not only all vestiges of the former are erased, but even the local charms which Theocritus so sweetly described have now vanished,—if they ever existed. The surrounding country, comprizing the Lacinian promontory, now distinguished by the name of Il Marchesato,

sato, may be considered as the ugliest tract of land in all Calabria. This promontory, now the Capo Nau, or Capo delle Colonne, was once famous for a temple of Juno, the magnificence of whose shrine might have vied with that of the Ephesian Diana, or, in modern times, with that of Loretto. Pilgrims from all parts of Italy and Greece flocked to it in crowds, to admire the style of its architecture, the magnificence of its ornaments, and the number of flocks sacred to the goddess which fed unguarded by shepherds, in the groves surrounding the holy edifice. The only remnant of all this grandeur is a Doric column, 26 feet high, and 5 feet 3 inches in diameter at its base. From Cotrone, the centrical ridge of the Appennines rises into a mountainous tract of above 80 miles in length, as wild and impracticable as the Alpine regions of Swisserland. It is covered with a range of forests, distinguished, ever since the days of Strabo, by the name of Syla, or the Brettian Forest; and it contains portions of pasture-land, irrigated by rills of the purest and coolest water, to which the flocks that form the standard riches of the landed proprietors are driven to graze during the summer-months.

Mr. Craven next reached the small town of Cutro, the neighbourhood of which had recently been infested by a gang of banditti; who, though few in number, had, under the able command of a celebrated chief called Vito Caliguiri, exercised their ravages with impunity. The richest inhabitant of Cotrone and his eldest son had been carried off by them in the preceding year. They allowed the former to go home, securely relying on the workings of paternal affection for the payment of his son's ransom, which was arranged at 17,000 ducats, and punctually discharged. When the author speaks of the Calabrian peasants, he compares them with those of the remainder of the kingdom. 'The distinction is not in favour of the former, who certainly, in point of expression, feature, or stature, are by no means equal to the others. The outline of the face is generally more African; the complexion either a pale olive, or a highly tinted copper colour; the hair sometimes perfectly straight, but oftener frizzed like that of negroes, but universally coarse and black. Their stature is low, nor did they, though straight, strike me as well made; but it is true, that the dress they wear is very ill calculated to show their persons to any advantage.'—'Among the females, premature old age, and the traces of hard labour, obliterated, even at a very early period, all that constitutes the softness and attraction of a feminine face. Both sexes invariably were distinguished by the surprizing regularity and dazzling whiteness of their teeth.'

The

The town of Squillace, which stands on an almost inaccessible rock, contains at present only 2000 inhabitants, having suffered considerably from the effects of the great earthquake of 1783, which may be said to have altered the face of the whole of Calabria Ultra. It is an episcopal see of some antiquity, and boasts as remote an origin as any of the cities of Magna Græcia. According to Strabo, its former name was Scylletium, though it was called in his time Scyllacium. Mr. Craven spent some days at the country-house of a friend, most enchantingly situated on the myrtle-covered declivity of the Monte Moscia, just below Squillace. The town of La Serra, in the midst of high mountains, is chiefly remarkable for the remains of St. Stefano del Bosco, a celebrated monastery, once the wonder and pride of these sequestered glades, but now a monument of the awful visitations to which they have been subject. The earthquake which took place on the 5th of February, 1783, levelled to the earth, in less than three minutes, a fabric which had grown in size and magnificence during seven centuries.

Descending to the plains, we again meet with the vine, the olive, the myrtle, and the orange: but the towns of Casalnovo and Terranova again exhibit awful traces of the earthquake. Every edifice in the former was cast to the earth; a cross and fountain alone remaining in their original position. Terranova now consists of a village of one street, containing 700 inhabitants, placed in the midst of ruins, which are those of a town containing 13,000 persons. During six weeks from the 5th of February, the internal fever of the earth was marked by not less than a thousand distinct shocks. After having drawn a pathetic picture of the universal despair and desolation of this period, the traveller advanced to the town of Gerace, in quest of the ruins of the antient Locris: of which he found abundant vestiges, chiefly in the garden of a landed proprietor, who was more anxious to secure the produce of his soil than to investigate the curiosities beneath it, and consequently unwilling that any farther excavations should be made.

We now pass to the shores of Scylla. This celebrated rock is stripped of all its former terrors; and the cause may be found, perhaps, in the frequent recurrence of earthquakes, which would alone sufficiently account for such alterations in its form and magnitude, as may have greatly diminished the dangers which it once presented to navigators. The houses of Scylla are regular and well built; and the inhabitants, about 5000, are remarkable for their good looks, cleanliness, and industry. The men are also good mariners, and principally employed in fishing, or making silk. The various occu-

pations afforded to the women by the latter article impart life and picturesque effect to every habitation on this coast, where it forms the principal and almost only branch of industry.

Nothing can be more impressive than the account here given of the earthquake of 1783, at Scylla. To escape from the danger of falling buildings, the Prince, with 4000 of his people, had sought security on the sea-shore.

'At about half-past seven, a distant but loud crash proclaimed some new disaster, and awakened to a fearful state of suspense all the silent sufferers. A powerful recurrence of the morning's shocks had severed a large portion of Mount Baci, which forms the next promontory towards the south, and dashed its shivered mass into the sea. The darkness precluded an immediate communication of this event to the trembling population on the sands, and also shrouded from their knowledge the anticipation of its consequences. They were roused by the earthquake; but, extended on the beach, and out of the reach of all buildings, they thought themselves comparatively secure from real danger. A low rustling noise soon was heard, and gradually but rapidly increased to the roar of the most impetuous hurricane. The waters of the whole canal, impelled by the pressure of the fallen mountain, in a single wave had rushed with irresistible force over the opposite point of the Faro, which it entirely inundated. Thrown back towards the Calabrian coast, it passed with impetuosity over the shore of Scilla; and, in its retreat to the bosom of the deep, swept from its surface every individual who had thought to find safety in the bareness of its sands. One abhorrent shriek uttered by the united voices of 4000 beings, thus snatched to eternity, re-echoed from the mountains; and the tremendous wave returning a second and last time, rose to the elevation of the highest houses that yet remained entire, and buried many of them in masses of mud and sand, leaving on their flat roofs, and among the branches of the trees which grew out of the impending rocks, the mangled bodies of the victims it had destroyed. But these were not many; for the mass, including the Prince of Scilla, were never seen or heard of more.'

Reggio is described at length, with the addition of its etymology and antient history. It was entirely destroyed by the same shock which converted Calabria Ultra into one mass of ruin; and only within a very few years has it begun to recover from the effects of that devastation, which are still visible in all the unfinished streets, and some of the antient masses of structure. The inhabitants are sociable and lively; and, as they are mostly in easy circumstances, the town, with the addition of a very pretty theatre, is by no means an unpleasant residence, notwithstanding its distance from the capital: while the climate and air are undoubtedly the finest in the whole continental portion of the realm. The fabrication

of silk, and the exports arising from the culture of oranges and lemons form its principal commercial resources.

Returning to Casalnovo, Mr. Craven passes, without any adventure, a defile in the mountain beyond Solano, proverbial in the province for the robberies and murders committed within its precincts; and he institutes a comparison between the mountains of Sicily and those of Calabria. 'Sicily boasts of some situations, so extraordinary in their effect, that nothing in any other country can bear a comparison with them; but, as a whole, it yields the palm of picturesque beauty to the southern extremity of Italy, which, more particularly in its interior recesses, combines every attribute of Salvator Rosa's romantic compositions, with the softer graces and glowing brilliancy which charm us in the paintings of Claude.'

Monteleone is a town of ten thousand inhabitants, in an airy commanding situation; and a fine old castle contributes to its imposing appearance. We here deviate from the direct road in order to visit Il Pizzo, the scene of the landing, and, in a few days afterward, of the execution, of Joachim Murat, in the autumn of 1815. (See our last Appendix, p. 485.) Cosenza, the capital of Calabria Citra, containing 9000 persons, has only one good street, but the shops are respectable, and the interior presents an appearance of industry and animation. It produces silk, wine, rice, hemp, and flax. Passing again within view of Cassano, the traveller proceeds through Castrovillari to Morano, which is placed, like a hundred other towns in Calabria Citra, on a pyramidical eminence, crowned by a fine Gothic castle. Soon afterward, he bids adieu to the mountains of Calabria, with feelings of unqualified regret at quitting a region so fitted to produce deep and charming impressions; and of which the merits and the disadvantages are impartially balanced in an interesting summary of the whole.

Lago Negro is described as exhibiting all the attributes of wild picturesque beauty; such as darkly wooded mountains, rising into bare and frowning peaks, which almost exclude the cheering influence of the sun. It is approached by two bridges over ravines, from among the dark and narrow depths of which is heard the roar of invisible torrents. The air of gloom and coldness, which invests it, has doubtless contributed to the origin of its unpromising name. After a ride of twenty-five miles through the fine country of Basilicata, the author entered the province called Principato Citra, or sometimes Provincia di Salerno, and arrived at Val di Diano, twenty-three miles in length and three miles wide, and celebrated among the Neapolitans for its fertility and beauty. On the right of this valley, stands on an eminence what was the

monastery of San Lorenzo, belonging to the order of St. Bruno, vying in magnitude with the finest convents in Sicily: but, sharing the fate of almost all the monastic establishments in the kingdom, it was converted into a military hospital by the French. At La Sala, Mr. Craven found it expedient to pass the night, although on account of its bad air it had been numbered in the list of places at which he had been advised not to rest. On this occasion, he remarks that, according to all the observations which he had been able to make, foreigners were much less liable to the effects of malaria than the inhabitants.

The Val di Diano communicates with the succeeding valley by means of the Ponte di Campestrino; a magnificent work, consisting of a zig-zag road supported on masses of masonry of the best construction, along the sides of a steep declivity, and ending in a bridge of seven arches, which rise perpendicularly from a ravine of immense depth: through which a narrow but impetuous torrent rolls its waters, of a bright vitriol-color. The range of Mount Alburnus now separated the road from the sea, and screened the plain of Pæstum from the north; displaying, in its sublime masses and romantic recesses, features as magnificent as any in the Calabrian Appennines.

Passing the forest of Persano, which forms one of the finest royal preserves for game of all kinds, we arrive at Eboli, whence the road to Salerno runs across the plain extending along the gulf of that name. Like all the other flat tracts in the kingdom, it is well watered and fertile, but unhealthy, and inferior in beauty to the plains of the Crati, St. Eufemia, or Gioia. At Salerno, we will take our leave of Mr. Craven; the remainder of the route to Naples having been often described.

We have confined ourselves to a mere analysis of this volume, with the view of presenting our readers with as much information relative to these unfrequented regions as could be compressed within the limits allotted to us. Those whose appetite for knowlege makes them indifferent to the form in which it is served up, and the sauce with which it is seasoned, will find in the original work much to gratify their curiosity: — but the more volatile and mercurial class of readers would probably complain of something dull and soporific in a constant register of population and buildings, soil, produce, and manufactures, with never-failing etymologies and remote historical deductions. The author's style, though always polished, is too often elevated into stiffness and laboured into obscurity. In mere narrative it is elegant, because more simple and natural:

tural: but in sentiment it commonly fails, as we frequently meet with unwieldy and overgrown sentences like the following, relative to Louis the Eleventh and St. Francis:

'It is difficult to imagine a scene of more impressive moral import, than that exhibited by a powerful monarch and unrelenting tyrant, greeting the arrival of a barefooted monk, and catching with childish avidity every word which dropped from the accounted divine; endeavouring, by the workings of self-delusion, to convert the consolatory expressions applicable to spiritual hope into promises held out to material existence, and vainly flattering himself that the mediation of sanctified humility might effectually prevail in obtaining from Heaven the prolongation of a career of unrepentant iniquity.'

The whole production, however, is written in the mild and liberal spirit of a gentleman; and we are willing to receive it as an useful and agreeable accession to the stores of local information which have been, at other times, collected on the same subject. The engravings are from views taken by the traveller himself.

Art. V. *The Fortunes of Nigel.* By the Author of "Waverley," "Kenilworth," &c. 3 Vols. 12mo. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* Boards. Edinburgh, Constable and Co.; London, Hurst and Co. 1822.

The singular rapidity with which '*Nigel*' has followed the steps of his predecessor "*The Pirate*," and the report that we may shortly expect the appearance of his successor, convince us that our task begins to grow serious. Kindly solicitous to prevent our time from hanging heavily on our hands, this fertile writer seems resolved, at every vacant season of the year, to offer his best assistance in diverting our *ennui*, and accordingly, having in the Christmas holidays contributed his stock of amusement in the shape of "The Pirate," no sooner did Whitsuntide arrive than he proffered 'The Fortunes of Nigel,' to while away a few of the sultry hours which have lately oppressed us. We therefore look forwards with confidence to his aid in killing a tedious day or two in the decline of the summer, or, at all events, before the fall of the leaf; and we shall be fully prepared, as Christmas again returns, once more to greet the appearance of our great periodical novelist. We are now fully persuaded, by the perusal of the introductory Epistle to the present work, that it is in vain to expect him to stay his course; and, indeed, he frankly confesses that he shall continue to write as long as the public will persist in reading his productions. He should, however, recollect that the world will not be satisfied unless he surpasses himself,

self, and that an author's reputation, unless it increases, must diminish:—but this is his business rather than ours.

By the rare combination of a rich fancy with very extensive and accurate antiquarian knowlege, which all the Scotish novels have shewn the writer of them to possess, he has been enabled to become the founder of a new school. Until he appeared, we had no compositions in our language which could fairly lay claim to the title of historical novels. It is true that we possessed romances, of which the heroes frequently bore some well-known name: but, in the delineation of their characters, the author's imagination was generally as discursive as in any other portion of his work. Not so the author of "Waverley." His portraits of the various historical personages whom he has introduced are all evidently drawn by one who has been long familiar with their features, and who can, without difficulty, represent them in the shape which they have always borne in his eyes. No one, except Shakspeare in his historical plays, has given more vivid and striking pictures of the illustrious dead; and no one has been more curiously happy in throwing over the canvass that air of life and truth, that *vraisemblance*, which renders the illusion so complete. While, however, the chief merit in Shakspeare's representations seems to be the intuitive faculty which the poet displays of presenting, with the most perfect nature, the fitting sentiments and feelings of his various characters, without any strict regard to the niceties of historical correctness and antiquarian research, the great endeavor of the Scotish novelist is to furnish a picture, complete in all its parts, of the manners and spirit of the age which he is describing. The scenery and decorations of his tales, if we may be allowed the expression, are finished with a scrupulous regard to truth and correctness; and not the minutest incident which his fertile mind suggests is passed over, when its insertion would add any thing to the completeness of his work.

While we thus readily admit the diligence with which the author avails himself of the varied stores of historical and antiquarian information which lie within his reach, it is evident that, like graver historians, he is not without his prejudices, and that he has not always formed an unbiased opinion of the great characters which he represents. We are induced to enter rather more at large into this subject, by a belief that the false ideas of character, which are spread abroad in this shape, are calculated to produce more injurious effects than if they were contained in some dull and ponderous history; not only by their more extended circulation, but by the impression which such lively works of fiction usually leave on the mind.

mind. We shall not recur to any of this writer's former works in support of the opinion which we are now advancing, though ample proofs might be there collected: it will be sufficient for us to make a few observations on the historical portraits contained in the present narrative.

'The Fortunes of Nigel' comprize the history of a young Scottish nobleman, who, being reduced almost to poverty, arrives in London for the purpose of soliciting from James I. the payment of a large debt due from that sovereign to his father. The adventures of this youthful Lord (Nigel Olifaunt, Lord Glenvarloch,) furnish the matter of the three volumes before us. The historical personages with whom we are made acquainted are James I., Prince Charles, and the celebrated Duke of Buckingham. Undoubtedly, our English Solomon is admirably drawn, and evidently with great relish and *gusto*. Indeed, the character of this divine vicegerent is so obnoxious to ridicule, and the cotemporary historians have so diligently collected and transmitted their stores of amusing anecdote, that a much duller pen might have given an entertaining representation of "the wisest fool in all Christendom." So admirably has the author succeeded in his sketch, that we question whether an equally accurate and lively portrait of James is to be found in the pages of any of our historians: but in this part the novelist has trusted little or nothing to his imagination, for his characteristic incidents, and his minute relations of the King's peculiar habits and manners, are almost entirely borrowed from the memoir-writers and annalists of the times; though interwoven into the present narrative and adapted to the present purpose with singular skill and felicity. The conversations in which James takes a part are the only portions of the volumes relating to him in which the writer's imagination has been put to the test, and here he has certainly acquitted himself most successfully. In bringing before the reader all the King's personal peculiarities, which were not few, he has been particularly happy; owing to the diligence with which he has examined the pages of Weldon, Osborn, Clarendon, and others of our elder authors. The aversion which James always shewed to the sight of drawn swords, or fire-arms, has furnished matter for two or three very entertaining scenes, and it is curious to observe the historical correctness of the representation of this failing. We may quote, as an example, the mode in which the King knighted Richie Moniplies. 'He took the drawn sword, and with averted eyes, for it was a sight he loved not to look upon, endeavoured to lay it on Richie's shoulder, but nearly struck it into his eye. Richie, starting back, attempted to rise, but was held down

down by Lowestoffe, while Sir Mungo guiding the royal weapon, the honour-bestowing blow was given and received; *Surge carnifex* — Rise up Sir Richard Moniplies of Castle-Collop!' — Let us now consult the original of this scene: "He (the King) had such an aversion," says Sir Kenelm Digby, "to a naked sword all his lifetime, that he could not see one without great emotion of spirits; and though otherwise courageous enough, he could not over-master his passions in this particular. I remember when he dubb'd me knight, in the ceremony of putting a naked sword upon my shoulder, he could not endure to look upon it, but turned his face another way; insomuch that, in lieu of touching my shoulder, he had almost thrust the point into my eyes, had not the Duke of Buckingham guided his hand aright." (*Digby on the Power of Sympathy*, p. 88.) We do not cite these passages for the purpose of convicting the author of plagiarism, for we think it is his highest praise that he has contrived in his character of James to render his fictitious narrative so consistent with historical truth. In the same manner, the description of the monarch's mode of riding is taken from Coke's Detection, and that of his dress from Osborn. To Clarendon, also, the writer is very considerably indebted for some curious traits of James's manners. *

We wish that we could concede the same praise of correctness to the novelist for the manner in which he has drawn Prince Charles and Buckingham: but here, if we mistake not, we perceive evident symptoms of Tory partialities. We do not indeed see much either of the Prince or the Duke, but all that we do see is clearly intended to produce a favorable impression. The better qualities of Charles are all displayed — his gravity, propriety, and princely dignity; nay, he is even represented as being much chagrined at the expedient to which his father resorted, in privately listening to the conversations of Nigel when a prisoner in the Tower: yet this detestation of treachery does not seem very natural in one who could approve of the employment of spies, a fact with which we are made acquainted by Clarendon. † Then with regard to Buckingham, from what appears of him in 'The Fortunes of Nigel,' we should say that he was a frank bold-hearted character; not indeed free from the vices of his age, but at all events a high-spirited and gallant courtier. We

* May we venture a conjecture whether Miss Aikin's Memoirs of James's court were not published early enough to afford this author some valuable hints?

† Continuation of the Life of the Earl of Clarendon, iii. 678.

have

have nothing of his ambition, his insolent carriage to the King and the Prince, the latter of whom historians tell us he was once on the point of striking, or of that vindictive spirit which rendered his power so truly terrible and fatal to those who once ventured to provoke him. On the contrary, we find him openly avowing himself the enemy of Lord Glenvarloch, and afterward recanting his words, and pleading that nobleman's cause before the King; a proceeding which is surely out of all historical *keeping*. The incident of the quarrel is evidently taken from the account handed down to us of that which occurred between the Duke and Lord Cottington; where the Duke, "with a countenance serene enough," assured his Lordship that he would always do whatsoever was in his power to ruin and destroy him; "without mentioning any particular ground for his so heightened displeasure." — The present author's notions of Buckingham's character are seemingly those of Lord Clarendon; who can scarcely, we think, be trusted as a proper guide, when he tells us that Buckingham was "of an excellent disposition, and in his nature just and candid, liberal, generous, and bountiful:" but that Hampden, like Cinna, "had a head to contrive and a tongue to persuade and a hand to execute any mischief," and that his death seemed to be "a great deliverance to the nation."

Before we introduce our readers to the fictitious personages who figure in 'The Fortunes of Nigel,' we shall give a scene or two in which the royal pedant, his son, and his favorite appear. The account of the hunt in Greenwich Park is excellent:

'A single horseman followed the chase, upon a steed so thoroughly subjected to the rein, that it obeyed the touch of the bridle as if it had been a mechanical impulse operating on the nicest piece of machinery; so that, seated deep in his demipique saddle, and so trussed up there as to make falling almost impossible, the rider, without either fear or hesitation, might increase or diminish the speed at which he rode, which, even on the most animating occasions of the chase, seldom exceeded three-fourths of a gallop, the horse keeping his haunches under him, and never stretching forward beyond the managed pace of the academy. The security with which he chose to prosecute even this favourite, and, in the ordinary case, somewhat dangerous amusement, as well as the rest of his equipage, marked King James. No attendant was within sight; indeed, it was often a nice strain of flattery to permit the sovereign to suppose he had outridden and distanced all the rest of the chase.

'"Weel dune, Bash — weel dune, Battie!" he exclaimed, as he came up. "By the honour of a king, ye are a credit to the Braes of Balwhither! — Haud my horse, man," he called out to Nigel,

Nigel, without stopping to see to whom he addressed himself — "Haud my naig, and help me doun out o' the saddle — de'il ding your saul, sirrah, canna ye mak haste before these lazy smaiks mount up? — haud the rein easy — dinna let him swerve — now, haud the stirrup — that will do, man, and now we are on terra firma." So saying, without casting an eye on his assistant, gentle King Jamie, unsheathing the short sharp hanger, (*couteau de chasse,*) which was the only thing approaching to a sword that he could willingly endure the sight of, drew the blade with great satisfaction across the throat of the buck, and put an end at once to its struggles and its agonies.

"Lord Glenvarloch, who knew well the sylvan duty which the occasion demanded, hung the bridle of the King's palfrey on the branch of a tree, and kneeling duteously down, turned the slaughtered deer upon its back, and kept the *quarrée* in that position, while the King, too intent upon his sport to observe any thing else, drew his *couteau* down the breast of the animal, *secundum artem;* and having made a cross cut, so as to ascertain the depth of the fat upon the chest, exclaimed, in a sort of rapture, "Three inches of white fat on the brisket! — prime — prime, as I am a crowned sinner — and de'il ane o' the lazy loons in but mysell! Seven — aught — aught tines on the antlers. By G—d, a hart of aught tines, and the first of the season! Bash and Battie, blessings on the heart's root of ye! Buss me, my bairns, buss me." The dogs accordingly fawned upon him, licked him with bloody jaws, and soon put him in such a state that it might have seemed treason had been doing its full work upon his anointed body. "Bide doun, with a mischief to ye — bide doun, with a wanion," cried the King, almost overturned by the obstreperous caresses of the large staghounds. "But ye are just like ither folks, gie ye an inch and ye take an ell. — And wha may ye be, friend?" he said, now finding leisure to take a nearer view of Nigel, and observing what in his first emotion of sylvan delight had escaped him, — "Ye are nane of our train, man. In the name of God, what the devil are ye?"

"An unfortunate man, sire," replied Nigel.

"I dare say that," answered the King, snappishly, "or I wad have seen naething of you. My lieges keep a' their happiness to themselves, but let bowls row wrang wi' them, and I am sure to hear of it."

"And to whom else can we carry our complaints but to your Majesty, who is Heaven's vicegerent over us?" answered Nigel.

"Right, man, right — very weel spoken," said the King; "but ye should leave Heaven's vicegerent some quiet on earth, too."

"If your Majesty will look on me," (for hitherto the King had been so busy, first with the dogs, and then with the mystic operation of *breaking*, in vulgar phrase, cutting up the deer, that he had scarce given his assistant above a transient glance,) "you will see whom necessity makes bold to avail himself of an opportunity which may never again occur."

'King

'King James looked; his blood left his cheek, though it continued stained with that of the animal which lay at his feet, he dropped the knife from his hand, cast behind him a faultering eye, as if he either meditated flight, or looked out for assistance, and then exclaimed, — "Glenvarlochides! as sure as I was christened James Stuart. Here is a bonny spot of work, and me alone, and on foot too!" he added, bustling to get upon his horse.

'"Forgive me that I interrupt you, my liege," said Nigel, placing himself between the King and the steed: "hear me but a moment."

'"I'll hear ye best on horseback," said the King. "I canna hear a word on foot, man, not a word; and it is not seemly to stand cheek-for-chowl confronting us that gate. Bide out of our gate, sir, we charge you, on your allegiance. — The de'il's in them a', what can they be doing?"

'"By the crown which you wear, my liege," said Nigel, "and for which my ancestors have worthily fought, I conjure you to be composed, and to hear me but a moment!"

'That which he asked was entirely out of the monarch's power to grant. The timidity which he shewed was not the plain downright cowardice, which, like a natural impulse, compels a man to flight, and which can excite little but pity or contempt, but a much more ludicrous, as well as more mingled sensation. The poor king was frightened at once and angry, desirous of securing his safety, and at the same time ashamed to compromise his dignity; so that, without attending to what Lord Glenvarloch endeavoured to explain, he kept making at his horse, and repeating, "We are a free king, man — we are a free king — we will not be controlled by a subject. — In the name of God, what keeps Steenie? And, praised be his name, they are coming — Hillo, ho — here, here. — Steenie, Steenie!"

'The Duke of Buckingham galloped up, followed by several courtiers and attendants of the royal chase, and commenced, with his usual familiarity, — "I see Fortune has graced our dear dad, as usual. — But what's this?"

'"What is it? It is treason, for what I ken," said the King; "and a' your wyte, Steenie. Your dear dad and gossip might have been murdered, what for you care."

'"Murdered? Secure the villain!" exclaimed the Duke. "By Heaven, it is Olifaunt himself!" A dozen of the hunters dismounted at once, letting their horses run wild through the park. Some seized roughly on Lord Glenvarloch, who thought it folly to offer resistance, while others busied themselves with the King. "Are you wounded, my liege — are you wounded?"

'"Not that I ken of," said the King, in the paroxysm of his apprehension, (which, by the way, might be pardoned in one of so timorous a temper, and who, in his time, had been exposed to so many strange attempts,) — "Not that I ken of — but search him — search him. I am sure I saw fire-arms under his cloak. I am sure I smelled powder — I am doom's sure of that."'

His

His Majesty in council is as great as at the hunt:

'James had no sooner resumed his seat at the council-board than he began to hitch in his chair, cough, use his handkerchief, and make other intimations that he meditated a long speech. The council composed themselves to the beseeming degree of attention. Charles, as strict in his notions of decorum as his father was indifferent to it, fixed himself in an attitude of rigid and respectful attention, while the haughty favourite, conscious of his power over both father and son, stretched himself more easily on his seat, and in assuming an appearance of listening, seemed to pay a debt to ceremonial rather than to duty.

'"I doubt not, my Lords," said the monarch, "that some of you may be thinking the hour of refection is past, and that it is time to ask with the slave in the comedy — *Quid de symbolo?* — Nevertheless, to do justice and exercise judgment is our meat and drink; and now we are to pray your wisdom to consider the case of this unhappy youth Lord Glenvarloch, and see whether, consistently with our honour, any thing can be done in his favour."

'"I am surprised at your Majesty's wisdom making the inquiry," said the Duke; "it is plain this Dalgarno hath proved one of the most insolent villains on earth, and it must therefore be clear, that if Lord Glenvarloch had run him through the body, there would but have been out of the world a knave who had lived in it too long. I think Lord Glenvarloch hath had much wrong; and I regret that, by the persuasions of this false fellow, I have myself had some hand in it."

'"Ye speak like a child, Steenie — I mean my Lord of Buckingham," answered the King, "and as one that does not understand the logic of the schools; for an action may be inconsequential or even meritorious, *quoad hominem*, that is, as touching him upon *whom* it is acted; and yet most criminal, *quoad locum*, or considering the place *wherein* it is done, as a man may lawfully dance Chrighty Beardie or any other dance in a tavern, but not *inter parietes ecclesiæ*. So that, though it may have been a good deed to have sticked Lord Dalgarno, being such as he has shewn himself, any where else, yet it fell under the plain statute, when violence was offered within the verge of the Court. For, let me tell you, my Lords, the statute against striking would be of small use in our court, if it could be eluded by justifying the person stricken to be a knave. It is much to be lamented that I ken nae court in Christendom where knaves are not to be found; and if men are to break the peace under pretence of beating them, why, it will rain Jeddart staves in our very anti-chamber."

'"What your Majesty says," replied Prince Charles, "is marked with your usual wisdom — the precincts of palaces must be sacred as well as the persons of kings, which are respected even in the most barbarous nations, as being one step only beneath their divinities. But your Majesty's will can controul the severity of this and every other law, and it is in your power, on consideration of his case, to grant this rash young man a free pardon."

'"*Rem*

'"*Rem acu tetigisti, Carole, mi puerule,*" answered the King; "and know, my lords, that we have, by a shrewd device and gift of our own, already sounded the very depth of this Lord Glenvarloch's disposition. I trow there be among you some that remember my handling in the curious case of my Lady Lake, and how I trimmed them about the story of hearkening behind the arras. Now this put me to cogitation, and I remembered me of having read that Dionysius, King of Syracuse, whom historians call Τυραννος, which signifieth not in the Greek tongue, as in ours, a truculent usurper, but a royal king who governs, it may be, something more strictly than we and other lawful monarchs, whom the antients termed Βασιλεις. Now this Dionysius of Syracuse caused cunning workmen to build for himself a *lugg* — d'ye ken what that is, my Lord Bishop?"

'"A cathedral, I presume to guess," answered the Bishop.

'"What the de'il, man — I crave your Lordship's pardon for swearing — but it was no cathedral — only a lurking-place called the King's *lugg* or *ear*, where he could sit undescried, and hear the converse of his prisoners. Now, sirs, in imitation of this Dionysius, whom I took for my pattern, the rather that he was a great linguist and grammarian, and taught a school with good applause after his abdication, (either he or his successor of the same name, it matters not whilk,) — I have caused them to make a *lugg* up at the state-prison of the Tower yonder, more like a pulpit than a cathedral, my Lord Bishop — and communicating with the arras behind the Lieutenant's chamber, where we may sit and privily hear the discourse of such prisoners as are pent up there for state offences, and so creep into the very secrets of our enemies."

'The Prince cast a glance towards the Duke, expressive of great vexation and disgust. Buckingham shrugged his shoulders, but the motion was so slight as to be almost imperceptible.

'"Weel, my lords, ye ken the fray at the hunting this morning — I shall not get out of the trembling exies until I have a sound night's sleep — just after that, they bring ye in a pretty page that had been found in the Park. We were warned against examining him ourselves by the anxious care of those around us; nevertheless, holding our life ever at the service of these kingdoms, we commanded all to avoid the room, the rather that we suspected this boy to be a girl. What think ye, my Lords? — few of you would have thought I had a hawk's eye for sic gear; but we thank God, that though we are old, we know so much of such toys as may beseem a man of decent gravity. Weel, my Lords, we questioned this maiden in male attire ourselves, and I profess it was a very pretty interrogatory, and well followed. For, though she at first professed that she assumed this disguise in order to countenance the woman who should present us with the Lady Hermione's petition, for whom she professed entire affection; yet when we, suspecting *anguis in herba*, did put her to the very question, she was compelled to own a virtuous attachment for Glenvarlochides, in such a pretty passion of shame and fear, that we had much ado to keep our own eyes from keeping company with hers in weeping.

Also she laid before us the false practices of this Dalgarno towards Glenvarlochides, inveigling him into houses of ill resort, and giving him evil counsel under pretext of sincere friendship, whereby the inexperienced lad was led to do what was prejudicial to himself and offensive to us. But, however prettily she told her tale, we determined not altogether to trust to her narration, but rather to try the experiment whilk we had devised for such occasions. And having ourselves speedily passed from Greenwich to the Tower, we constituted ourselves eaves-dropper as it is called, to observe what should pass between Glenvarlochides and this page, whom we caused to be admitted to his apartment, well judging that if they were of counsel together to deceive us, it could not be but something of it would spunk out — And what think ye we saw, my Lords? — Naething for you to sniggle and laugh at, Steenie — for I question if you could have played the temperate and Christian-like part of this poor lad Glenvarloch. He might be a father of the church in comparison of you, man. — And then to try his patience yet farther, we loosed on him a courtier and a citizen, that is Sir Mungo Malagrowther and our servant George Heriot here, wha dang the poor lad about, and did na greatly spare our royal selves. — You mind, Geordie, what you said about the wives and concubines? but I forgie ye, man — nae need of kneeling, I forgie ye — the readier that it regards ane particular, whilk, as it added not much to Solomon's credit, the lack of it cannot be said to impinge on ours. Aweel, my Lords, for all temptation of sore distress and evil ensample, this poor lad never loosed his tongue on us to say one unbecoming word — which inclines us the rather, acting always by your wise advice, to treat this affair of the Park as a thing done in the heat of blood, and under strong provocation, and therefore to confer our free pardon on Lord Glenvarloch."'

We must now give some account of the purely fictitious characters, and with due respect to their dignity we shall first make mention of the hero and the heroine. We hazarded a few observations, in a former review, on the very great sameness which distinguishes these unfortunate personages in the Scotish novels; and Lord Glenvarloch and Miss Margaret Ramsay supply another instance of the truth of our remark. It is surely impossible for any one, after the most scrupulous examination, to discover the slightest distinction between Glenvarloch and the Master of Ravenswood, excepting their names; and, if we do not greatly mistake, Margaret Ramsay is the very same personage with Catherine Seyton. Both have an adventurous and daring spirit, united with feminine softness, by which they are enabled to accomplish objects apparently far beyond the sphere of their influence. Then we have Richie Moniplies, Glenvarloch's servant, who is a variety of that genus to which Saunders Saunderson and Caleb Balderstone belong: but Richie differs from both of these, and

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is a very garrulous and pragmatical serving-man. George Heriot, the King's jeweller, is a warm-hearted, prudent, common-sense kind of person, though we are not very correct in classing him among the fictitious characters: but our especial favorite is Sir Mungo Malagrowther, an entirely new creation of the brain, an old disappointed courtier, who has indulged his cynical and slanderous taste even at the expence of his own person, having had three of his fingers cut off in mortal combat with Sir Rullion Rattray of Ranagullion, and being otherwise dreadfully maimed at the instance of Lady Cockpen, on whom he had written a pasquinade. The natural acidity of Sir Mungo's disposition had been considerably increased by his having filled, in his youth, the office of whipping boy to his most sacred Majesty.* The interview between this atrabillious old courtier and Nigel, in the Tower, to which the latter had been committed in consequence of his supposed attack on the King at Greenwich, and also of his having struck Lord Dalgarno within the precincts of the royal palace, exhibits a fine specimen of Sir Mungo's characteristic humour:

'The Knight, after the usual salutations, and having prefaced his discourse with a great deal of professed regret for Nigel's situation, sat down beside him, and composing his grotesque features into the most lugubrious despondence, began his raven-song as follows:—

'"I bless God, my Lord, that I was the person who had the pleasure to bring his Majesty's mild message to the Lieutenant, discharging the higher prosecution against ye, for any thing meditated against his Majesty's sacred person; for, admit you be prosecuted on the lesser offence, or breach of privilege of the palace and its precincts, *usque ad mutilationem*, even to dismembration, as it is most likely you will, yet the loss of a member is nothing to being hanged and drawn quick, after the fashion of a traitor."

'"I should feel the shame of having deserved such a punishment," answered Nigel, "more than the pain of undergoing it."

'"Doubtless, my Lord, the having, as you say, deserved it, must be an excruciation to your own mind," replied his tormentor; "a kind of mental and metaphysical hanging, drawing, and quartering, which may be in some measure equipollent with the external application of hemp, iron, fire, and the like, to the outer man."

'"I say, Sir Mungo," repeated Nigel, "and beg you to understand my words, that I am unconscious of any error, save

* This singular practice was certainly in force at that time. During the boyhood of Charles I., Mr. Murray of the King's bedchamber enjoyed the very responsible office of whipping boy. (*Burnet's Own Times*, i. 244.)

that of having arms on my person when I chanced to approach that of my sovereign."

'"Ye are right, my Lord, to acknowledge nothing," said Sir Mungo. "We have an old proverb,—Confess, and—so forth. And indeed, as to the weapons, his Majesty has a special ill will at all arms whatsoever, and more especially pistols; but, as I said, there is an end of that matter. I wish you as well through the next, which is altogether unlikely."

'"Surely, Sir Mungo," answered Nigel, "you yourself might say something in my favour concerning the affair in the Park. None knows better than you that I was at that moment urged by wrongs of the most heinous nature, offered to me by Lord Dalgarno, many of which were reported to me by yourself, much to the inflammation of my passion."

'"Alack-a-day!—Alack-a-day!" replied Sir Mungo, "I remember but too well how much your choler was inflamed, in spite of the various remonstrances which I made to you respecting the sacred nature of the place. Alas! alas! you cannot say you leaped into the mire for lack of warning."

'"I see, Sir Mungo, you are determined to remember nothing which can do me service," said Nigel.

'"Blithely would I do ye service," said the Knight; "and the best whilk I can think of is, to tell you the process of the punishment to the whilk you will be indubitably subjected, I having had the good fortune to behold it performed in the Queen's time, on a chield that had written a pasquinadoe. I was then in my Lord Gray's train, who lay leaguer here, and being always covetous of pleasing and profitable sights, I could not dispense with being present on the occasion."

'"I should be surprised, indeed," said Lord Glenvarloch, "if you had so far put restraint upon your benevolence, as to stay away from such an exhibition."

'"Hey! was your Lordship praying me to be present at your own execution?" answered the Knight. "Troth, my Lord, it will be a painful sight to a friend, but I will rather punish myself than baulk you. It is a pretty pageant, in the main—a very pretty pageant. The fallow came on with such a bold face, it was a pleasure to look on him. He was dressed all in white, to signify harmlessness and innocence. The thing was done on a scaffold at Paul's Cross—most likely yours will be at Charing. There were the Sheriff's and the Marshal's men, and what not—the executioner, with his cleaver and mallet, and his man, with a pan of hot charcoal, and the irons for cautery. He was a dexterous fallow that Derrick. This man Gregory is not fit to jipper a joint with him; it might be worth your Lordship's while to have the loon sent to a barber-surgeon's, to learn some needful scantling of anatomy—it may be for the benefit of yourself and other unhappy sufferers, and also a kindness to Gregory."

'"I will not take the trouble," said Nigel. "If the laws will demand my hand, the executioner may get it off as he best can. If the King leaves it where it is, it may chance to do him better service."

'"Vara

'"Vara noble—vara grand, indeed, my Lord," said Sir Mungo; "it is pleasant to see a brave man suffer. This fallow whom I spoke of—this Tubbs, or Stubbes, or whatever the plebeian was called, came forward as bold as an emperor, and said to the people, 'Good friends, I come to leave here the hand of a true Englishman,' and clapped it on the dressing-block with as much ease as if he had laid it on his sweetheart's shoulder; whereupon Derrick the hangman, adjusting, d'ye mind me, the edge of his cleaver on the very joint, hit it with the mallet with such force, that the hand flew off as far from the owner as a gauntlet which the challenger casts down in the tilt-yard. Well, Sir, Stubbes, or Tubbs, lost no whit of countenance, until the fallow clapped the hissing-hot iron on his raw stump. My Lord, it fizzed like a rasher of bacon, and the fallow set up an elritch screech, which made some think his courage was abated; but not a whit, for he plucked off his hat with his left hand, and waved it, crying, 'God save the Queen, and confound all evil counsellors!' The people gave him three cheers, which he deserved for his stout heart; and, truly, I hope to see your Lordship suffer with the same magnanimity."

'"I thank you, Sir Mungo," said Nigel, who had not been able to forbear some natural feelings of an unpleasant nature during this lively detail,—"I have no doubt the exhibition will be a very engaging one to you and the other spectators, whatsoever it may prove to the party principally concerned."

'"Vara engaging," answered Sir Mungo, "vara interesting—vara interesting indeed, though not altogether so much so as an execution for high-treason. I saw Digby, the Winters, Fawkes, and the rest of the gunpowder-gang, suffer for that treason, whilk was a vara grand spectacle, as well in regard to their sufferings, as to their constancy in enduring."

'"I am the more obliged to your goodness, Sir Mungo," replied Nigel, "that has induced you, although you have lost the sight, to congratulate me on my escape from the hazard of making the same edifying appearance."

'"As you say, my Lord," answered Sir Mungo, "the loss is chiefly in appearance. Nature has been very bountiful to us, and has given duplicates of some organs, that we may endure the loss of one of them, should some such circumstance chance in our pilgrimage. See my poor dexter, abridged to one thumb, one finger, and a stump,—by the blow of my adversary's weapon, however, and not by any carnificial knife. Weel, Sir, this poor maimed hand doth me, in some sort, as much service as ever; and, admit yours to be taken off by the wrist, you have still your left hand for your service, and are better off than the little Dutch dwarf here about town, who threads a needle, limns, writes, and tosses a pike, merely by means of his feet, without ever a hand to help him."

We cannot pass over in neglect that simple constructor of horologes, Master David Ramsay, and his two blythe and stout apprentices Frank Tunstall and Jenkin Vincent, or

Jin Vin, as he was familiarly called. The importance of the London apprentices has miserably declined within these last two centuries, and at length they have ceased to exist altogether as a separate class of citizens: but in the days of Charles I. they still formed a distinct body, for we find them petitioning Parliament for a redress of grievances. The author gives the following entertaining account of the occupations of Master Ramsay's two apprentices:

'Such were, in natural qualities and public estimation, the two youths, who, in a fine April day, having first rendered their dutiful service and attendance on the table of their master and his daughter, at their dinner at one o'clock — Such, O ye lads of London, was the severe discipline undergone by your predecessors — and having regaled themselves upon the fragments, in company with two female domestics, one a cook, and maid of all work, the other called Mistress Margaret's maid, now relieved their master in the duty of the outward shop; and, agreeable to the established custom, were soliciting, by their entreaties and recommendations of their master's manufacture, the attention and encouragement of the passengers.

'In this species of service it may be easily supposed that Jenkin Vincent left his more reserved and bashful comrade far in the back-ground. The latter could only articulate with difficulty, and as an act of duty which he was rather ashamed of discharging, the established words of form — "What d'ye lack? — What d'ye lack? — Clocks — watches — barnacles? — What d'ye lack? Watches — clocks — barnacles? — What d'ye lack, Sir? What d'ye lack, madam? — barnacles, watches, clocks?"

'But this dull and dry iteration, however varied by diversity of verbal arrangement, sounded flat when mingled with the rich and recommendatory oratory of the bold-faced, deep-mouthed, and ready witted Jenkin Vincent. "What d'ye lack, noble sir? — what d'ye lack, beauteous madam?" he said, in a tone at once bold and soothing, which often was so applied as both to gratify the persons addressed, and to excite a smile from other hearers. "God bless your reverence," to a beneficed clergyman; "the Greek and Hebrew have blinded your reverence's eyes — Buy a pair of David Ramsay's barnacles? The King, God bless his sacred Majesty, never reads Hebrew or Greek without them."

'"Are you well avised of that?" said a fat parson from the Vale of Evesham. "Nay, if the Head of the Church wears them, God bless his Sacred Majesty, I will try what they can do for me; for I have not been able to distinguish one Hebrew letter from another, since — I cannot remember the time — when I had a bad fever. Chuse me a pair of his most Sacred Majesty's own wearing, my good youth."

'"This is a pair, and please your reverence," said Jenkins, producing a pair of spectacles which he touched with an air of great deference and respect, "which his most blessed Majesty placed

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this day three weeks on his own blessed nose, and would have kept them for his own sacred use, but that the setting being, as your reverence sees, of the purest jet, was, as his Sacred Majesty was pleased to say, fitter for a bishop than for a secular prince."

'"His Sacred Majesty the King," said the worthy divine, "was ever a very Daniel in his judgment; give me the barnacles, my good youth, and who can say what nose they may bestride in two years hence. Our reverend brother of Gloucester waxes in years." He then pulled out his purse, paid for the spectacles, and left the shop with even a more important step than that which had paused to enter it.

'"For shame," said Tunstall to his companion; "these glasses will never suit one of his years."

'"You are a fool, Frank," said Vincent in reply; "had the good doctor wished glasses to read with, he would have tried them before buying. He does not want to look through them himself, and these will serve the purpose of being looked at by other folks, as well as the best magnifiers in the shop. — What d'ye lack?" he cried, resuming his solicitations. "Mirrors for your toilette, my pretty madam; your head-gear is something awry — pity, since it is so well fancied." The woman stopped and bought a mirror. — "What d'ye lack? — a watch, Master Serjeant — a watch that will go as steady and true as your own eloquence?"

'"Hold your peace, sir," answered the Knight of the Coif, who was disturbed by Vin's address whilst in deep consultation with an eminent attorney; "hold your peace! You are the loudest-tongued varlet betwixt the Devil's Tavern and Guildhall."

'"A watch," reiterated the undaunted Jenkin, "that shall not lose thirteen minutes in a thirteen years' law-suit. — He's out of hearing — A watch with four wheels and a bar-movement — a watch that shall tell you, Master Poet, how long the patience of the audience will endure your next piece at the Black Bull." The bard laughed, and fumbled in the pocket of his slops till he chased into a corner, and fairly caught, a small piece of coin.

'"Here is a tester to cherish thy wit, good boy," he said.

'"Gramercy," said Vin; "at the next play of yours I will bring down a set of roaring boys that shall make all the critics in the pit, and the gallants on the stage, civil, or else the curtain shall smoke for it."

'"Now, that I call mean," said Tunstall, "to take the poor rhymer's money, who has so little left behind."'

It would be unpardonable if we omitted to speak of the sanctuary of Alsatia, as the district of Whitefriars, situated on the banks of the Thames immediately behind the Temple, was formerly called. To this place all the felons and vagabonds, who were anxious to avoid the clutches of justice, were accustomed to resort; and, forming themselves into a sort of war-like commonwealth, they were enabled to enjoy an immunity of person from the usual process of law: yielding only to the authority of a warrant from the Council, backed by a score of

halberts. To this vile receptacle of crime and vice, Lord Glenvarloch was compelled to fly in order to avoid, for a time, the penalties due to his imprudent conduct. We have in consequence some masterly sketches of the Alsatians; of Duke Hildebrod, the sovereign of the territory, and his council; and of one Master Trapbois, an antient usurer, and his daughter Mistress Martha Trapbois. Both the latter characters are in the writer's best style: though in that of the usurer, tottering on the verge of the grave, yet clinging with childish fondness to his beloved gold, and offering in his dotage to perform the most servile offices, there is something very shocking.

In his account of Alsatia, and its 'most pernicious knaves,' it struck us that the author might probably be under some obligations to Shadwell's "Squire of Alsatia:" but, on looking into that play, we find that it can have supplied him with very few ideas beyond a general notion of the abandoned and tumultuous manners of the inhabitants. It would perhaps be unfair, at this time of day, to accuse the novelist of not being able to invent a new species of the *Miles Gloriosus*, a charge from which Terence was obliged to exculpate himself: but, otherwise, we should certainly say that the original of the gallant Captain Colepepper is to be found in Shadwell's Captain Hackum. It is observable also that a clergyman forms one of the *dramatis personæ* in the "Squire of Alsatia," and that the Templars fill very prominent parts in the performance.

The local antiquities of 'The Fortunes of Nigel' are curious and correct, and to those who are acquainted with the geography of the metropolis, highly interesting. We have accurate descriptions of the Strand, Whitehall, and St. James's Park, as they appeared at that time: but, as plans and views of those places are extant, this cannot have been a very difficult task.

Altogether, we think that the present work will be found more entertaining and less interesting (the distinction will be understood by every one who has read the volumes) than any of the former productions of this celebrated writer. As a connected tale, it is still more *un*connected and imperfect than any of its predecessors: but in the excellence of its individual scenes it far surpasses many of them. We predict that it will be rather a favorite with the old than with the young; — with the admirers of Gil Blas and Tom Jones, rather than the worshippers of Werter and The Man of Feeling. The sentimental story of the Lady Hermione, which is introduced as an episode, is unworthy of the author.

ART.

ART. VI. *Napoleon*, and other Poems. By Bernard Barton. 8vo. pp. 256. 12*s*. Boards. Boys. 1822.

CHANGE is the characteristic of all earthly things, and not less of the productions of the mind than of those of external nature. Hence it is not surprising that this mutability has, in a striking degree, affected our national poetry. When we trace its progress from Dryden to Pope, and from Pope through a long train of disciples to Goldsmith and those who immediately followed him, we cannot but acknowlege that, although the manner and form be the same, the strength and spirit had in a great degree evaporated; and that it had become necessary to resort to some expedient, similar to that to which we have recourse when our highly flavoured fruits are exhausted, and to engraft our poetry on a wild and native stock.

This stock would appear to have been found in our early writers; whose simple and rude productions seem to have been deemed capable, by the application of modern improvement, of uniting the elegance and refinement of art with the vigour of nature. That this attempt has been in a great measure successful, we are not disposed to deny; and if we have not excelled our great predecessors, we have at least given to the productions of the present day the charm of variety and novelty.

In this great alteration, the author of the volume before us has not been merely a follower. If we mistake not, some of his earliest pieces (as we have formerly had occasion to observe) were principally founded on the model of the more correct school in vogue during the last century, in which he approved himself no inferior proficient. In a succeeding production, we have seen that he not only exemplified but avowed the change which had taken place in his ideas respecting poetical composition; and in the present, we apprehend, he has carried those ideas to the full extent to which they can be applied, for any useful purpose. In fact, the new system is not more exempt from deterioration than the old: so that, as the accidental improvements which have been introduced shall degenerate and decline, the native rudeness of the primitive stock will begin to obtain the ascendancy; and we may, perhaps, once more lose the flavour of the engrafted fruit in the crude juices of the native tree.

Of the foregoing remarks, we think that the present work of Mr. Barton affords a sufficient elucidation. That we have a good opinion of his talents is apparent, from our considering him as the person from whose writings we have chosen to establish

establish our own propositions. He has all the excellences and defects of the modern school; and, if neither be so prominent as in several other writers, they will not render him less suitable as one whose works may serve to illustrate our remarks.

The volume commences with the poem intitled *Napoleon;* which, while it displays the powers of the author for poetic description and moral reflection, is by no means suited, and indeed scarcely attempts, to characterize the extraordinary individual from whom it derives its name. It is, in fact, an exhortation against war, as being repugnant to the precepts of Christianity, and injurious to the best interests of mankind; and, had its pretensions been confined to this subject, it might have been perused with greater interest than in its present form, which renders the avowed subject a mere episode, and the episode the principal subject. To the justice of Mr. Barton's remarks, and the force of his remonstrances, we fully assent: we trust, therefore, that they may tend to promote that increasing spirit of benevolence and philanthropy which is manifestly extending itself over the face of the earth; and which, we are romantic enough to believe, will, like good seed scattered in fertile places, in due season produce its fruits — some ten-fold — some fifty-fold — some a hundred-fold. Yet it must be acknowleged that such a series of reflections is no more required in a poem on Napoleon, than if it treated on any other notorious destroyer of his own species that ever existed; and this we are the more induced to regret, because we think an opportunity was afforded to the author of strengthening his excellent precepts by many practical and irresistible proofs, which the circumstances, the character, and the fate of Napoleon would amply have supplied. Surely, if the inexpediency, folly, and absurdity of war were ever exemplified in one individual more than another, it was in this man. What a reflection! that he to whom slaughter and destruction were as a play-thing, — who led millions on to battle, — who overturned the greatest sovereigns of Europe, and dispensed crowns and countries at his will, — has died in exile, disregarded and neglected, on a barren rock! If victory could ever have accomplished its object, — could ever have conferred stability, power, and lasting glory, — it must have been on this individual; yet one single day obliterated all his triumphs, and rendered "null and void" all that he had obtained by the effusion of such torrents of blood, and the desolation of so many countries. What, then, is the result? That nothing which is accomplished by violence can, in the nature of human things, be permanent; and that reason

and

and justice are the only foundations on which the densities of the human race can be lastingly established. All the sovereigns, from whom this mighty sovereign took and to whom he restored their crowns, rose up against him at the first opportunity which presented itself; and, on one most important occasion, the allied armies which had accompanied him in his conquests not only deserted him in his defeat, but united with his enemies to bring down on him more effectual destruction. —Such are the results of war, even when conducted with the most consummate ability; —such the effect of treaties founded on force; —such the "Babel-towers" which human folly has erected, and cemented with the blood of the human race!

It would, however, be unjust to the author to represent him as having been wholly inattentive to these important considertions; and all that we mean to state is that he has not drawn, from the facts before him, those more striking and important deductions of which the subject appears to have been susceptible. He seems to approach the nearest to this end in the following stanzas; and, if not the best in the poem, they are certainly the most applicable to the theme on which it professedly treats:

'What is Napoleon *now* — admitting all
His former talents, enterprise, and power?
The time has been, nor distant, when the thrall
Of his portentous name made monarchs cower,
And tremble in the proudest palace-tower:
Fate seem'd his fiat, fortune as his guide;
And empire, held by suff'rance, was the dower
Which, when he took unto himself a bride,
He spared an elder throne, with cool, contemptuous pride.

'What is he now? Ten years ago his death
Had spread through Europe with a voice of thunder;
Fame's trump had blazon'd with her loudest breath
The tale; and many a captive, groaning under
The conqueror's yoke, had snapt his chains asunder.
Stupid indifference now supplies the place,
In many minds, of that mute vacant wonder
They then had known, what time they paus'd a space,
Before they deem'd him dead, with solemn doubtful face.

'He dies upon a surf-surrounded rock!
Far from each court, and every courtly ring;
Far from the fields where once, in battle's shock,
Death stalk'd around him, a familiar thing:
His "*eagle*" long before had furl'd his wing;
His "*star of honour*" set to rise no more!
Nor could a hope remain that time might bring
Glory to either spell, as heretofore;
Therefore to him the life of life itself was o'er.

'And

'And we, who of his death the tidings hear,
Receive them as a tale of times gone by,
Which wakes nor joy, nor grief, nor hope, nor fear:
And if in nobler hearts a passing sigh
For *such* a lot reflection may supply,
Few follow up that feeling to its source:
The multitude, with undiscerning eye,
See all around pursue its usual course,
And care not for his death, nor thoughts it should enforce.

'But if such life, succeeded by such end,
Be void of interest like a thrice-told tale;
If it have nought to "bless mankind, or mend,"
Ponder'd aright, and weigh'd in truth's just scale;
Sermons are useless! homilies must fail!
And man be uninstructed still, because
He WILL NOT LEARN! May wiser thoughts prevail;
And may our better feelings, as we pause
To contemplate his course, teach wisdom's holier laws.

'Nor could there be a fitter time than this
For genuine friends of peace to vindicate
The truer policy, superior bliss,
Of milder precepts; now when warfare's weight
Has left on each exhausted, weary state,
Its natural burden — debt; and deeper woes
Than statists can repair or calculate;
While he, whose greatness from false glory rose,
Illustrates, by his lot, the boons which war bestows.

'What can it give of glory, power, and fame, —
And these are toys that make the heart-strings stir
Of those who wish to win a hero's name, —
Which on Napoleon it did not confer?
It made him for a time the arbiter
Of thrones and dynasties; and Fortune smil'd,
As she may do on some who follow her
Believing her existence, — thus beguil'd,
Till in the end they know 'twas but a phantom wild.'

This poem is followed by an 'Address to the Sun;' written, for the most part, with great spirit, and in a train of thought that does honor to the author: which will sufficiently appear from the commencement:

'Monarch of day! once rev'rently ador'd
By virtuous Pagans, if no longer thou
With orisons art worshipp'd, as the lord
Of the delightful lyre, or dreadful bow;
If thy embodied essence be not now,
As it once was, regarded as divine;
Nor blood of victims at thine altar flow,
Nor clouds of incense hover round thy shrine,
Yet fitly may'st thou claim the homage of the Nine.

'Nor

'Nor can I deem it strange, that in past ages
Men should have knelt and worshipp'd thee; that kings,
And laurell'd bards, robed priests, and hoary sages,
Should, far above all sublunary things,
Have turn'd to thee, whose radiant glory flings
Its splendour over all. Ere Gospel-light
Had dawn'd, and given to thought sublimer wings,
I cannot marvel, in that mental night,
That nations should obey, and nature own thy right.

'For man was then, as now he is, compell'd
By conscious frailties manifold, to seek
Something to worship. In the heart, unquell'd
By innate evil, thoughts there are which speak
One language in Barbarian, Goth, or Greek;
A language by the heart well understood,
Proclaiming man is helpless, frail, and weak,
And urging him to bow to stone, or wood,
Till what his hands had form'd his heart rever'd as good.

'Do I commend idolatry? — O no!
I merely would assert the human heart
Must worship: that its hopes und fears will go
Out of itself, and restlessly depart
In search of somewhat which its own fond art,
Tradition, custom, or sublimer creed
Of Revelation brings, to assuage the smart
With which its inwards wounds too often bleed,
When nature's boasted strength is found a broken reed.

'Can it be wondrous, then, before the name
Of the ETERNAL GOD was known, as now,
That orisons were pour'd, and votaries came
To offer at thine altars, and to bow
Before an object beautiful as thou?
No, it was natural, in those darker days,
For such to wreathe around thy phantom-brow
A fitting chaplet of thine arrowy rays,
Shaping thee forth a form to accept their prayer or praise.

'Even I, majestic Orb! who worship not
The splendour of thy presence, who control
My present feelings, as thy future lot
Is painted to the vision of my soul,
When final darkness, like an awful scroll,
Shall quench thy fires; — even I, if I could kneel
To aught but Him who fram'd this wondrous whole,
Could worship thee; so deeply do I feel
Emotions, words alone are powerless to reveal.'

Still, it must not be concealed that this poem, as well as the former, contains numerous passages of singular inequality; betraying proofs of that retrogradation of style to which we have before adverted, and of which we think the new

new system has exhibited, even among its most eminent professors, very decided instances. This difference farther appears in the frequent use of rude, familiar, and prosaic expressions, wholly inconsistent with poetical diction; and which, if not duly measured, might well be mistaken for prose. *Ex. gr.*:

'This may be mere *description*; and there are
Who of such poesy but lightly deem;
And think it nobler in a bard, by far,
To seek in narrative a livelier theme:
These think, perchance, the poet does but dream,
Who paints the scenes most lovely in his eyes,
And, knowing not the joys with which they teem,
The charm their quiet loveliness supplies,
Insipid judge his taste, his simple strain despise.

'I quarrel not with such. If battle-fields,
Where crowns are lost and won; or potent spell
Which portraiture of stormier passion yields;
If such alone can bid their bosoms swell
With those emotions words can feebly tell,
Enough there are who sing such themes as these,
Whose loftier powers I seek not to excel;
I neither wish to fire the heart, nor freeze;
But seek their praise alone, whom gentler thoughts can please.'

The sentiments in these verses are very good, and very pleasing in themselves, but surely we cannot admit the lines into the rank of poetry. The remainder of the volume consists of shorter pieces; in which, to use the author's own language, we conceive that he has effectually

—— 'pleaded
For nature, tenderness, and truth;'

as the following lines on 'Stoke Hills' exemplify:

'It may be lovely, from the height
Of Skiddaw's summit, moss'd and gray,
To feed the inexhausted sight
On the magnificent array
Which such a prospect must display:
On Keswick's lowly, peaceful vale;
On Derwentwater's scatter'd isles;
On torrents, bright with morning's smiles,
Or mark'd by mist-wreaths pale.

'I never gaz'd on such a scene;
Yet, if I give my fancy wings,
I half could think I there had been,
By force of her imaginings;
She in such witching beauty brings
The landscape to my mental eye;
I feel almost as if I stood
In its romantic solitude,
Beneath a cloudless sky.

'But

'But not in the exultant bliss
Of such a fascinating hour,
Hath scenery sublime as this,
Where lakes expand, and mountains tower,
Upon my heart so deep a power,
Or wakes in it such tender thrills,
As when, immers'd in busy thought,
And reveries by Memory brought,
I stand upon STOKE HILLS.

'It is not that the landscape there
Can vie with Skiddaw's ampler scope;
Nor can Stoke Hills, so soft and fair,
With Cumbria's giant mountain cope:
What seest thou, standing on their slope,
Or loftiest eminence, to fill
The eye with rapture, or the mind
With transports, that thou mightst not find
On many another hill?

'Outstretch'd beneath, indeed, may be,
In loveliness diversified —
A prospect beautiful, which he
Who has most frequently descried,
Still finds with many a charm supplied,
And lingers, as if loth to leave it;
Whether it bask in morning's glow,
Or evening's shades, succeeding slow,
Of softer charms bereave it.' —

'O! nothing is more true than this;
It is not through the eye alone
We gather either bale or bliss
From scenes which it may gaze upon:
Their sweetest tint, their deepest tone,
That which most saddens or endears,
Is shed on them by thoughts and feelings,
Which rise at Memory's still revealings,
From dreams of former years.'

On the whole, then, we think that this additional volume, if not calculated to add much to the poetical reputation of its author, will by no means detract from it, in the estimation of readers who can be pleased with the exhibition of virtuous principles, and kind and affectionate feelings, expressed in simple and touching language. The great difficulty, as we have remarked on his former productions, which Mr. Barton has to encounter, is to prevent this simplicity from degenerating into a low, prosaic, and pedestrian style; like that which has infected the writings of almost all his associates in this novel line of composition, and which is the joint offspring of conceit and indolence.

ART.

ART. VII. *An Account of Timbuctoo and Housa*, Territories in the Interior of Africa, by El Hage Abd Salam Shabeeny; with Notes critical and explanatory. To which *is* added, Letters descriptive of Travels through West and South Barbary, and across the Mountains of Atlas, &c. &c. By James Grey Jackson, Resident upwards of sixteen Years in South and West Barbary, in a Diplomatic and in a Commercial Capacity. 8vo. pp. 547. 14s. Boards. Longman and Co.

THIS is a rambling and desultory volume, made up of "odds and ends" on the subject of African discovery, without any regard to method or arrangement. The account of Timbuctoo and Housa, ostentatiously announced in the title-page, is a verbal communication by a Mussulman, a native of Tetuan: but it does not appear to whom or on what occasion the communication was made. His name is stated to be Asseed el Hage Abd Salam Shabeeny. The gentleman who is honored with this plurality of appellations accompanied, it is said, his father to Timbuctoo, when he was fourteen years of age; from which town, after a residence of three years, he proceeded to Housa, where he resided two years, and then returned to Timbuctoo: whence, after a residence of seven years, he went back to Tetuan.

If we are to become acquainted with Timbuctoo only through the relations of Moorish travellers, it is evident that we shall know little more of it than of *El Dorado* of Sir Walter Raleigh. Those who have lived among the people of the East will best appreciate the credence that is due to their narrations: but this observation applies with still greater force to the Moorish inhabitants of those countries. Nothing is more contrary to the genius and spirit of their language, than to relate things as they actually happened. If the fancy of the narrator be sufficiently inventive, we are sure to have an Arabian Nights' Entertainment: but those who are less gifted frequently make up in prolixity of detail, and apparent minuteness of circumstance, for their deficiency in warmth and vigor of imagination. It would be unjust, however, to apply these remarks to Shabeeny's details without some qualifications; since those details are not objectionable as exaggerated or hyperbolical, but seem from their indistinctness and confusion to have been the unconnected recollections of a man who observed little, and was not in the habit of recording even that little. The subsequent passages are rather favorable as specimens of his style and manner:

'*Situation of the City of Timbuctoo.*

'On the east side of the city of Timbuctoo, there is a large forest, in which are a great many elephants. The timber here is very

very large. The trees on the outside of the forest are remarkable for having two different colours; that side which is exposed to the morning sun is black, and the opposite side is yellow. The body of the tree has neither branches nor leaves, but the leaves, which are remarkably large, grow upon the top only: so that one of these trees appears, at a distance, like the mast and round top of a ship. Shabeeny has seen trees in England much taller than these: within the forest the trees are smaller than on its skirts. There are no trees resembling these in the Emperor of Marocco's dominions. They are of such a size that the largest cannot be girded by two men. They bear a kind of berry about the size of a walnut, in clusters consisting of from ten to twenty berries. Shabeeny cannot say what is the extent of this forest, but it is very large. Close to the town of Timbuctoo, on the south, is a small rivulet in which the inhabitants wash their clothes, and which is about two feet deep. It runs in the great forest on the east, and does not communicate with the Nile, but is lost in the sands west of the town. Its water is brackish: that of the Nile is good and pleasant. The town of Timbuctoo is surrounded by a mud-wall: the walls are built tabia-wise as in Barbary, viz. they make large wooden cases, which they fill with mud, and when that dries they remove the cases higher up till they have finished the wall. They never use stone or brick; they do not know how to make bricks. The wall is about twelve feet high, and sufficiently strong to defend the town against the wild Arabs, who come frequently to demand money from them. It has three gates; one called Bab Sahara, or the gate of the desert, on the north: opposite to this, on the other side of the town, a second, called Bab Neel, or the gate of the Nile: the third gate leads to the forest on the east, and is called Beb El Kibla. The gates are hung on very large hinges, and when shut at night, are locked, as in Barbary; and are farther secured by a large prop of wood placed in the inside slopingly against them. There is a dry ditch, or excavation, which circumscribes the town, (except at those places which are opposite the gates,) about twelve feet deep, and too wide for any man to leap it. The three gates of the town are shut every evening soon after sunset: they are made of folding-doors, of which there is only one pair. The doors are lined on the outside with untanned hides of camels, and are so full of nails that no hatchet can penetrate them; the front appears like one piece of iron.

'*Population.*

'The town is once and a half the size of Tetuan, and contains, besides natives, about 10,000 of the people of Fas and Marocco. The native inhabitants of the town of Timbuctoo may be computed at 40,000, exclusive of slaves and foreigners. Many of the merchants who visit Timbuctoo are so much attached to the place that they cannot leave it, but continue there for life. The natives are all blacks: almost every stranger marries a female of the town, who are so beautiful that travellers often fall in love with them at first sight.

'*Inns, or Caravanseras.*

'When strangers arrive they deposit their merchandise in large warehouses called fondacs; and hire as many rooms as they choose, having stables for their camels, &c. in the same place. These fondacs are private property, and are called either by the owner's name, or by that of the person who built them. The fondac, in which Shabeeny and his father lived, had forty apartments for men, exclusive of stables; twenty below and twenty above, the place having two stories. The staircase was within the inclosure, and was composed of rough boards; while he staid, the rooms were constantly occupied by natives and strangers; they hired rooms for three months, for which they paid thirty okiat, or fifteen shillings sterling per month. These fondacs are called Woal by the Negroes. The money was paid to the owner's agent, who always lives in the fondac for this purpose, and to accommodate strangers with provisions, &c. At their arrival, porters assisted them, and procured every thing they wanted; but when they were settled they hired a man and a woman slave to cook and to clean their rooms, and to do every menial office. Slaves are to be bought at all hours: the slave-merchants keep a great number ready for sale.

'*Houses.*

'In the houses little furniture is seen; the principal articles (those of the kitchen excepted) are beds, mats on the floor, and the carpets, which cover the whole room. The rooms are about fourteen feet by ten; the kitchen and wash-house are generally to the right and to the left of the passage; the necessary is next the wash-house.'

Of Housa we have but scanty particulars.

'*The River Neel, or Nile.*

'The Neel El Kebeer, (that is, the Great Nile,) like the Neel Masser, or Nile of Egypt, is fullest in the month of August, when it overflows in some places where the banks are low; the water which overflows is seldom above midleg; the banks are covered with reeds, with which they make mats. Camels, sheep, goats, and horses, feed upon the banks, but during the inundation are removed to the uplands. The walls of the huts both within and without are cased with wood to the height of about three feet, to preserve them from the water; the wells have the best water after the swelling of the river. The flood continues about ten days; the abundance of rice depends on the quantity of land flooded. Shabeeny always understood that the Nile empties itself in the sea, the salt sea or the great ocean. There is a village at the port of Housa where he landed; the river here is much wider than where he embarked, and still wider at Jinnie. He saw no river enter the Nile in the course of his voyage. It much resembles the Nile of Egypt, gardens and lands are irrigated from it. Its breadth is various; in some places he thinks it narrower than the Thames at London, in others much wider; at the landing-place they slept in the hut of a native, and next morning at sunrise set off for Housa, where

where they arrived in twelve hours through a fine plain without hills; the country is much more populous than between Timbuctoo and the Nile. Ferry-boats are to be had at several villages.

'Housa.

'They did not see the town till they came within an hour from it, or an hour and a half; it stands in a plain. Housa is south-east of Timbuctoo, a much larger city, and nearly as large as London. He lived there two years, but never saw the whole of it. It has no walls; the houses are like those of Timbuctoo, and form irregular lanes or streets like those of Fas or Marocco, wide enough for camels to pass with their loads. The palace is much larger than that of Timbuctoo; it is seven or eight miles in circumference, and surrounded by a wall; he remembers but four gates, but there may be more; he thinks the number of guards at each gate is about fifty; it is in that part of the town most distant from the Nile. The houses are dark coloured and flat roofed. He thinks Cairo is about one-third larger than Housa; the streets are much wider than those of Timbuctoo; the houses are covered with a kind of clay of different colours, but never white. They have no chalk or lime in the country.'

It is difficult to convey any distinct notion of the miscellaneous topics which fill the rest of this volume, consisting of letters describing journeys through various parts of West and South Barbary at different periods, performed personally by Mr. Jackson: but it would be unjust not to allow them the merit of communicating, though in a disjointed and desultory form, many valuable articles of information.

In 1792, Mr. Jackson was appointed by the Dutch consul-general of Marocco to act as agent for him at Santa Cruz, which had been just opened to the Dutch by the Emperor; and he arrived there from Mogodor on the third morning after his departure. He thus describes his reception:

'The most hearty exclamations of joy and approbation were manifested by the people when I landed; a merchant was come to establish, once more, that commerce by which the fathers of the present generation had prospered; and their sons appeared to know full well the advantages that again waited their industry, which for 30 years had not been exercised. I mounted my horse on the beach, amidst the general acclamations of the people, and ascended the mountain, on the summit of which is the town. On my arrival at the gate, I was courteously received by the bashaw's sons; who, however, informed me that the entrance of Santa Cruz was ever considered holy ground, and that Christians, during its former establishment, always descended and entered the town on foot, intimating at the same time that it was expected I should do the same. I had been before cautioned by Mr. Gwyn, the British consul at Mogodor, not to expostulate at this request, as it would certainly be required of me to conform to ancient usages. But I knew

knew too well the disposition of the people, and the great desire that pervaded all ranks to have the port established; I therefore turned my horse, and told the bashaw's sons, that I was come, with the blessing of God, to bring prosperity to the land, to make the poor rich, and to improve the condition and multiply the conveniences of the opulent; that I came to establish commerce for *their* advantage, not for mine; that it was indifferent to me whether I returned to Mogodor or remained with them. The sons of the bashaw became alarmed, and entreated me, with clasped hands, to wait till they should report to the bashaw my words and observations. I consented, and soon after they returned with their father's earnest request that I should enter a-horseback: old customs, said the venerable old bashaw when, immediately afterwards, I met him in the street; old customs are abolished, enter and go out of this town a-horseback or a-foot, we desire the prosperity of this port, and that its commerce may flourish; *All the people of Suse hail you as their deliverer, God has sent you to us to turn the desert into* (jinen afia) *a fruitful garden; come, and be welcome, and God be with you.*'

We extract also the author's account of a journey over the Atlas mountains:

'This country abounds in extensive plantations of olives, almonds, and gum-trees; some plants of the (*fashook*) gum-ammoniac are here discovered. Vines producing purple grapes of an enormous size and exquisite flavour: (*dergmuse*) the Euphorbium plant is discovered in rocky parts of the mountains; and great abundance of worm-seed and stick-liquorice. The indigo-plant (*Enneel*) is found here; as are also pomegranates, of a large size and a most exquisitely sweet flavour, and oranges. Ascending the Atlas, after five hours' ride, we reached a table-land, and pitched our tents near a sanctuary. The temperature of the air is cooler here, and the trees are of a different character; apples, pears, cherries, walnuts, apricots, peaches, plums, and rhododendrons, were the produce of this region. The next morning at five o'clock, the army struck their tents, and after ascending seven hours more, we met with another change in vegetation. Leguminous plants began to appear; pines of an immense size, ferns, *the belute*, a species of oak, the acorn of which is used as food, and is preferred to the Spanish chesnut; elms, mountain-ash, *seedra* and *snobar*, the two latter being a species of the juniper. After this we passed through a fine campaign country of four hours ride: we were informed that this country was very populous; but our fakeer and guide avoided the habitations of men. We now began again to ascend these magnificent and truly romantic mountains, and in two hours approached partial coverings of snow. Vegetation here diminishes, and nothing is now seen but firs, whose tops appear above the snow; the cold is here intense; and it is remarkable, that the pullets' eggs that we procured in the campaign country just described, were nearly twice the size of those of Europe. Proceeding two hours further, we came to a narrow pass,

pass, on the east side of which was an inaccessible mountain, almost perpendicular, and entirely covered with snow; and on the west, a tremendous precipice, of several thousand feet in depth, as if the mountain had been split in two, or rent asunder by an earthquake: the path is not more than a foot wide, over a solid rock of granite. Here the whole army dismounted, and many prostrated in prayer, invoking the Almighty to enable them to pass in safety; but, however, notwithstanding all possible precaution, two mules missed their footing, and were precipitated with their burdens into the yawning abyss. There is no other pass but this and that of Belawin, which is equally dangerous for an army; so that the district of Suse, which was formerly a kingdom, might be defended by a few men against an invading army from Marocco of several thousands, by taking a judicious position at the southern extremity of this narrow path and tremendous precipice, which is but a few yards in length. Proceeding northward through this defile, we continued our journey seven hours (gradually descending towards the plains of Fruga, a town of considerable extent, distant about 15 miles from the mountains). Proceeding two hours further, making together nine hours' journey, the army pitched their tents, and we encamped on another table-land, on the northern declivity of Atlas, at the entrance of an immense plantation of olives, about a mile west of a village, called Ait Musie, a most luxuriant and picturesque country. The village of Ait Musie contains many Jews, whose external is truly miserable; but this appearance of poverty is merely political, for they are a trading and rich people, for such a patriarchal country. The olive-plantations at this place, and in many other parts of this country, do honour to the agricultural propensity of the Emperor Muley Ismael, who planted them. They cover about six square miles of ground; the trees are planted in right lines, at a proper distance; the plantation is interspersed with openings, or squares, to let in the air. These openings are about a square acre in extent.'

Mr. Jackson's observations on the diffusion of the blessings of Christianity in Africa, a consummation of all others most devoutly to be wished, are deserving at this moment of the most serious attention:

'That it is a Christian duty to attempt, by lenient measures, to propagate the Christian religion among the idolaters and Muhamedans of Africa, I think cannot be doubted; but this propagation will not spread to any considerable extent until (in that country) the morals of Christians in general shall approach nearer than they actually do to the standard of Christian perfection. It is, however, most certain that there never was a more promising or a more favourable opportunity of subverting paganism in Africa, and establishing Christianity on its ruins, than at this present period; and I think the best method to effect this desirable purpose is through the medium of commerce, which must, in that continent, necessarily precede science and civilisation. It is well known, by all men of penetration who have resided in Muhamedan

countries, that the principles of the religion of Muhamed are not so repugnant to Christianity as many, nay, most persons, have imagined. Various causes, however, tend to increase the hostility that exists between the two religions. First, it is augmented by the fakeers, and by political men, who are ever active in bringing to their aid superstition and enthusiasm, to increase the hostility. Secondly, it is augmented by the very little intercourse which they have with Christians, originating, for the most part, in our ignorance of the Arabic language, an ignorance which has been lamented by the Emperor Seedy Muhamed ben Abdallah himself. Thirdly, the hostility of these two religions is augmented by a very ancient tradition, that the country will be invaded by the Christians, and converted to Christianity, that this event will happen on a Friday (the Muhamedan sabbath), during the time that they are at the (*silla dohor*) prayers at half-past one o'clock, P.M.; so that throughout the empire they close the gates of all the towns on this day, at this period of time, till two o'clock, P.M.: when the prayers are over, and the people go out of the mosques, the gates are again thrown open. This tradition, which is universally believed, acts on the minds of the whole community, and fans the embers of hostility already lighted between Christians and Muhamedans, bringing to the recollection of the latter the hostile intentions of the former to invade and take their country from them, when an opportunity shall offer. On the other hand, what tends to reconcile the two creeds is, the influence that European commerce, and the principles of the Christian doctrine, have had on the Muselmen of Africa. This influence extends as far as the commerce with Europeans extends. Wherever the Europeans negociate with the Moors, the great principle of the Christian doctrine is known and discussed, — that principle which surpasses every doctrine propagated by the Grecian philosophers, or the wise men of the East, — that truly noble, liberal, and charitable principle, "Do as you would be done by," influences the conduct of the better educated Muselmen who have had long intercourse and negociations with Christians; and they do not fail to retort it upon us, whenever *our conduct* deviates from it. Thus, the minds of Muselmen, wherever European commerce flows, are tinctured with this great principle of the Christian doctrine. And, to an accurate observer of mankind, it will appear that this principle, from its own intrinsic beauty, has in many superseded the Muselman retaliative system of morality, originating in the Mosaic law, — "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." For I have heard Muselmen, in their individual disputes with one another, advance this precept as a rule of conduct. If, therefore, this divine principle be recognised by Muselmen, who have had intercourse and commercial negociations with Europeans, in defiance of the obstacles to this doctrine suggested by the fakeers and political men, what might we not expect from the due cultivation of an extensive commerce, upon a grand national scale, with this interesting continent? Might we not expect a gradual diffusion of the principles of Christianity among the Muselmen, as well as among

among the pagans and idolators of Africa? I would venture to assert, that in the event of the British government engaging, with energy and determination, to cultivate a commercial intercourse and extensive connection with Africa, that the Negroes, and possibly even the Muhamedans, might gradually be converted to Christianity. This event would take a long time to accomplish, but its gradual progress, most probably, would be more rapid than was the progress of Muhamedanism during the life of the Arabian prophet.

So multifarious are the topics discussed in this book, — plans of commerce, — plans for the gradual civilization of Africa, — abolition of slavery, — fragments, notes, and anecdotes illustrating the nature and character of the country, — the Arabic language, — translations of Arabic letters, — the death of Mungo Park, — various letters on Africa, &c. &c. — that it might be almost denominated a treatise *De omnibus rebus Africanis, et quibusdam aliis.* We are constrained, however, by our limits, and by the consciousness that we have on former occasions devoted much space to African details, from entering more fully into the specific matters of which it consists; recommending it, at the same time, to those who are desirous of acquiring a full and complete knowlege of these interesting, although in many respects obscure, subjects of research.

ART. VIII. *Reports on the Diseases of London*, and the State of the Weather, from 1804 to 1816; including practical Remarks on the Causes and Treatment of the former; and preceded by a historical View of the State of Health and Disease in the Metropolis in past Times; in which the Progress of the extraordinary Improvement in Salubrity, which it has undergone, the Changes in the Character of the Seasons in this Respect, and the Causes of these, are traced down to the present Period. By Thomas Bateman, M. D., &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 293. 9s. Boards. Longman and Co.

THE present Reports, like those of Dr. Willan, the author's distinguished predecessor, were at first published successively in a periodical work: this volume containing the late Dr. Bateman's *Quarterly Reports on the Diseases of London*, as they were given in the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, to which for twelve years they formed a very interesting and valuable contribution. They have now received the addition, on more than one occasion, of such remarks as the author's subsequent experience suggested, particularly on the subject of blood-letting in the diseases of London, and especially in continued fever. As an appropriate introduction

to the whole, Dr. B. prefixed a succinct account of the progressive improvement of the health of the inhabitants of the metropolis:

'While the metropolis has extended itself in all directions, and multiplied its inhabitants to an enormous amount, *i. e.* while the apparent causes of its unhealthiness have been augmented, it has actually become more favourable to health. In the year 1697, for example, the total mortality of London was 20,970; whereas the total mortality of 1797 amounted only to 17,014; and when we take into consideration the great increase of the population of the Out-parishes at the latter period, the comparative healthiness of London will appear in very strong colours. But the healthy condition of the metropolis seems to have been more particularly produced within the last fifty years, during which period it has most rapidly increased in extent and population. Until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century, the mortality kept pace, in some measure, with the advancing population: the average number of deaths annually, from the year 1720 to 1730, was 27,492; and the average number from the latter year to 1740 was 26,492; but so late as the year 1746 the annual number of deaths was 28,157.'

It has been remarked, also, by Dr. B., as well as by preceding writers, that a striking change has taken place with regard to the diseases most prevalent and fatal in London. Plague, which formerly carried off such multitudes of victims, has not appeared in it for many years. Intermittent fever, in like manner, now rarely if ever occurs, unless the patient has been exposed to the influence of marsh miasmata, in some other part of the kingdom; and Dr. B. states two interesting cases in his Reports, where the effects of such exposure remained dormant in the frame for many weeks. Dysentery also has long ceased to spread among the inhabitants of London, with the virulence and fatality which it formerly possessed; and scurvy, which was of such frequent occurrence in the metropolis, is now (to use the words of Dr. Heberden) "unknown in London, or nearly so."

Dr. Bateman very judiciously illustrates the unhealthiness of London in former periods by comparing a great city to a camp, and pointing out the causes that favor the development of the diseases which we have mentioned.

'A large town is but an extensive camp, so constructed as to be destitute of the means of changing its situation; and therefore liable to be infested with the same diseases, as are endemic in camps, unless all the requisite precautions be fully adopted. Hence the necessity for the construction of privies, drains, and common sewers, and the advantages of a flowing stream, by which all impurities may be carried off, as well as of an abundant supply of water, for the purposes of cleanliness, and of a hard and regular pave-

pavement, preserved in a cleanly condition by proper scavengers, &c. in every crowded town. Wherever these precautions are neglected, intermittent and remittent fevers, and dysentery, will not fail to appear, especially in or after wet and hot seasons: for, in the wet seasons, collections of filth accumulate, and, in great heats, they more readily putrify and evaporate.' —

'The accumulation of filth and moisture in the streets, especially the narrow ones, for a considerable period after the great fire, was aided by various circumstances; bad and ill-repaired pavements, obstruction to the free current of air, water from the spouts, the habit of throwing all the refuse of victuals, &c. into the streets, of feeding animals, such as goats, hogs, and poultry, in them, &c. Noorthouck affirms, "that no considerable reformation had taken place in the pavement, since the fire of London, when the improvements were commenced about 60 years ago in Westminster. The high streets had indeed flat pavements on each side for foot-passengers, but these were very negligently repaired. Projecting spouts in narrow old streets still poured their collected rain from the roofs of the houses, impetuously upon the dripping passengers; while in all the streets, large sign-boards hung across by irons fixed to the fronts of the houses, which, in proportion to the abilities of shopkeepers, were carried to extravagant degrees of ostentation, and not only obstructed the view, but also the free circulation of the air; grating the ear with most discordant creaking as they swung to and fro in windy weather. The middle of the streets were paved with large pebbles, of all sizes and shapes, rough to the horse and uneasy to the rider, which being continually worn by carriages into dangerous holes, the mud lay in too great quantities to suffer the streets to be called clean, except in extreme dry weather, when the dust was as troublesome as the dirt while wet." Many of the narrower streets continued altogether unpaved, until after the occurrence of the fire; the sewers, at the same time, were in a very neglected state, and the drains all ran above ground. And although the water of the Thames had been partially conveyed to the city, so early as 1582, by a machine erected in one of the arches of London Bridge, by a German engineer, and that important acquisition the New River had been brought to the metropolis in 1613, yet the supply of that great necessary of life, which is now conveyed into every house, continued to be but scantily obtained for many years subsequent to those periods. But if in these general and external circumstances, the metropolis was in a condition to generate the miasmata, which, whether in camps or towns, are the exciting causes of endemic diseases, the internal economy of the dwellings was calculated at once to give efficiency to those causes, and to aggravate the diseases which they produced. Indeed, when we compare the domestic habits of our ancestors with those of our contemporaries, and consider their respective notions in regard to the importance of cleanliness, ventilation, and the close or open situation of their houses, we can no longer be surprized, that the former suffered almost constantly from some endemic or epidemic disease, and

that

that in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, (to say nothing of the 17th,) few years have elapsed without the occurrence of a considerable pestilence. — In what a comparative condition of filth (if a degree of comparison lower than this can now be conceived) must the poor have lived in those times; — the poor, who now occupy, in separate apartments, the very houses in the courts and alleys of London, which were formerly inhabited by the rich; even by the comptrollers of the King's household!'

A few diseases, on the other hand, have become more prevalent than formerly in our metropolis; at the head of which stands consumption. It cannot be denied that this fatal malady is now much more frequent; although it must be admitted that many deaths are referred to this source which have arisen from causes altogether different. Apoplexy, palsy, sudden death, and gout, are likewise stated by Dr. B. as presenting a regular though less considerable increase; being consequences, no doubt, of the greater luxury of our modes of living. Mental derangement also appears decidedly to be now of more frequent occurrence: on which subject Dr. Willan remarked, with great feeling and beauty of expression,

' " Those of the superior order, whom their friends consign to various mansions of security, are not the victims of disappointed ambition, or of inordinate affections; not dissipated females sunk to ruin by their extravagance, nor men who have lost their all in the whirlpools of St. James's Street: but residents nearer the Royal Exchange; some of them shattered by unhealthy climates, some by overstraining the faculties both of body and mind, in the acquisition of wealth; some ruined by deceiving, and, perhaps, self-deceived projectors; others by the most daring commercial speculations; and a few, whose understanding has been overset by mistaken views of religion." '

To conclude these general remarks on the diseases of London, we may mention the singular circumstance that the most salubrious season of past times is now the most unhealthy in that metropolis. Autumn, which was formerly of all periods the most fruitful of disease, is now the least so; and Spring, which in early times of the history of London was the most wholesome season, is now that in which disease is most prevalent.

' The total number of patients attended by my colleague and myself in the 12 years included by the Reports, is 26,651, exclusive of those under the care of the surgeon, and of these the number of applicants in the four seasons respectively stands as follows, viz.

September to November inclusive -	6,290
June to August - - - -	6,663
December to February - - -	6,833
March to May - - - -	6,865.

Or,

Or, if we take an average of these numbers, the comparative salubrity of the seasons will stand thus:

Autumn.	Summer.	Winter.	Spring.
524.	555.	569.	572.

We have not space to enter into any detailed account of the Quarterly Reports of Dr. B., which have been so long before the public, and have every where been received with high and merited approbation. Although inferior to the great model which he held up to his view, both in the present work and in his treatise on Cutaneous Diseases, Dr. Bateman must be admitted to have been a worthy follower of Dr. Willan: bidding fair to equal, if not to surpass, the fame of that distinguished physician, had his life been prolonged until his professional experience was fully matured, and his talents were unfolded in all the perfection of which they were capable.

ART. IX. *A Remonstrance addressed to Mr. John Murray*; respecting a recent Publication. 8vo. 1*s*. Rivingtons. 1822.

ART. X. *A Letter to Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, in Answer to the "Remonstrance" of *Oxoniensis* on the Publication of "Cain, a Mystery," by Lord Byron. 8vo. pp. 85. Rodwell and Martin.

ART. XI. *Revolutionary Causes:* with a brief Notice of some late Publications; and a Postscript, containing Strictures on "Cain," &c. 8vo. pp. 100. Cawthorn.

ART. XII. *The Wrath of Cain;* a Boyle Lecture, delivered at the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields, Feb. 6. 1822. By the Rev. William Harness, A. M. 8vo. 3*s*. 6*d*. Rivingtons.

ART. XIII. *A Vindication of the "Paradise Lost" from the Charge of exculpating "Cain,* a Mystery." By Philo-Milton. 8vo. pp. 60. Rivingtons.

We are zealous advocates for freedom of inquiry on every subject, whether in morals, politics, or religion, and never can doubt that the cause of truth must be ultimately benefited by fair and candid discussion. Neither are we disposed to exclude poets from our commonwealth, or to prevent them from entering the field as metaphysical or moral gladiators. Indeed, the facilities which they enjoy of giving prominency to particular parts of the subject, and the licence with which they are indulged of bold and exaggerated expression, make them powerful champions of any opinions which they may happen to adopt. This privilege is doubtless susceptible of abuse; and, under the disguise of a poetic tale or a drama, a writer may give plausibility to opinions which it would be more difficult to maintain by regular arguments in plain

plain prose, may keep back all real objections, and may throw a coloring over sophistries which in a more logical course of warfare would soon be detected and exposed. Still the power of the poet is limited; and, if he has dangerous privileges as a reasoner, he also labors under considerable disadvantages. A prose-writer, who addresses himself to the understanding, and canvasses an abstract subject, is allowed to inform though he cannot interest, and to instruct though he may be destitute of any power to dazzle the imagination or to awaken the passions: — but a poet must interest his reader, or his work will be laid aside. The

"*Haud satis est pulchra esse poemata, dulcia sunto,*"

is the injunction of a master in the art. A poet must work his way through the sympathies of his readers. He must reach the heart by its ordinary approaches. He may amaze for a while, and astound, but he can never delight mankind by throwing aside humanity. He not only must not outrage common sense, but he treads on very dangerous ground if he ventures to disregard the habits, or to defy the prejudices, of the age or the country in which he lives.

If, then, in one point of view a poet has a dangerous facility of insinuating false reasoning, and mistaken views of human nature, into the minds of those who are unaccustomed to read for any other purpose than diversion, and are undisciplined in resisting casual impressions, his power is checked on the other hand by the very constitution of human nature; since those who are least habituated to think are the most offended, when the ordinary train of their thoughts and the usual dreams of their nature are for a moment disturbed.

With regard to the drama of "Cain," we have already given our opinion (Rev. for January last) that Lord Byron there employed in a very reprehensible manner the latitude in which poets are indulged. Under the characters of Cain and of Lucifer, he concentrated all the arguments which Manicheism can devise, and urged these arguments in pointed and vigorous language, while he has not brought forwards any one to controvert them; though, as the dialogue between Lucifer and Cain may in fact be deemed the soliloquy of Cain under disordered impressions, it surely would have been only fair to have introduced some more favorable views of nature, and some comments on the evidence of benevolence in the Creator, in the conversation of Adam with his son. Nevertheless, the mischievous tendency of this drama has probably been over-rated by some persons. The misery in which Cain is involved, by listening to the solicitations of the Evil One, should

should suggest to all readers that the arguments of the instructor, however wily, have not conduced to the benefit of the pupil. It may be replied that a play, though it has a moral catastrophe, may be, taken altogether, extremely immoral; and that the conclusion of the last act may be very inefficient to obliterate the impression made by all that preceded: — but what is the impression from the preceding parts of Cain? To an unthinking reader, they offer much that is likely to repel and disgust him; and he will see enough in the impiety of Cain, and his irreverence to his parents, that will tend to destroy the charm thrown about the character of Adah. On the other hand, to a man who is accustomed to reason, what satisfaction can be afforded by the mystical nonsense talked in 'the abyss of space,' or in 'Hades?' Is any new light thrown on that mighty mystery, the origin and nature of evil? Does the discovery of former worlds, or of farther worlds in the realms of space, impugn the providence of the Creator? What is the knowlege which Satan communicates? When the reader is assured that 'moments' and space are the only things unchangeable, does he gain any real information, or is he merely tricked off with unintelligible jargon? Or, when mention is made of 'the great double mysteries, *the two principles!*' and 'their secret thrones,' and that 'both reign,' will any mind that has been taught to reflect be satisfied to conclude that there is an equal and over-ruling and irresistible influence of an evil principle? The physical system of the universe, as far as human ingenuity can penetrate and comprehend the mighty plan, evinces an harmonious design; — evinces wisdom in its plenitude adapting the most suitable means to the noblest ends. Are not the faculties of the noblest of mortals prostrated and humiliated in the contemplation of so sublime a scene of order? The existence of myriads of animated beings, with such variety of instincts, and with every accommodation for their enjoyment and happiness, indicates the benevolence of the Great Creator. In the moral world, the production of good out of evil, in so many obvious instances, may surely lead to the conclusion that evil does not 'reign;' and a humble inquirer, when he observes the perfection of the physical world, and the prevalence of benevolent design in the moral world, will rather attribute the doubts and difficulties, which may still press on him respecting the origin of evil, to the immaturity and imperfection of his own faculties, than fall into theories irreconcileable with the results of actual observation, and which, instead of producing any solution of difficulties, in the end lead only to perplexity and contradiction.

We

We have judged it necessary to premise these remarks on the tendency of some parts of "Cain," and on the improbability that those parts, much as we reprobate them, can have any very mischievous influence, that our object may not be misunderstood in the brief observations which we are about to make on the strictures that have appeared on that drama.

The author of the '*Remonstrance*,' who signs himself *Oxoniensis*, indulges in personalities not altogether justified by the occasion; commenting on the 'cupidity' of Mr. Murray, and on the circumstances of Lord Byron's private life. His judgment as a poetical censor, also, is peculiarly unfortunate, when he asserts that this "*Mystery*" is 'nothing more than a cento from Voltaire's novels, and the most objectionable articles in Bayle's dictionary, *served up in clumsy cuttings of ten syllables, for the purpose of giving it the guise of poetry*;' and his good sense is rendered very questionable by an intimation which he gives to the Attorney-General, relative to the conduct that it would be proper to pursue with such a publication.

In the '*Letter to Sir Walter Scott*,' which is signed *Harroviensis*, the writer appears to us to go into an extreme which is opposite to that of *Oxoniensis*. He considers the most objectionable passages uttered by Lucifer as justified by the precedent of Milton: but Milton, if he ever uses poison, supplies an antidote at the same time; and the most highly wrought expressions of insolence and defiance are tinctured with feelings of compunction and remorse. *Harroviensis* also deduces, from some allusions made in the course of "Cain," an inference which we confess does not appear to us the most natural consequence:

'I cannot omit,' says he, 'a few lines in the "Mystery" itself, which afford us some further evidence of the opinions, entertained by the noble author respecting that great key-stone of revealed religion, — the truth of the advent of the blessed Messiah. The allusions are striking and important, and may serve to prove that this characteristic sentiment of the Christian is not alien to the convictions of Lord Byron's mind: they are introduced in a manner so natural and incidental, as to exclude all idea of their application to any purpose of ostentation or design.

'When Lucifer is about to take Cain with him on his ethereal journey, Adah inquires,

'Will he return?

'*Luc.* Ay, woman! he alone
Of mortals from that place (the first and last
Who shall return, save ONE.)

'Again

'Again Lucifer says,

'There will come
An hour, when toss'd upon some water-drops,
A man shall say to a man, "Believe in me,
And walk the waters," and the man shall walk
The billows and be safe.

'And again;

'*Cain.* Then what is death?
'*Luc.* What, hath not he who made ye
Said 'tis another life?
'*Cain.* Till now he hath
Said nothing, save that all shall die.
'*Luc.* Perhaps
He will one day unfold that further secret.'

The pamphlet intitled 'Revolutionary Causes' attacks a passage in the Appendix to Lord Byron's tragedy of "The two Foscari," in which his Lordship controverts Mr. Southey's opinion that the Revolution in France was caused by the *toleration* of the free writers of that country, predicts a revolution in England, and intimates that Mr. Southey, in circulating the life of Wesley, is not more friendly to our established religion than the disciples of "the Satanic school" whom he attacks. The origin of the French Revolution is considered at much length in this pamphlet; Lord B.'s expressions are criticized; and a long list of authors is produced, whose works contributed to bring on the catastrophe. Yet it is admitted that most of these authors were prosecuted, and therefore that the government did not fall in consequence of any pusillanimous "toleration." The writer then proceeds to discuss the Puritans, to whom also Lord B. had alluded, and the first English Revolution. As to the piety and morality of the Puritans, he cuts that point very short: 'For Cromwell,' says he, 'and his Puritans, I have no respect: I think Wesley and his biographer deserving of the highest.' As to the Revolution itself, he thinks that its merits are decided by Hume's insidious character of Hampden, which he accordingly quotes very triumphantly; marking the ungenerous and unjust insinuations of the partial historian with italics as conclusive proofs. Revolutionary causes he then classes under four heads; viz. disordered state of finances, disordered state of morality, disordered state of religion, and disordered state of literature. On the first head he writes with much satisfaction; and it may be gratifying to know, if any authority can attach to an anonymous writer, that this country has no reason to be alarmed in that quarter. The three other disorders are so complicated, that, after having distinguished them,

them, the author connects them together again; and the great physicians whom he recommends are the Society for the Suppression of Vice, the Constitutional Association, and some learned persons who have undertaken the exposure of Mr. Percy Bysshe Shelley.

The *Boyle-Lecture* of Mr. Harness is partly occupied with an interpretation of the third and fourth chapters of Genesis: but we do not know that in this view we can be very complimentary to it. The rest of the pamphlet consists of general arguments on the nature of evil; and the following passage, which is preceded by some comments on the logomachy about liberty and necessity, is a favourable specimen of this part of the performance:

'The Almighty has not put a constraint upon our actions; he would rather have the obedience of a willing servant, than the subjection of an irrespective slave. All virtue depends upon that liberty, and it unavoidably involves the possibility of sinning. Every creature who is really free, must necessarily be possessed of an ability to convert the noblest gifts to the basest purposes; strength to injure; talent to deceive; beauty to seduce; wit to calumniate; pre-eminence to oppress. The appetites and affections are capable of the same perversion. But we may still discover, through all the mists of an inherited and acquired corruption, that we have received neither appetite nor affection, from the hand of the Almighty, which is not good, in its temperate and legitimate exercise; and which was not designed to excellent effects. It is by the abuse of our freedom that they have been, and that they still are, converted into evil. Cast a glance upon the passions by which the peace of society is disturbed. Of what do they consist? Are they not the misapplication of good gifts, and the corruption of virtuous incitements? Ambition is one of the prevalent irregularities of the human heart, and its prey is the tranquillity of nations; but if we look back upon the principle of the passion, we find it to be the distortion of an innocent sentiment.—It has been mercifully ordained by the Creator, that diligence should obtain success; that success should be accompanied by the respect of our fellow-creatures; and that the benevolence of the heart should derive a gratification from the approval of our kind. Here is the healthy root on which the sin of the ambitious is engrafted;—he perceives, that, to the good, distinction is the occasion of augmented happiness; and overlooking the means, he hastens to the end, and is solicitous of pre-eminence, in the vain anticipation of deriving from its attainment that inward complacency of mind, which attends upon the honourable recompences of superior virtue. The passions are so intimately allied, that what is proved of one may, with some confidence, be asserted of the others.—Thus avarice is the guilty and selfish exaggeration of prudence; voluptuousness the misapplication of the pleasurable sensations, which the Deity has connected with the means of sustenance;

tenance; malice and revenge, the criminal extension of that natural resentment, which, according to St. Paul, may, in its just degrees, be innocently felt, and which arms us against oppression, and glows with an honest indignation against crime; and all that multitude of familiar offences, which perturb the happiness of society, and hang like a noxious vapour above the earth, to intercept the brightness and impede the visitation of the Divine Benevolence; all that infectious mass of calumnies, of seductions, of licentious excess, of profane or unhallowed conversation, of petty jealousies, of causeless strife, of ruinous prodigality, from what do they result, but from the misdirection of that activity of mind, which agitates the indolent, and was designed to warn him of the waste of his faculties? And whence does indolence itself originate, but in the sacrifice of those private duties, that are given to every man to perform, in the pursuit of a repose, which the mercy of the Divinity has made delightful, as the reward of diligence and the relaxation from labour?

'So far as is consistent with our freedom, the benevolence of God has addressed us by inducements, which may persuade to the worthy application of our faculties, and the temperate indulgence of our appetites. To do well according to our knowledge is suggested to every man, by the ordinary graces of the Holy Spirit. It is made inseparable from serenity of soul. It is, in the general dispensation of Divine Providence, connected with health of body and hilarity of mind. It is surrounded by kind affections, which, even from the hardest natures, are elicited by the magic presence of the virtuous. It is attended by the reverence of the wise and of the good. And it is gazed upon by the unwilling admiration of the wicked.

'So far as not to overrule the will, the benevolence of God endeavours to reclaim the disobedient. We cannot overpass the strict limits of our duty, without being continually entreated to return, by the reproaches of the conscience, by the apprehensions of detection, by the controul of public opinion, by the satiety of excess, by the languor of intemperance, by the penalty of disease, by the anxieties of an injured fortune, by the grief of friends, by the torments of unruly passion, and by the terrors that threaten beyond the grave. — Is then the Almighty to be reproached for the existence of that moral evil, which impairs the beauty and desolates the fertility of his creation? Most assuredly he is not its author; whatever sin there is, is the sin of man; all its injury and opprobrium is so entirely and inexcusably our own, that it originates in an ungrateful separation of the affections from the Deity, in the absence of religious love, and in the error, or the deficiency of our religious faith. God has implanted admirable faculties and good desires in the human heart. He has attached the sense of pleasure to their lawful indulgence. He has connected their inordinate gratification with miserable results. He has endowed us with reason to regulate their exercise, and to discriminate between the evil and the good. He has communicated his law to assist the determinations of the reason. And he promotes our obedience to his law by the anticipating and co-operating

graces of his Spirit. What additional assistance can man, as a free agent, and a reasonable being, require of the mercy of his Maker?'

The '*Vindication of Paradise Lost*' is written in a very able and powerful manner, in answer to some positions of *Harroviensis*, and to Lord Byron's exculpation of himself. The general impression produced by the perusal of "Paradise Lost" certainly is totally different from that which is produced by the perusal of "Cain." From Milton, no particular passages can be selected that are so obnoxious to misconstruction (to use the most favorable term,) as some in the "Mystery;" and, in the latter, conceptions are indulged by Cain which outrage all the feelings of nature, while in Milton even the Evil Spirit has touches of humanity.

Having thus concisely indicated the nature and merits of the several pamphlets before us, we do not wish to prolong the discussion.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE,

FOR JUNE, 1822.

POETRY.

Art. 14. *The Pleasures of Fancy.* A Poem. In Two Parts. 8vo. pp. 71. Rivingtons. 1822.

We think that we trace in these 'Pleasures of Fancy' the hand of a young and inexperienced writer, new to his task, but full of warm and poetic feelings, poured out without much study and selection, yet not wanting some degree of originality and power. They do not, however, display any wide range or play of imagination, though in parts sufficiently fanciful, and sufficiently interesting to beguile the attention of the reader. We ought not, indeed, to require much novelty on the subject: but we suspect that little of what is most original in the author is really new to any person but himself. Nor does this arise so much from weakness or poverty of genius, as from inexperience, and a partial acquaintance with the great works of his predecessors.

When the writer asserts of the subject of his Muse,

> 'Neglected power! whence do thy hand-maids shine
> In circlet rich, while scarce a gem is thine?
> Why deathless praise may Hope and Memory claim,
> While not a lyre is taught thy mightier name?'

he seems to overlook the offerings which other votaries of Fancy have presented at her shrine. Though Fancy and Imagination may be in some measure distinct from each other, he ought not, after Akenside's noble poem, to call the theme neglected; nor should

should be attributed so much to a fine subject, when every thing that is poetical depends wholly on the execution. Without genius, the most heroic theme becomes cold and feeble; while the very lowliest flower may be rendered poetical, and bloom for ever, at the inspired voice of a ploughboy. We do not mean to assert that no proofs of talent and poetical powers are given in the production before us, or that the writer has executed his task badly: but the qualities of his poetry are not of that strong and vigorous kind which will enable him to mount on lofty pinions, and sustain a wide and well-directed flight. Yet some pleasing and even beautiful passages occur, which will repay the attention of the reader.

POLITICS.

Art. 15. *An Exposition of the real Causes and effective Remedies of the Agricultural Distress.* By an impartial Looker-on. 8vo. pp. 42. Sherwood and Co. 1822.

Art. 16. *Thoughts on the Expediency of a Relaxation of the Corn Laws, as the most effectual Remedy for Agricultural Distress:* with critical Remarks on some prevalent Opinions relative to the Influence of Taxes and Money on the Prices of Commodities. 8vo. pp. 59. 2*s*. Smith and Elder. 1822.

Never, surely, was a greater discrepancy of opinion really and conscientiously entertained on any subject, by political writers and debaters, than at the present moment respecting the nature and causes of the general distress which pervades the country; and, consequently, respecting the remedies that will restore its forfeited prosperity. On many questions, it may be predicated of our parliamentary polemics, long before the debate begins, what line of argument they will take, and on what side they will vote at the division: but to do the "honorable gentlemen" justice, it must be confessed that no man, whether Whig or Tory, Radical, Ultra, or Legitimate, knows on which side of the House he is to look for his friend when any one of the subjects (to take them alphabetically) of agriculture, corn-laws, currency, manufactures, poor-rates, revenue, or the remission of particular taxes is discussed. The bias of peculiar and personal interests may, indeed, be occasionally discerned: but the bias of political party is thrown aside; and the divisions on these questions have presented a pie-bald appearance, confirming the old observation that misery brings a man into very strange company.

While other writers attribute our distress to the restoration of a depreciated currency to its antient value, the 'Impartial Looker-on' traces the mischief entirely to the Corn-bill of 1815; a ruinous boon conceded to the land-owners, the object of which was to restore the price of wheat to 80 shillings per quarter, and thus to perpetuate, in time of peace, the extravagant rate to which their rents had been raised during the war.—It is very common to talk about an identity of interests existing in all classes of the community: but this, like many general principles of which the truth is acknowleged, is rarely put in practice when the

period for its application arrives. The landed interest is undoubtedly a very powerful party in the state; and country-gentlemen supported Ministers in their immeasurable extravagance throughout the war, because an augmented demand was created for the productions of agriculture, the value of which, being enormously raised, enabled their tenantry to pay very high rents. A retrograde movement took place at the peace.

'The period was now arrived for returning to a more moderate system; and for things to resume their more natural standard. Accordingly, the price of labour was reduced; the exorbitant interest, or rent of money, which had been received during the war, could be no longer obtained; the sources of employment for capital were contracted; the productions of our manufactories, of commerce, and of agriculture, were diminished in value; the merchant, the manufacturer, the ship-owner, the tradesman — dealers and speculators — all had to sustain heavy losses upon their stores and investments. The effects of the depreciation reached, likewise, the West India planter, and the English cultivator — corn, cattle, and wool; rum, sugar, and cotton, were among the articles subjected to the general reduction.

'The price of land was also about to take its level in the market, by falling in a due proportion with the agricultural productions. This, alone, was required to restore the equipoise: the reduction of taxes, tythes, and poor-rates must, of necessity, have followed to complete the regenerated system; and thus the common evil would have been only transitory: its universality would have been its remedy: it would have been subdued by mutual interchange, and mutual interest: things would have soon found their natural level; and the nation would, again, have become prosperous in peace, as it had been glorious in war!

'But, instead of yielding to the current of events, — instead of submitting to the altered circumstances, which the return to a state of peace demanded, — instead of prudently lowering their rents in proportion to the reduced price of produce, the land-owners sought to elude the general depreciation, by appealing to Parliament for an exclusive protection.'

The land-owners, however, could not possibly have lowered their rents in proportion to the reduced price of produce; and, if they had gradually increased their abatements till they had given up every shilling, their tenants still could scarcely have made both ends meet. Land has yielded no rent for these two or three years, for the value of its produce has not exceeded the cost of production, and at the present moment is at least five-and-twenty per cent. below it. We are not advocates for high *protecting* duties, as they are erroneously called: for they do the agriculturist no good, and they do harm to every body else. Other countries may enjoy softer climates, more certain seasons, and more fertile soils: but where are to be found united the skill, the capital, and the persevering industry of Great Britain? Lower the cost of production, let us but stand on level ground, and we shrink not from competition with Poland and Russia. The sin of the land-

owners

owners was in their heaping up a debt as huge as Pelion upon Ossa, to be borne, as they thought, by other shoulders than their own. To them it was, indeed, a buoyant body, a balloon; they attached themselves to the car of the gilded, gas-inflated canvas, and sailed through the lofty air with majesty unrivalled: but dreadful has been the shock of their descent!

That the land-owners have brought very much of the mischief on their own backs which they are now suffering, and in which the yeomanry of the kingdom is so grievously involved, we are inclined to believe; in fact, they now seem to be conscious of it themselves; and the altered tone of several members of a certain honorable House give us hopes of a much more efficient reduction of the public expenditure than any which has hitherto been extorted. Indeed, the cupidity of the land-owners has defeated itself: for it has certainly been the means of an improvident extension of tillage to lands which cannot defray the expences of it.

Much good sense and sound reasoning are displayed in the second of the two pamphlets which head this article; and although there are two subjects, the operation of which in aggravating the present agricultural distress the author of 'Thoughts on the Expediency of a Relaxation of the Corn Laws' seems to undervalue, we concur with him in most of his observations. These two subjects are taxation, and the restoration of the currency. With regard to the effect of taxation, he observes that, up to the year 1813, capital employed in farming yielded more than the ordinary rate of profit; and that, since that time, its amount, particularly as applicable to the landed interest, has been greatly reduced.—The repeal of the property-tax was a most important relief, and the *direct* taxes, he goes on to say, form so small a proportion of the farmer's general out-goings, that, if the whole were taken off, his situation would not be materially improved. On this point we would remark that the *direct* taxes, which a farmer pays, constitute a very small portion of the actual amount of taxation which he sustains; it is the *in*direct, the invisible taxation, which cannot be warded off, that presses the most heavily on him. A tax on those articles which are indispensable to the existence or comfort of the labouring classes, viz. malt, beer, soap, salt, leather, candles, &c., is in fact a tax on wages; which, while it diminishes the profits of stock, depresses the condition of the labourer, and through him of his employer. It depresses the labourer, because in the purchase of these necessaries a part of his hard earnings is taken from his family, and transferred to the Exchequer; and it depresses his employer, because it impoverishes all his customers. Let us observe, too, that the articles in which the farmer deals are not articles of luxury and fashion, which change with the taste of the times, and may be sought to-day and rejected to-morrow: they are commodities which are never rejected or out of fashion, except through necessity. All these articles, essential not merely to the bare existence of man but to his comfort and well-being, are either the products of the earth elicited by the labour of the husbandman, or of the animals which graze on its surface, bred, pro-

tected, and nourished by his care. — How can it be said that the amount of taxation has been reduced, when the restoration of the value of the currency was not only unaccompanied by a corresponding reduction of national expenditure, but, on the contrary, was accompanied by the imposition of three millions of new taxes? The diminution of bank-notes has been from 19 millions to fourteen, a decrease of one-fourth or one-fifth: but the fall of prices has been much greater; — the fact is indisputable, however difficult it may be to account for it. Still, as facts are stubborn things, and will not always conform to our theories, it is our business, however mortifying, to make our theories conform to them.

This remark brings us to a passage in which the author of 'Thoughts,' &c. considers the operation of Mr. Peel's Bill.

'Is the distress produced by a return to cash-payments and a contraction of the currency? The affirmative is very generally maintained; and nothing is clearer than that the prices of commodities must, to a certain extent, be depressed by any increase in the value of the currency in which they are computed. If we estimate the value of an article in *crowns*, the numerical amount will be four times greater than if it were estimated in *pounds*; and just so, if we express the value of an article in pounds depreciated, for instance, to 15 shillings, the nominal amount, as compared with the expression of the same value in pounds of an undepreciated currency, must be increased in the proportion of 20 to 15, or 33⅓ per cent. — It follows, therefore, that if by the resumption of cash-payments, the value of the pound sterling has been raised one-nineteenth, or from 19 to 20 shillings, the actual money-price of commodities must have been diminished in the proportion of 20 to 19, or five per cent. Any such diminution, however, in the prices of commodities is very small, comparatively with what has really taken place. It is necessary, therefore, to inquire in what degree prices may have been influenced by a contraction of the currency.

'Let us suppose gold to be the only currency in this country, and the amount of it 10 millions; and let us also suppose the whole amount of commodities to be 200 millions; the amount of the currency would then, in proportion to the amount of commodities, be as 1 to 20. Suppose, now, gold to the amount of 5 millions exported in exchange for goods to the same amount: we should then have in the country gold to the amount of 5 millions, and commodities to the amount of 205 millions, making the proportion between money and commodities as 1 to 41, while the prices of commodities remained as before. I say the prices of commodities would necessarily remain the same as before; if not, let us suppose them to decline, and then I submit that commodities would be re-exported, and gold brought back, till the equilibrium was restored. A permanent decline in prices merely in consequence of a contraction of the currency (that currency consisting of specie, or paper convertible into specie,) is therefore impossible; and Mr. Peel's Bill can have had no other effect that that of depressing the prices of commodities in the same degree it reduced the price of gold, which was from about 82 shillings per ounce, to its standard

standard price of 77 shillings and 10 pence halfpenny, or about 5 per cent.'

The ingenious writer does not seem to bear in mind that the operation of Mr. Peel's Bill was not merely to diminish the amount of the currency, but, which was of far greater importance, to alter its very nature and character; to give substance to that which had none before, and to make paper convertible into gold, at the option of the holder. We entirely agree with him that, as long as paper is thus convertible, it never can exist in excess, and never can for any length of time sustain the prices of commodities above the level of prices in other countries: it is only when it ceases to be convertible into gold, and thus becomes depreciated, that a permanent rise in prices, as computed in paper-currency, is effected. The 60 millions of taxes were paid, and all the operations of commerce and agriculture were before performed, by about 19 millions of inconvertible paper; they are now performed by about 14 millions of paper which is convertible. The annual amount of taxation, therefore, was positively increased by Mr. Peel's Bill twenty or five-and-twenty per cent.; the national debt contracted under currency of one denomination being now payable in currency of another denomination:—it ought, consequently, in justice, to have been attended with an equivalent reduction in the national expenditure.

NOVELS.

Art. 17. *Pen Owen.* Crown 8vo. 3 Vols. *1l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* Boards. Cadell. 1822.

We are indebted for many hearty laughs to the novel of Pen Owen; yet it has but little story, and that little is extremely improbable. The author's digressions, also, are prosing and tedious, particularly those in the first volume: but the characters are so skilfully drawn, some of the serious dialogues are so excellent, and many of the comic scenes and situations are so droll, that most readers will be, like ourselves, in good humour with the book.

Art. 18. *Conduct is Fate.* 12mo. 3 Vols. *1l.* 1*s.* Boards. Blackwood, Edinburgh; Cadell, London. 1822.

There may be advantages in the method here adopted of placing at first before us the centre of the picture, so that the principal objects are immediately seen in the most attractive light: but, to change the metaphor, when writers "at once leap in" to the middle of the story, they are obliged also to "dash through thick and thin" with explanations and retrospections, which are far more puzzling and improbable than a methodical narrative might have appeared. The heroine of the present tale gives the history of her life to one of her lovers, and we are thus enabled to guess at many matters which had long been unintelligible: but, "when all is said and done," enough remains to pose the most experienced brains, and to keep the moral a long way off from the most tender consciences. The work may, however, be well intended, and it certainly displays powers of fancy.

EDUCATION.

Art. 19. *The Conversational Preceptor*, in French and English; consisting of useful Phrases, enlarged under distinct Heads. By J. L. Mabire, Professor of Languages in Paris. To which are added, Amusing Dialogues, on Subjects of general Interest, by M. Leblanc. Pocket Size. 6*s*. 6*d*. half-bound. Leigh.

As these phrases are so carefully classed that no very laughable mistakes can arise from employing the idiomatic expressions which are here copiously furnished, the book may be useful for reference; though we believe that the labour of committing dialogues to memory seldom facilitates the speaking of a language.

Art. 20. *New Tales for Young Readers.* By a Lady. 12mo. Half-bound. Bowdery and Kirby. 1822.

These tales may be found amusing, and certainly contain nothing very reprehensible: but the story of 'The Lovely Child,' who always looked pretty when she was good, may perhaps encourage juvenile vanity; and, in the 'Fairy Tale,' the plan to deceive an old grandmother, even 'with just cause,' should not have been commended.

NAVAL AFFAIRS.

Art. 21. *Cursory Suggestions on Naval Subjects;* with the Outline of a Plan for raising Seamen for his Majesty's Fleets in a future War, by Ballot. 8vo. pp. 97. Rivingtons. 1822.

The prosperity of our navy being ever a subject of the utmost importance to this country, though it is now unfortunately too much the fashion to neglect it, we are desirous of paying due attention to all suggestions respecting it which seem to merit consideration in themselves, or from the character of the proposer. In the present instance, we do not agree with all the ideas of the writer: but he offers them with much modesty, even concealing his name, though he states that he has been 'nearly eight-and-twenty years in almost constant employ in the navy, upwards of one-and-twenty years a commissioned officer, and for eleven years in the command of one or other of his Majesty's vessels of war.' If our information be correct, his rank is that of a commander; and the small vessels in which he has been employed in that capacity have, apparently, given a bias to some of his opinions; while his want of experience as captain of a line-of-battle ship may have led to a similar effect. We shall advert to several of his remarks, as they occur.

The prejudice of mercantile seamen against the navy, to which the writer alludes in p. 16., we conceive to be materially subsiding, in proportion as the rigour of the discipline in our ships of war decreases, which it certainly has done; and the discipline and comforts of large ships ought to be superior to those of small vessels, because they are governed by officers of the best experience, which always tends to render discipline milder in its nature. We therefore do not think with the author, p. 25., that the pay and prize-money attach the sailor to small vessels, but the love of change,

change, (which is favored by the manner in which those vessels are employed,) and the relaxation of discipline that prevails in them. The desertion of seamen frequently occurs from some little error in discipline, unknown to the captain till it is too late; as also from the crews being idle, and too much in port. We do not coincide with the writer in his previous remark about long voyages, and arrears of pay, though the present regulations have prevented much of the latter: for we conceive that sailors prefer both, thinking nothing of the privations that attend long absence, but glorying in the idea of abundance of cash to spend when they return. They do not study their own comfort, and it would be unwise to do it *too much* for them; since we should thus alter their nature, and lead them to look for more indulgence than a hardy class of men can require.

With regard to the *Term of Service*, (p. 35.) if men were allowed to enter for a short time only, no ship could be well disciplined, or kept in good order; and we cannot but think that the *discharging* of men ought to rest with the Admiralty. As to reprimanding an officer publicly, (p. 48.) surely this ought always to be avoided if possible, since it would prejudicially lower him in the eyes of the men; and as to making all 'notoriously bad characters' associate together, (p. 49.) any hope of a reform would thus be precluded.

In his observations on *Impressment*, (p. 62.) the author yields to the general ideas entertained on that disagreeable mode of obtaining men: yet, such are the nature and feelings of a sailor, that he will frequently volunteer immediately after his own impressment, to go and take others in the same way; and we have not only known men become attached to officers who impressed them, but have seen them rise also to the rank of officers, even as high as captains.

At p. 72. we come to the plan of balloting which is here proposed: but it does not strike us as likely to succeed, or to satisfy the men themselves. A seaman is not so easily made as the author seems to think, (p. 91.) but is a peculiar being, formed from a life of experience; and the plan of training them, proposed at p. 92., would make them useful only in smooth water.

We have thus expressed our opinion on a few of the author's suggestions: but we have, in course, left a great many unnoticed, and many that deserve to be considered, and will obtain the concurrence of naval readers. At the conclusion, (p. 95.) the author states his disapprobation of a kind of carronade, (not '*cannonade*,') on the non-recoil principle, introduced during the war; and we agree with him in his objections, which we know were made by other officers, who also complained of them.

Art. 22. *Suggestions for the Abolition of the present System of Impressment*, in the Naval Service. By Capt. Marryat, R. N. 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*. Richardson. 1822.

We cannot but think that Capt. Marryat has been more fortunate in his propositions about impressment, than his brother-officer whose pamphlet we have just noticed; and indeed his plan for manning the navy appears to us extremely good, and such as, with a few

a few alterations, might be carried into effect with great advantage to the public service. We do not, however, subscribe to all his preliminary observations. When he speaks (p. 13.) against taking officers from the merchant-service, and says that our young officers are now well educated and well informed, we grant that they are such when they come from our naval academies: but they will be what the French were, *no sailors*, if some men are not taken out of the mercantile service at the beginning of any future war. Several of our best officers have come from that school; and a good sea-officer can be produced only by experience, and many years of actual "buffeting of the waves." This is a very important point of consideration; and we need hardly say that a gentleman's manners and education, with even a complete theoretical acquaintance with the naval profession, will not compensate for the absence of practical knowlege in "the howl of the storm" and "the tug of war."

We do not consider a ship as well manned with the proportion of landsmen allotted by Capt. M. at p. 33. Among the latter class, it is advisable to have as many *artificers* as can be procured, who are the best substitutes for actual seamen; and we know that many men, brought up to trades, have become tolerable sailors by entering the service at an early age. The proportion of boys in ships of the line, during war, we consider as too great, since they tend to crowd the ship without adding to her strength.

After 43 pages of introductory matter, much of it employed in controverting the ideas of Mr. Urquhart in his several publications relative to the navy, we arrive at Capt. M.'s plan for supplying the number of able seamen necessary for the naval service, without impressment. Into the details of this system we have not space to enter; and, as we began by expressing our approbation of it, we shall conclude by recommending the consideration of it in the pamphlet itself, to all who take an interest in this important national question.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Art. 23. *A Narrative of the Political and Military Events*, which took place at Naples, in 1820 and 1821; with Observations explanatory of the National Conduct in general, and of his own in particular, during that Period. Addressed to his Majesty, the King of the Two Sicilies, by General William Pepe. With an Appendix of Official Documents, the greater Part hitherto unpublished. 8vo. 6*s*. sewed. Treuttel and Co.

The unhappy termination of the Neapolitan revolution, and the participation of General Pepe in that event, are equally well known. The topic must by this time have lost much of its interest: yet a work published by so important an actor in so important a scene must have a certain value attached to it, even if it contributes only to the materials of future historians. We are sorry, however, to observe that the narrative before us is more a criminatory remonstrance than a cool exposition of facts; though we could scarcely expect a sober and measured statement from

from a man who has been driven into exile by the vindictive policy of the restored dynasty.

We shall extract a part of the letter which is addressed to the King of the Two Sicilies. It will be recollected that his Neapolitan Majesty, in compliance with the invitation of the allied powers, repaired to their congress at Laybach; that the Austrians crossed the Po on the twenty-eighth of January; and that the Neapolitan army fell back on Aquila on the same day. General Pepe, we think, satisfactorily accounts for the successes of the Austrians:

'During these conjunctures, your Majesty's first letter spoke of the amusement you had found in the chase, and of the superiority of your dogs over those of the Emperor Alexander. While the nation was amused in this manner, the Austrian army had time to concentrate itself on the left bank of the Po, in order to fall upon me by forced marches. At the moment the enemy was in a situation to commence hostilities, your Majesty's fatal letter arrived, in which the invasion of the country by a foreign enemy was announced, even though it consented to return under the absolute government. This was a moment, Sire, when the Neapolitan nation deserved to be regarded with attention by your Majesty, and by all Europe. Formerly a nation was considered to be ripe for freedom, when it could acquire it without foreign assistance; but now it must also maintain it against disciplined armies. Well! the nation was prepared to do so. I will not allow myself the least exaggeration, and I appeal to his Royal Highness the Duke of Calabria, for the truth of the fact, that when your Majesty's letter was published, fêtes and other demonstrations of joy were exhibited in all the chief provincial towns. It was the general observation, "We have given proofs of every kind of moderation in order to avoid a war; now that it is become unavoidable, we will meet it with cheerfulness." The persons most attached to your Majesty repeated publicly that you could not have taken any step more contrary to your assumed interests, or better calculated to unite the hearts of the Neapolitans in the defence of the national independence.

'But in what state of defence did your letter find the nation? The Austrians passed through Bologna on the 8th of February, and on the 15th I had not yet received my appointment to the chief command of the second corps of the army in the Abruzzi, nor my brother that of chief of the general staff. Every thing else was of a piece with this; no disposition for war — no plan of defence — and no military *espionage* organized. There were no magazines of provisions in the Abruzzi, no means of conveyance, no hospitals, no quarter-master-general, no money in the army-chests, and not even a paymaster-general. The magazines of shoes and cloaks, promised to the militia, did not exist any more than those of fire-arms. The battalions of militia had not yet received orders to march, so that it was impossible for any of them to reach the frontiers of the Abruzzi before the enemy. For the same reason, nearly half of the national battalions only learned on their

their march that there was no longer a constitutional government, no rallying point, as it is a march of thirty or forty days from the Calabrias and Apulia to the frontiers. Besides, could the militia, collected for the first time, and with so much precipitation, deserve the name of battalions? The "three hundred" Abruzzians who offered themselves as rivals of the soldiers of Leonidas, and the "sacred battalion," destined for the corps which I commanded, were never organized. Was it then the fault of the nation, if it was so badly directed, and taken by surprise in the manner it was? Were not the taxes punctually paid, good order maintained every where without *gens d'armes*, and did not sixty national battalions march immediately in obedience to a mere telegraphic order? And does not their rapid march, in the midst of so much confusion, prove beyond dispute the national order and unanimity?'

General Pepe has been blamed by military men for beginning the attack on the Austrians, instead of remaining in the passes of Antrodoco; — which latter measure, it is supposed, would have enabled him to dispute the possession of the Abruzzi with more chances of success. He thus vindicates his own conduct on that occasion:

'In a question of this kind we must not look to the opinions of the multitude, but to those of experienced officers; and I know that at Paris several distinguished Generals, including some of the marshals of France, were all of opinion that I could not dispense with reconnoitring the enemy; and that commanding young troops and national guards, brought together for the first time, it was necessary to defend the Abruzzi, not by waiting steadily to be attacked by disciplined troops, but by repeated engagements without losing the advantage of position.* And if I had been able to announce

'* It was very generally reported in the capital and in the provinces that my orders were, not to attack the Austrians, who if they had not received provocation, would not have marched against us. These reports were spread on purpose to make it be believed, that I was the author of all the calamities which the nation would suffer from the war, and thereby draw upon me the hatred of my fellow-citizens, and deprive me of the possibility of serving them as a rallying point for the defence of the country. How could it ever be supposed, that the Austrians, who had declared their intention of entering the kingdom, even if the constitutional government were abolished, and had assembled the whole of their forces in the neighbourhood of Rieti, would have suspended hostilities if I had not attacked them? They only remained inactive for a few days at Rieti, waiting the effect of the publication of the threats and promises of the King, and General Frimont, in order to effect by such means of seduction the disbanding of my corps, and to get information of my movements by their spies. The Intendant of Aquila, who had been several months with the Austrians, directed their *espionage* with a great deal of talent. Finally, if it suited the enemy to gain time, by a parity of reasoning it did not suit me to grant

nounce to the nation the details of the 7th of March, divested of the disbanding, what a powerful effect it would have had upon the spirit of the people, of the army, and of the national guards!'

Art. 24. *An Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin.* Illustrated by Engravings, after Drawings by Geo. Petrie, Esq. To which is annexed a Plan of the City. By the Rev. J. N. Wright, A. M. 12mo. pp. 442. 10*s.* 6*d.* Boards. Baldwin and Co. 1821.

As we have had in late years so many *Guides* to places of resort at home and abroad, both important and insignificant, it may perhaps be some evidence of the neglect which our sister-island has suffered from us, in various respects, that we have not till now been supplied with a *Vade Mecum* for its metropolis. The present thick and closely printed volume may now be considered as remedying this deficiency; especially as it has the respectable sanction of its compiler's name, who declares that he has taken every pains to deserve the praise of candor, activity, and accuracy; and that 'extensive local knowledge, diligent investigation where it was required, and information derived from members of some of the most important bodies of the city,' have been concentrated to accomplish his object.

The work gives a sketch of the ancient History of Ireland; an account and geographical Description of the City of Dublin, with its Castle, Chapel, and Government; the University, and all its institutions; the Bank, and its Offices and Machinery; the Private and Country Bankers; the various Institutions and Societies; the Cathedrals, Churches, and Catholic Chapels; Friaries and Nunneries; Protestant Dissenting Chapels; Municipal Government, Police, Prisons, and Houses of Correction; Asylums, Charitable Associations, and Schools; Theatres, and other Places of Amusement; Barracks; Squares and Bridges; Law Courts and Public Offices; Hospitals, Dispensaries, &c. &c.

The great number of charitable and medical institutions shew that Dublin is as much distinguished by the benevolence and munificence of its inhabitants as, to the honor of the age, all European cities of importance are now found to be. In the account of one of these buildings, in Baggot-street, called the "House of Refuge," for young women of unquestionable character, who are seeking situations and employment, founded by Mrs. Blachford, we meet with this interesting and pleasing anecdote: — 'Mrs. H. Tighe, author of "Psyche," bestowed the purchase-money, given for that very beautiful poem, on this excellent institution, which was

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grant it him. The circumstances which took place in Piedmont a few days after were quite unlooked for by me, and could not be reckoned upon; as in the month of September preceding, having in concert with the Junta of the government sent Colonel Pisa for the purpose of sounding the dispositions of that people and their government towards the Austrians, he was assured by persons of consequence that the Piedmontese were indisposed from making any movement in our favour.'

founded

founded by her mother.' Such an act evinces that, in the mind of this accomplished lady, the beautiful virtue of charity was united to the graces of imagination; and it deserves imitation from others, whose successful pens have contributed to the affluence of their purse.

Many interesting particulars might be picked out of this volume; the *statistics* of Dublin being, as we believe and have already intimated, not very well known to the English public: but we prefer to recommend the volume itself to our readers. The plates, seventeen in number, are very neatly executed.

Art. 25. *Paramythia;* or, Mental Pastimes: being original Anecdotes, collected chiefly during a long Residence at the Court of Russia by the Author. 12mo. 6*s.* Boards. Lawler and Quick. 1821.

It appears from internal evidence that we owe this little collection to Mr. Walker, who in 1803 published a folio volume on the *Manners of the Russians*, in conjunction with Mr. Atkinson; and who now vouches for the truth of all that he relates. He passed many years at St. Petersburgh, during the reigns of the great Catherine and the mad Paul; and such of his anecdotes as refer to those personages must be deemed the most interesting, though it will scarcely be supposed that they can throw any new and material light on their characters. The author professes himself to be a lover of drollery, and some few of his stories exemplify that he is truly such, by sacrificing a little of decorum to that propensity. The anecdotes, which are called *Scraps*, are all prefaced by introductions, and for these remarks Mr. W. begs the indulgence of his readers and *critics;* an indulgence which we shall readily grant, as they often shew his turn for observation and knowlege of the world, though they also prove the truth of his own admission, that 'on the score of education' he has 'little to boast,' the language being frequently inaccurate. (See p. 21., 'horses, dogs, cattle, and animals;' p. 125., 'firemen and assistance *is* difficult to obtain,' &c. &c.)

Our readers will thank us for a few quotations:

'Such is the awe that dignified majesty impresses on the beholders, and so peculiarly eminent was it in the striking manners and deportment of her Imperial Majesty, the Empress Catherine, that even a Frenchman was overcome by it. The Count de —— was appointed ambassador by the court of Versailles to that of St. Petersburg: on the day of his audience and presentation, the Empress was seated on a splendid throne in the marble-hall, surrounded by the imperial family, the chevalier guard in silver armour, her generals, admirals, great officers of state, and of the court; foreign ministers, ladies of rank, and other distinguished characters, &c. &c. The Count de —— entered the saloon, but was so completely astonished and overawed by the magnificence of the scene, that, instead of delivering the speech he had studied, he could only kneel down at the foot of the throne, and stammer out, "*Le roi, mon maitre,— Le roi, mon maitre,*" and could absolutely get

get no farther. The Empress, pitying his confusion and distress, rose with her accustomed obliging affability, and said, "My dear Count — The King your master, feeling the most friendly disposition towards me and my empire, and wishing me all the happiness this world can bestow, has honoured you with the appointment of his ambassador so to tell me." Then stepping from the throne with the utmost grace and ease, gave him her hand to kiss, and walked out of the hall.'—

'It is no scandal to admit that the benevolent, kind, sensible, and great Catherine, had, when she was a widow, her favourites. General —— was appointed, and within a day or two after the appointment, was walking with the Empress in the hermitage. (He had, as may be supposed, his embarrassments.) On entering the billiard-room, where they meant to play, I was found unfortunately standing by the fire. The Empress, whose presence of mind never forsook her, and who was fondling a little monkey she held on her arm, shoved him off. The animal leapt from her arm upon the billiard-table, and from thence upon my shoulder. I was fortunately used to the brute, and therefore stood still, without betraying any symptoms of fear. Her Majesty, seeing that, clapt her hands together, exclaiming, "*Général, j'ai gagné.*" The General, as the reader may suppose, remained silent; and while I, with due respect, was passing round one end of the billiard-table, and they were passing round the other, "Your hundred roubles, General," said her Imperial Majesty; "I told you the English were never taken by surprise, or freightened;" and, nodding to me, added, "*Bon jour*, W——." '—

'Though the Russians had great reason to rejoice when the reign of the Emperor Paul was over, (indeed it was necessary to the well-doing of the empire,) yet much is to be said in his favour. He was an affectionate husband and father, a generous friend, and a liberal sovereign; often extremely amiable; always polite and witty; and though certainly not a handsome man, yet there was in his looks an air of wholesome health and cheerfulness, that impressed every one much in his favour. I think he could not control his errors; as there was evidently a slight approach to insanity in the organization of his mind; in fact, he was not master of himself, or, as a Scotchman would say, he had a bee in his bonnet.'—

'Extremes are dangerous. The vexatious sumptuary laws of the Emperor Paul alarmed, teazed, and perplexed every body; but the simplicity and unaffected manner of the present Emperor and his consort have also had their inconveniences, as will be manifest in the following, so difficult is it to govern.

'When the present Emperor came to the throne, and people were allowed to walk, ride, and dress rationally, and not like the old-fashioned wax-figures of the fifteenth century, her Imperial Majesty enjoyed, in common with others, this national reformation. She was walking in the summer-gardens, dressed with tasteful simplicity, and being really a beautiful, well-formed, interesting person, was noticed by an officer in the guards, who, having only seen her

her at court in a hoop-petticoat, lappets, and all the other cumbrous paraphernalia, did not know her. He was much struck with her, accosted her, and went a step too far in his behaviour and importunities. The Empress was obliged to call a court-servant to assist her escape from this enterprising knight, and, when she got to the palace, mentioned the circumstance to the Emperor. He soon discovered the offender, but contented himself with saying, next morning, on the parade, that some officer in his guards had greatly insulted a lady who was dear to him in the summer-gardens: that when he relaxed the strict sumptuary laws which lately existed, he meant his subjects should enjoy a rational liberty; but he was sorry to find it had already degenerated into licentiousness. He further added his hope that such improper conduct would never be repeated; and concluded by trusting the gentlemen around him would think him mild, when they were told it was her Imperial Majesty who was the unfortunate lady so offended.'—

'A Russian merchant, whose name at this moment I do not recollect, (nor is it important,) was extremely, even immensely, rich, yet lived in a small obscure room, with hardly any fire, furniture, or attendance, though his house was larger than many palaces; burying his money in casks in the cellar; and was so great a miser that he barely allowed himself the common necessaries of life. He placed his great security in the possession of a tremendous large and fierce dog, who used to go round his premises barking every night: the dog (as most dogs will do) died one day. His master was inconsolable; but, remaining strict to his principle of economy, would not buy another, and actually performed the faithful creature's services himself, going his rounds every evening, and barking as well and as loud as he could, in imitation of his deceased friend.'

We can certainly recommend this small volume as a cure for an occasional half hour's *ennui*, and we are inclined to *underwrite* the author's declaration that his anecdotes are all *new*, as well as *true*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

'*Hibernicus*' will find that we have not been inattentive to the circumstances of his distressed country, at this moment; and, if he will consult our last Number, he will there see a full and we believe a just representation of the evils under which Ireland is suffering, and has so long suffered.

'*A Reader*' is referred to the varying law of custom,—the "*lex et norma loquendi.*"

'*X. Y.*' is requested to draw a small draft on his stock of patience.

The APPENDIX to the last Volume of the Monthly Review was published on the 1st of June, with the Number for May.

THE MONTHLY REVIEW,

For JULY, 1822.

ART. I. *Napoleon in Exile;* or, a Voice from St. Helena. The Opinions and Reflections of Napoleon on the most important Events of his Life and Government, in his own Words. By Barry E. O'Meara, Esq. his late Surgeon. 8vo. 2 Vols. 1*l.* 8*s.* Boards. Simpkin and Marshall. 1822.

FEW books have been greater favorites with the public than Boswell's Life of Johnson; and, in spite of the occasional displeasure which it may excite by the servility of the narrator, by the trifling nature of the dialogue related, and by the gladiatorial effort at display which the "great man" is so often made to exhibit, it not only maintains its hold on the reader, but has often excited an ardent wish that we had similar records of the habits, opinions, and daily life of other great men, the sages of antiquity and the glory of past times. Certainly, this sort of conversational biography, continued with the perseverance and minuteness which Mr. Boswell manifested, gives us a complete insight into the character of the person who is the object of contemplation, makes us (as it were) his actual companions, and not only renders us acquainted with all that he says and does, but imparts to it the freshness and interest of the passing moment, and impresses the reader as much as if he were the actual auditor or spectator.

Mr. O'Meara appears in the present volumes almost a Boswell of biography, as far as he goes; and, if his hero be a very different character from the sage of Bolt Court, and created as many enemies as the latter excited admirers, still he also was not only an indisputably eminent man, but played a part on the great theatre of life much exceeding that of Johnson in activity, in splendor, and in influence over the fortunes of his contemporaries. In various respects, indeed, the comparison of the two biographies — of the Goliath of Literature and the Goliath of Empires — will not maintain itself; and most particularly in this: — that Boswell portrays his *sitter* through a large portion of his career, and always in the calm relations of literary and private life: while Mr.

O'Meara's picture represents only a stormy setting sun, declining amid clouds, after a day of feverish effulgence, and sinking almost unnoticed into the obscurity of dreary night.

The small period of time, therefore, which this work embraces, the peculiar circumstances in which the object of it was placed during that interval, and the tinge which those circumstances must give to his mind, prevent these details from having that universality of personal bearing, that generality of attraction, or that placidity of event, which belong to Boswell's memoranda. For the same reasons, moreover, they cannot serve as so complete a delineation of the character who is brought before us; and the peculiar situation of that individual himself prevents him from being invested with the tranquillity of mind, and the freedom from suspicion, which belong to the representation of Samuel Johnson. His conversations, therefore, his opinions, his assertions, and his complaints, must be received with "grains of allowance;" the proportion of which will depend on the judgment of his character that each reader of the book may have formed. It is yet in vain to expect an impartial and adequate estimate of such a man as Napoleon Bonaparte: but it *is* time for every reflecting, discerning, and candid mind, to divest itself of much of the acrimonious feeling, and wholesale condemnation, that he excited during his plenary possession of that mixed and transient gift, — earthly power. *We* have had frequent opportunities of expressing our ideas respecting him and his actions, we hope with the calmness, the information, and the discrimination which ought to belong to us; and we do *not* know that those ideas are altered by a perusal of this work: but some points of character, some motives of action, and some acts themselves, may be placed by it in a different light to the general eye, as far as, (according to our preceding remark,) under all the circumstances, they can even now be viewed without distrust. The chief purpose of utility, perhaps, to which the volumes will conduce, is the illustration of events, and of *other* characters, to which the conversations of Napoleon with the writer referred; and this subserviency to the ends of history must still be limited by the considerations already stated.

With regard to the authenticity of these details, we see no ground for doubt. As to the visitations inflicted on the author, in consequence of his attendance on Bonaparte, and his undeniable partiality towards him, it is not a point which we shall now discuss, nor is it new to the general reader; Mr. O'Meara having addressed the public in various ways, and at several times, on this subject; and in 1819 having printed

printed a small octavo volume, intitled "An Exposition of some of the Transactions that have taken Place at St. Helena," &c. Of that work many parts appear also in the volumes before us, excepting the conversations of Napoleon: none of which there occur. Even as to the more important question respecting the treatment experienced by Napoleon himself, from the British officers who ruled over him at St. Helena, we are tempted to waive the discussion, for more than one reason. In the first place, it is not a topic of literary examination, adapted to the office and functions of literary censors: but, still more, it is a topic on which we consider it as impossible for us to arrive at the exact truth, if we debate it to the utmost extension. Constantly and obtrusively as the imperfections of our common nature are before us, we are all too apt to forget them in judging of others; and rarely as we can find in the case of two parties quarrelling that either is totally free from blame, we are too ready to espouse one side and oppose the other without restriction or allowance. Even if at the commencement of a quarrel the *right* should be wholly on one side, and the behaviour of the supporter of it be blameless, this state of things is not likely to continue; for the influence of persevering opposition and irritation must produce a corresponding effect on every human mind.

We shall speak only in general terms, therefore, of one great and pervading feature of these volumes: the complaints of Napoleon concerning the conduct manifested towards him by Sir Hudson Lowe, the British governor of St. Helena, and his sentiments respecting that officer. According to the representations of Mr. O'Meara, a dislike of Sir Hudson was conceived by Napoleon almost immediately on seeing him, and the rigor of the governor's system was perfectly adequate to maintain and to augment such a feeling. Certainly, no reserve or moderation on the part of Napoleon is observed in expressing it, either directly or indirectly, orally or by written communication; and, on the other hand, the hostile feeling of the governor towards his prisoner, as well as the intemperate language used by him, is rendered amply manifest in several of the author's statements. (See, for instance, vol. i. pages 118. 366. 384, &c. &c.) In one place, (i. 507.) Sir Hudson is oddly made to excite a singular inference, as a matter of argument, by observing, on the favorable opinion of the late Lord Cornwallis which Bonaparte had declared, that "Lord Cornwallis was too honest a man to deal with him." — Seriously speaking, however, there can be no doubt that Sir Hudson was deemed by our government a fit man "to deal with him," and we apprehend that they have expressed no dissatisfaction at their choice or at his conduct. It cannot be

denied that Sir Hudson Lowe had a difficult part to act: that so had Napoleon, in a different respect; and that so had Mr. O'Meara, in *his* situation. Faults, therefore, were probably committed by all; and neither have we the means nor is it our duty to hold the scales, and declare the exact balance between their merits and their demerits. It will not, we imagine, be urged that Sir Hudson erred on the score of consideration or lenity, accommodation or confidence; — he did not say or feel,

—— "*Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni;*" —

he saw before him no great man in adversity, whose talents and achievements demanded respect, whose misfortunes excited sympathy, whose faults were in a course of expiation, and whose manners conciliated regard, — but a once formidable enemy, now completely within his power, whom it was unavoidable for him to behold with indignation, whom it was his feeling to visit with retributive mortification, and whom it was his duty to guard from escape with unremitting care and insurmountable obstacles. — As to Mr. O'Meara, that he did not always act prudently we may judge from his own relation in many instances, and particularly in one, vol. ii. p. 385., where we find him communicating to Napoleon 'the treatment he had experienced the day before at Plantation House,' from the governor, which could only serve to add to the ill will and ill humour of the Ex-Emperor. Still we conceive that the usage of "the Doctor" was unjustifiably harsh. — Of Bonaparte's own murmurs, perhaps the best defence is that he did not arraign the measures of Sir George Cockburne, his first governor, but spoke of him with commendation, though he said that he regarded him as a stern and even imperious superintendant.

We shall now dismiss this ungrateful subject, and attend to the information which we here obtain relative to Napoleon's opinions of various men, and transactions, that have been conspicuous in the progress of the late eventful years.

In perusing these volumes, we could not but be surprized to observe how numerous were the topics on which, *more Boswelliano*, the author sought for information from his Ex-Imperial patient. Indeed, if Mr. O'Meara very willingly and in this case literally *lent an ear* to Napoleon, which was frequently pulled by him, *more Bonaparteiano*, the latter appears to have been quite as well disposed to talk as the Doctor was to listen and to *record*. We are told, too, (vol. i. p. 430.) that Bonaparte, when speaking of Mr. Warden's publication about him *, remarked to Mr. O'Meara, that

* "Letters from H. M. Ship Northumberland." See Review, vol. lxxxi. p. 418.

when

when he (Mr. O'M.) went to England *he* also would probably make a book about him: adding, 'You certainly have a better right to publish about me than Warden, and you can say that you have heard me say many things, and have had long conversations with me. You would gain a great deal of money, and every body would believe you. Truly, no French physician has ever been so much about me as you have been. I saw them only for a few minutes.' — Of Mr. Warden's work he said that it was incorrect in many respects, apparently owing to that gentleman not having accurately understood the French language, in which they conversed; and he proceeded to point out several instances of misconception.

Many important topics occur in this narrative to which we should be disposed to advert, but that we find them all introduced in Mr. Warden's Letters, and in our account of that publication; and that in general the statements agree so essentially, that it would be repetition to extract them. It should be added, however, that this circumstance tends much to support the assertions of Napoleon on the points in question; such as the death of Captain Wright, the execution of the Duke d'Enghien, the shooting of the Turkish prisoners in Egypt, Bonaparte's profession of Mohammedanism, the poisoning of the sick French troops at Jaffa, the threatened invasion of England, the battle of Waterloo, on suicide, &c.

On the subject of his own career, Napoleon is stated to have made and repeated some strong and extraordinary assertions:

'"Nothing has been more simple than my elevation. It was not the result of intrigue or crime. It was owing to the peculiar circumstances of the times, and because I fought successfully against the enemies of my country. What is most extraordinary, and I believe unparalleled in history, is, that I rose from being a private person to the astonishing height of power I possessed, without having committed a single crime to obtain it. If I were on my death-bed, I could make the same declaration." —

'While walking about the room, he asked, "What sort of a man did you take me to be, before you became my surgeon? What did you think of my character, and what I was capable of? Give me your real opinion frankly." I replied, I thought you to be a man, whose stupendous talents were only to be equalled by your measureless ambition, and although I did not give credit to one-tenth part of the libels which I had read against you, still, I believed, that you would not hesitate to commit a crime, when you found it to be necessary, or thought it might be useful to you. "This is just the answer that I expected," replied Napoleon, "and is perhaps the opinion of Lord Holland, and even of numbers of the French. I have risen to too great a pitch of human glory and elevation not to have excited the envy and jealousy of mankind. They will say, 'It is true that he has raised himself to

the highest pinnacle of glory, *mais pour y arriver, il commit beaucoup de crimes,* (but to attain it, he has committed many crimes).' Now the fact is, that I not only never committed any crimes, but I never even thought of doing so. *J'ai toujours marché avec l'opinion de grandes masses et les évènemens,* (I have always gone with the opinion of great masses, and with events). I have always made *peu de cas* of the opinion of individuals, of that of the public a great deal; of what use, then, would crime have been to me? I am too much a fatalist, and have always despised mankind too much, to have had recourse to crime to frustrate their attempts. *J'ai marché toujours avec l'opinion de cinq ou six millions d'hommes,* (I have always marched with the opinion of five or six millions of men); of what use, then, would crime have been to me?

'"In spite of all the libels," continued he, "I have no fear whatever about my fame. Posterity will do me justice. The truth will be known, and the good which I have done, with the faults which I have committed, will be compared. I am not uneasy for the result. Had I succeeded, I should have died with the reputation of the greatest man that ever existed. As it is, although I have failed, I shall be considered as an extraordinary man: my elevation was unparalleled, *because* unaccompanied by crime. I have fought fifty pitched battles, almost all of which I have gained. I have framed and carried into effect a code of laws, that will bear my name to the most distant posterity. From nothing I raised myself to be the most powerful monarch in the world. Europe was at my feet. My ambition was great, I admit, but it was of a cold nature, (*d'une nature froide,*) and caused *par les évènemens,* (by events,) and the opinion of great bodies. I have always been of opinion, that the sovereignty lay in the people. In fact, the Imperial government was a kind of republic. Called to the head of it by the voice of the nation, my maxim was *la carrière ouverte aux talens,* (the career open to talents,) without distinction of birth or fortune, and this system of equality is the reason that your oligarchy hate me so much."'

At p. 191. vol. i. is an interesting conversation on the Russian campaign, which, however, gives no material new information. Napoleon ascribed his failure to the extreme and premature cold, and to the burning of Moscow; of which latter event he concluded by saying, "It was the spectacle of a sea and billows of fire, a sky and clouds of flame; mountains of red rolling flames, like immense waves of the sea, alternately bursting forth and elevating themselves to skies of fire, and then sinking into the ocean of flame below. Oh, it was the most grand, the most sublime, and the most terrific sight the world ever beheld!!"

It has sometimes been doubted whether Napoleon ever received any serious wound, but we find him informing Mr. O'Meara that he had once been severely hurt, viz. by a bayonet, above the left knee, which at one time threatened to require ampu-

amputation; that he had been slightly hurt many times; and that eighteen or nineteen horses had been shot under him.

On several occasions, the Ex-Emperor volunteered his opinions respecting England, both in its external and its internal relations. It will not surprize our readers to learn that, in order to liquidate the national debt, he said, were he 'at the head of affairs,' he would reduce excessively the Church-revenues. — Respecting the Catholics, he observed:

'"If you emancipated the Catholics, they would readily pay an immense sum towards liquidating the nation's debt. I cannot conceive why your ministers have not emancipated them. At the time that all nations are emerging from illiberality and intolerance, you retain your disgraceful laws, which are only worthy of two or three centuries back. When the Catholic question was first seriously agitated, I would have given fifty millions to be assured that it would not be granted; for it would have entirely ruined my projects upon Ireland; as the Catholics, if you emancipated them, would become as loyal subjects as the Protestants. I would," continued he, "impose a tax of fifty per cent. upon absentees, and perhaps diminish the interest upon the debt."

'I made some observations upon the intolerance which had been manifested on some occasions by the Catholics.

'"The inability to rise above a certain rank, and to be members of parliament, and other persecutions once removed from your Catholic brethren," replied he, "you will find that they will be no longer intolerant or fanatical. Fanaticism is always the child of persecution. That intolerance which you complain of, is also the result of your oppressive laws. Remove them once, and put them on a similar footing with the Protestants, and in a few years you will find the spirit of intolerance disappear. Do as I did in France with the Protestants."'

He frequently asserted his friendly intentions with regard to England, and declared that after the treaty of Amiens he would have made a good peace with us; that he was *always* ready to conclude a peace on terms equally advantageous to both parties: but that our ministers always refused to make one on equal terms. — His opinion of the state of England since the cessation of war was unfavourable in all respects.

'"It appears to me to be clearly the intention of your ministers to subject England to a military yoke, to put down by degrees the liberty which prevails there, and to render their own power unlimited. All those honours conferred upon the military, and the tenor of several other steps lately adopted, are only so many preliminaries towards it. I can discern their object. Assistance, if necessary, will probably be rendered by the other sovereigns of Europe, who are jealous, and cannot bear the idea that England should be the only free nation in Europe. They will all assist in putting you down." I observed that the English would never sub-

mit to be made a nation of slaves. He replied, " There is every appearance that the attempt will be made." '—

' " What would those Englishmen, who lived one hundred years ago, say, if they could rise from their graves, be informed of your glorious successes, cast their eyes upon England, witness her distress, and be informed, that in the treaty of peace not a single article for the benefit of England had been stipulated! that, on the contrary, you had given up conquests and commercial rights necessary to your existence. When Austria gained ten millions of inhabitants, Russia eight, Prussia ten, Holland, Bavaria, Sardinia, and every other power, obtained an increase of territory, why not England? who was the main organ of all the success. Instead of establishing a number of independent maritime states, such as Hamburg, Stralsund, Dantzic, Genoa, to serve as *entrepôts* for your manufactures, with conditions, either secret or otherwise, favourable to your commerce, you have basely given up Genoa to the King of Sardinia, and united Belgium to Holland. You have rendered yourselves hated by the Italians and Belgians, and have done irreparable injury to your trade. For, although it is a great point for you, that Belgium should be separated from France, it is a serious disadvantage to you that she should be united to Holland. Holland has no manufactories, and consequently would have become a depôt for yours, from whence a prodigious influx would be kept up in the Continent. Now, however, that Belgium has been made a part of Holland, this last will naturally prefer taking the manufactures of her subjects to those of a stranger, and all Belgium may be called a manufacturing town. Independent of this, in case of any future war with France, Holland must join the latter through fear of losing the provinces of Belgium. — You are nearly as effectually shut out from the Continent, as when I reigned and promulgated the continental system. I ask you what peace dictated by me, supposing that I had been victorious, could have been worse in its effects for England, than the one made by Lord Castlereagh, when she was triumphant? — Your meddling in continental affairs, and trying to make yourselves a great military power, instead of attending to the sea and commerce, will yet be your ruin as a nation. You were greatly offended with me for having called you a *nation of shopkeepers.* Had I meant by this, that you were a nation of cowards, you would have had reason to be displeased; even though it were ridiculous and contrary to historical facts; but no such thing was ever intended. I meant that you were a nation of merchants, and that all your great riches and your grand resources arose from commerce, which is true. What else constitutes the riches of England. It is not extent of territory, or a numerous population. It is not mines of gold, silver, or diamonds. Moreover, no man of sense ought to be ashamed of being called a shopkeeper. But your prince and your ministers appear to wish to change altogether *l'esprit* of the English, and to render you another nation; to make you ashamed of your shops and your trade, which have made you what you are, and to sigh after nobility, titles, and crosses; in fact to assimilate you

with

with the French. What other object can there be in all those cordons, crosses, and honours, which are so profusely showered. You are all nobility now, instead of the plain old Englishmen. You are ashamed of yourselves, and want to be a nation of nobility and *gentlemen*.* Nothing is to be seen or heard of now in England, but 'Sir John,' and 'My Lady.' All those things did very well with me in France, because they were conformable to the spirit of the nation, but believe me, it is contrary both to the spirit and the interest of England. Stick to your ships, your commerce, and counting-houses, and leave cordons, crosses, and cavalry uniforms to the Continent, and you will prosper. Lord Castlereagh himself was ashamed of your being called a nation of merchants, and frequently said in France, that it was a mistaken idea to suppose that England depended upon commerce, or was indebted to it for her riches; and added that it was not by any means necessary to her. How I laughed when I heard of this false pride. He betrayed his country at the peace. I do not mean to say," continued he, laying his hand over his heart, "that he did it from here, but he betrayed it by neglecting its interests. He was in fact the *commis* of the allied sovereigns. Perhaps he wanted to convince them that you were not a nation of merchants, by shewing clearly that you would not make any advantageous bargain for yourselves, by magnanimously giving up every thing, that nations might cry, 'Oh! how nobly England has behaved.' Had he attended to the interest of his own country, had he stipulated for commercial treaties, for the independence of some maritime states and towns, for certain advantages to be secured to England, to indemnify her for the waste of blood, and the enormous sacrifices she had made, why then they might have said, 'What a mercenary people, they are truly a nation of merchants; see what bargains they want to make:' and Lord Castlereagh would not have been so well received in the *drawing-rooms!*

'"Talent he may have displayed in some instances," continued the Emperor, "and great pertinacity in accomplishing my downfal; but as to knowledge of, or attention to, the interests of his own country, he has manifested neither the one nor the other. Probably for a thousand years, such another opportunity of aggrandizing England will not occur. In the position of affairs, nothing could have been refused to you." '—

'"England to recover herself must renew her commerce; in a few words, she must no longer be a continental power. She must proceed in her proper sphere, as an insular power possessing the command of the sea. You must not continue to be all *gentlemen*," said he, "as Lord Castlereagh wishes. You must return to your ships. You want old Lord Chatham for a prime minister. You require able men. My opinion is, that if something be not soon done, you will be obliged to act as I did in Holland — reduce the interest of the funds to two per cent. So well assured and

'* This he said in English, as well as the words marked with commas, which follow.'

convinced

convinced am I that there will be a bankruptcy, more or less serious, that I would not place money in the English funds. This distress of yours is one of the consequences of the holy alliance. All the continental powers will endeavour to bridle (*raffrenare*) you, and unite against you as they have done against me, when I was more powerful than all of them put together. The only way to prevent it is by placing yourselves in such a situation as to command respect, and to make them court you, instead of you courting them; which can never be the case as long as you have an army on the Continent."'

Napoleon's intention to invade India is acknowleged and explained, and he said that the Emperor Paul was engaged with him in the plan:

'My troops were to have gone to Warsaw, to be joined by the Russians and Cossacs, and to have marched from thence to the Caspian Sea, where they would have either embarked, or have proceeded by land, according to circumstances. I was beforehand with you, in sending an ambassador on to Persia to make interest there. Since that time, your ministers have been *imbéciles* enough to allow the Russians to get four provinces, which increase their territories beyond the mountains. The first year of war that you will have with the Russians, they will take India from you."

'I asked, then, if it were true that Alexander had intended to have seized upon Turkey? Napoleon answered, "All his thoughts are directed to the conquest of Turkey. We have had many discussions together about it; at first I was pleased with his proposals, because I thought it would enlighten the world to drive those brutes, the Turks, out of Europe. But when I reflected upon the consequences, and saw what a tremendous weight of power it would give to Russia, in consequence of the numbers of Greeks in the Turkish dominions, who would naturally join the Russians, I refused to consent to it, especially as Alexander wanted to get Constantinople, which I would not allow, as it would have destroyed the equilibrium of power in Europe. I reflected that France would gain Egypt, Syria, and the islands, which would have been nothing in comparison with what Russia would have obtained. I considered that the barbarians of the north were already too powerful, and probably in the course of time would overwhelm all Europe, as I now think they will. Austria already trembles; Russia and Prussia united, Austria falls, and England cannot prevent it. France under the present family is nothing, and the Austrians are so *lâches*, that they will be easily overpowered. *Una nazione a colpo di bastone.* * They will offer little resistance to the Russians, who are brave and patient. Russia is the more formidable, because she can never disarm. In Russia, once a soldier, always a soldier."'

A curious assertion is made with regard to a communication from Louis XVIII. after the battle of Marengo, of which,

'* Means a nation that may be ruled by blows.'

if

if our memory does not deceive us, we recollect to have before heard something.

'"After Marengo," continued Napoleon, "Louis wrote a letter to me, which was delivered by the Abbé Montesquieu, in which he said, that I delayed for a long time to restore him to his throne; that the happiness of France could never be complete without him; neither could the glory of the country be complete without me; that one was as necessary to it as the other; and concluded by desiring me to chuse whatever I thought proper, which would be granted under him, provided that I restored him to his throne. I sent him back a very handsome answer, in which I stated that I was extremely sorry for the misfortunes of himself, and his family; that I was ready to do every thing in my power to relieve them, and would interest myself about providing a suitable income for them, but that he might abandon the thought of ever returning to France as a sovereign, as that could not be effected without his having passed over the bodies of five hundred thousand Frenchmen.'"

If the preceding statement be doubted by some readers, perhaps the following will appear equally suspicious:

'He spoke about his having given himself up to the English, and observed, "My having given myself up to you is not so simple a matter as you imagine. Before I went to Elba, Lord Castlereagh offered me an asylum in England, and said, that I should be very well treated there, and much better off than at Elba." I said, that Lord Castlereagh was reported to have asserted, that he (Napoleon) had applied for an asylum in England, but that it was not thought proper to grant it. "The real fact," said Napoleon, "is, that he first proposed it. Before I went to Elba, Lord Castlereagh said to Caulaincourt, 'Why does Napoleon think of going to Elba? Let him come to England. He will be received in London with the greatest pleasure, and will experience the best possible treatment. He must not, however, ask permission to come, because that would take up too much time; but let him give himself up to us, without making any conditions, and he will be received with the greatest joy, and be much better than at Elba.' This," added he, "had much influence with me afterwards."'

On another occasion, he declared that, if he had finally been allowed to reside in England, he would have lived in the country, in entire privacy, under an assumed name, and have ocupied himself almost wholly with books.

It has often been remarked that Napoleon ought not to have survived his defeat at Waterloo; a point on which he several times gave his sentiments, and seemed to agree that his career should then have terminated;

'"My own opinion is, that I ought to have died at Waterloo; perhaps a little earlier. Had I died at Moscow, I should probably

bly have had the reputation of the greatest conqueror ever known. But the smiles of fortune were at an end. I experienced little but reverses afterwards; hitherto I had been unconquered. I ought to have died at Waterloo. But the misfortune is, that when a man seeks the most for death he cannot find it. Men were killed around me, before, behind, every where, but no bullet for me."'

'General Gourgaud informed me,' says Mr. O'Meara, 'that at the close of the battle of Waterloo, when the charge made by the French had failed, and the English charged in their turn, a part of the cavalry of the latter, with some *tirailleurs* intermingled with them, approached to within a hundred or a hundred and fifty toises of the spot where the Emperor was standing, with only Soult, Drouot, Bertrand, and himself. Close to them was a small French battalion drawn up in a square. Napoleon ordered Gourgaud to fire some shots from two or three field-pieces which belonged to the battalion, to drive away the cavalry, which were approaching nearer. This was put into execution, and one of those shots carried away the Marquis of Anglesea's leg. Napoleon then placed himself with the column and wanted to charge, exclaiming, "*Il faut mourir ici, il faut mourir sur le champ de bataille.*" At this time the English *tirailleurs* were firing at them, and they expected every moment to be charged. Labedoyère was galloping about like a madman, with his arms extended before him, seeking to be killed. Napoleon was prevented from throwing himself amongst the enemy by Soult, who laid hold of the bridle, exclaiming, that he would not be killed but taken prisoner; and with the aid of the others, finally succeeded in compelling him to leave the field at the time there was none other than the above-mentioned small column to oppose the Prussians, who were advancing.'

We are told that, during the war, the English smugglers were of the greatest service to Napoleon; conveying him the only information from this country that he could procure, and transferring from France large quantities of merchandise, such as silks and brandy, to the annual amount of 40 or 50 millions, — of livres, we suppose. They also brought over spies, assisted prisoners to escape from England, and offered several times to carry off to France Louis and the rest of the Bourbons, Dumouriez, Sarazin, and others: but, said Napoleon, "I despised them, and had no fear of them;" and he added that he would not consent to the stipulation of the smugglers that, if they met with any accident or interruption in bringing over the Bourbons, they might be allowed to massacre them. — We hope that we may be allowed to doubt this statement.

In the second volume, p. 287., a curious *exposé* is given of the official system of opening letters at the Post Offices in France that are written by foreign ambassadors, or are otherwise supposed to contain political intelligence; and it is stated that the same practice prevails in England.

We

We shall now open a *gallery of portraits,* to exhibit Napoleon's delineation of several conspicuous characters:

'"Moreau," said he, "was an excellent general of division, but not fit to command a large army. With a hundred thousand men, Moreau would divide his army in different positions, covering roads, and would not do more than if he had only thirty thousand. He did not know how to profit either by the number of his troops, or by their positions. Very calm and cool in the field, he was more collected and better able to command in the heat of an action than to make dispositions prior to it. —

'"Of all the generals I ever had under me, Desaix and Kleber possessed the greatest talents; especially Desaix, as Kleber only loved glory, inasmuch as it was the means of procuring him riches and pleasures, whereas Desaix loved glory for itself and despised every thing else. Desaix was wholly wrapt up in war and glory. To him riches and pleasure were valueless, nor did he give them a moment's thought. He was a little black-looking man, about an inch shorter than I am, always badly dressed, sometimes even ragged, and despising comfort or convenience. When in Egypt, I made him a present of a complete field-equipage several times, but he always lost it. Wrapt up in a cloak, Desaix threw himself under a gun, and slept as contentedly as if he were in a palace. For him luxury had no charms. Upright and honest in all his proceedings, he was called by the Arabs, *The just Sultan.* He was intended by nature for a great general. Kleber and Desaix were a loss irreparable to France. Had Kleber lived, your army in Egypt would have perished."' —

'I asked him,' says the author, 'if it were true that Desaix had, a little before his death, sent a message of the following purport to him. "Tell the First Consul, that I regret dying before I have done sufficient to make my name known to posterity." Napoleon replied, "It was true," and accompanied it with some warm eulogiums on Desaix.' —

'"Lasnes, when I first took him by the hand, was an *ignorantaccio.* His education had been much neglected. However, he improved greatly; and to judge from the astonishing progress he made, he would have been a general of the first class. He had great experience in war. He had been in fifty-four pitched battles, and in three hundred combats of different kinds. He was a man of uncommon bravery; cool in the midst of fire; and possessed of a clear, penetrating eye, ready to take advantage of any opportunity which might present itself. —

'"Massena," said he, "was a man of superior talent. He generally, however, made bad dispositions previous to a battle; and it was not until the dead began to fall about him that he began to act with that judgment which he ought to have displayed before. In the midst of the dying and the dead, of balls sweeping away those who encircled him, then Massena was himself; gave his orders, and made his dispositions with the greatest *sang froid* and judgment. This is, *la vera nobiltà di sangue.** It was truly said

'* True nobleness of blood.'

of

of Massena, that he never began to act with judgment until the battle was going against him. He was, however, *un voleur.* He went halves along with the contractors and commissaries of the army.—'

'"Murat will not be pitied because he was a traitor. He never mentioned to me that he was determined to defend his kingdom; neither had I ever told him that my intentions were to unite the kingdoms of Italy and Naples, take them from him, and make him constable of the empire. I certainly made an instrument of him, to answer grand projects that I had in view for Italy, and intended, as I told you before, to have dispossessed Murat of the crown of Naples; but the time was not come; and besides, I would have given him a suitable indemnification. His letter to Macirone was ridiculous, and his enterprize that of a madman. What reason had he to complain of the Emperor of Austria, who had behaved generously, and offered him an asylum, wherever he pleased, in his dominions, subject to no other restriction than that of not quitting it without permission; which was very necessary. In the actual state of things, what more, in God's name, could he desire. I, myself, never should have expected more in England. It was a generous act on the part of the Emperor of Austria, and a return of good for evil, as Murat had endeavoured to deprive him of Italy; had published proclamations exciting insurrection amongst the Italians; attacked the Emperor's troops like a blockhead without reason; and like a madman engaged without judgment in an expedition without a plan, and so badly arranged, that he never had been able to unite even his own guard."'—

'I asked his opinion of the Emperor Alexander, "*C'est un homme extrêmement faux. Un Grec du bas empire,*" replied Napoleon. "He is the only one of the three * who has any talent. He is plausible, a great dissimulator, very ambitious, and a man who studies to make himself popular. It is his foible to believe himself skilled in the art of war, and he likes nothing so well as to be complimented upon it, though every thing that originated with himself relative to military operations was ill-judged and absurd. At Tilsit, Alexander and the King of Prussia used frequently to occupy themselves in contriving dresses for dragoons; debating upon what button the crosses of the orders ought to be hung, and such other fooleries. They fancied themselves on an equality with the best generals in Europe, because they knew how many rows of buttons there were upon a dragoon's jacket. I could scarcely keep from laughing sometimes, when I heard them discussing these *coglionerie* with as much gravity and earnestness as if they were planning an impending action between two hundred thousand men. However, I encouraged them in their arguments, as I saw it was their weak point. We rode out every day together. The King of Prussia was *un bête, et nous a tellement ennuyé,* that Alexander and myself frequently galloped away in order to get rid of him."'—

'* Alexander, Francis, and the King of Prussia.'

'I asked

'I asked him if he had ever said something of the following tenor relative to Metternich: "One or two lies are sometimes necessary, but Metternich is all lies. Nothing but lies, lies, lies, from him?" Napoleon laughed and said, "*C'est vrai.* He is composed of nothing but lies and intrigues." I asked if he were not a man of great talent? "Not at all," replied he, "*è bugiardo ed intriguante, intrigante e bugiardo.** That is the sum total of his character.

'"Lord Whitworth," continued Napoleon, "in that famous interview which he had with me, during which I was by no means violent, said on leaving the room, that he was well satisfied with me, and contented with the manner in which I had treated him, and hoped that all would go on well. This he said to some of the ambassadors of the other powers. A few days afterwards, when the English newspapers arrived with his account of the interview, stating that I had been in such a rage, it excited the astonishment of every body; especially of those ambassadors, who remonstrated with him and said, 'My Lord, how can this account be correct. You know that you allowed to us that you were well contented and satisfied with your reception, and stated your opinion that all would go on well.' He did not know what to answer, and said, 'But this account is also true.'"

'I asked him his opinion of Lord Whitworth. "*Un homme habile, un intrigant,*" said he, "as far as I could observe him. A man of address, *un bel homme.* Your ministers had no reason to complain of him, for he answered their purposes well. The account which was published by your ministers of his interview with me was *plein de faussetés.* No violence of manner or impropriety of language was used by me."'

A great variety of matter yet remains unnoticed in these volumes, which it would be interesting to specify or to quote: but it is time for us to close both the work and this article. We have abstained from introducing any passages that relate to the personal conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe and his officers, and the invectives of Napoleon against them; and indeed it has frequently struck us with surprize that Mr. O'Meara has so unreservedly inserted them, though his own hard usage might stimulate him to take such freedoms with those by whom he has been made a sufferer. Whether any notice will be taken of his statements, time will shew.

A small engraving of Napoleon, from a cameo, is prefixed to vol. i.; and a larger portrait, from a medal, is given in vol. ii. The latter appears to us the best likeness, according to all others that we have seen.

'* He is a liar and an intriguer — an intriguer and a liar.'

ART. II. *Malay Annals:* translated from the Malay Language, by the late Dr. John Leyden. With an Introduction, by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F. R. S., &c. 8vo. pp. 361. 10*s*. 6*d*. Boards. Longman and Co. 1821.

WE have already spoken with deserved commendation of Dr. Leyden, and the products of his unwearied diligence. He was endued, as a poet, with a chaste if not a powerful fancy; and the few years which he spent in India were dedicated perhaps to a somewhat diffusive, but on the whole a successful study of its various dialects. We have indeed heard, though possibly not on indisputable authority, that his promptitude in the acquisition of languages rendered him too inattentive to their elements, and that he himself was too prone to over-rate the extent of his own acquirements: but, be this as it may, he had mastered the parent tongue, the Sanskrit; and the others which were connected with it by affinity, descent, or analogy, became from habitual attention almost familiar to him.

Among the MSS. left by this indefatigable student, were the Malay Annals now published by Sir Thomas Raffles; the fruit of a residence in the eastern archipelago in the year 1805, before those interesting islands were occupied by the British authorities. Since that time, the public attention has been so much directed to them, and so much light has been thrown on the nature and resources of the Malayan archipelago, with the extent, character, and pursuits of its inhabitants, that a large portion of the reading community in Great Britain has begun to feel no slight share of interest in details respecting them.

Many of our readers, however, may not object to some farther information concerning this almost unexplored region; and we shall therefore make no apology for supplying them with a few general facts, derived from our own knowlege, and, may we be allowed to add, from our own experience? It is an interesting subdivision of the globe; and the works of Stavorinus and Valentyn in former days, with the more recent narratives of Marsden, Sir George Staunton, M. Tombe, and the French traveller Leschenault, not to mention Drake in Purchas's and Dampier in Harris's collection, may not be generally accessible.

More than a century before the Dutch name was known in India, the Portuguese had established themselves in the East. They marched uninterruptedly to wealth and dominion, and Lisbon was the great emporium for Indian commodities: but they were transient and short-lived acquisitions. Indolence, the child of luxury, had so enervated the successors of Vasco de

de Gama, that they became a corrupt and enervated race; — a memorable lesson to mankind, that the acquisitions of industry and valor are to be *re*tained only by the virtues which first *ob*tained them. In the mean while, the United Provinces, by a combination of favorable circumstances, had risen to a considerable rank among the western states; and, about the end of the sixteenth century, they had begun to extend their mercantile enterprizes to the Indian seas. Hence arose the celebrated Dutch East India Company. In point of fact, that company was nursed into greatness by English protection; and with a gratitude proverbially Dutch, in return for that protection, it set on foot expedients the most ruinous to our mercantile establishments, expelled our traders, and carried on intrigues with the natives to cripple and destroy our commerce.

The avarice of the Portuguese outlived their power: but the puny posterity of their hardy adventurers made little or no resistance to preserve their settlements from the Dutch. That power was first planted in Java in 1595, about one hundred and eighty years after the establishment of Mohammedanism, and eighty-four years after that of the Portuguese. During the twenty years which elapsed between their arrival and the foundation of Batavia, Java underwent a considerable revolution; and Cheribon, Bantam, and Jacatra lost their independence, being swallowed up by an ambitious family, (Mataram,) who over-ran the best portion of the island. The stupid and ignorant traders of the sixteenth century, however, had no views beyond the profit of the day. They considered commerce as a game in which the cunning and intelligence of the one party were opposed to the simplicity and weakness of the other; and, finding the advantage not on a level with the calculations of their avarice, fraud and dexterity not being always successful purveyors, they profited by these internal dissensions, and summoned force and cruelty to their aid.

Such were the auspices under which the Dutch intercourse began with Java, and the superstructure corresponded to the foundations. It lasted two centuries: but, during this period of a remorseless covetousness on one side, and a fearful distrust on the other, on the part of the Javanese arose a rooted hatred of every thing European; and that interesting people, whom an intercourse with milder and more humane conquerors might have disciplined to the arts and religion of Europe, sullenly rejected every invention of life, and every institution of society, by which their moral and social condition might have been improved. In consequence, at its cap-

ture by the British arms in 1810, Java was with respect to civilization just as it was when its connection with the Dutch began two hundred years before. It is a hateful subject! — The island was unfortunately restored to the Dutch at the peace of 1814; and we will not revive the question as to the policy or good faith of the measure. Yet how can we forbear to imagine to ourselves the improvement of a mild and docile nation, during the comparatively short space that had intervened under the mild and humane policy of a British government; which, instead of holding its ascendancy by the right of conquest, or the authority of force, has universally built it on the basis of mutual advantage and pacific intercourse. We call to our memory with sorrow the auguries with which we hailed the conquest, when we exclaimed, in the language of the poet,

> "*Et jam non telum, sed visú nobilis arbor*
> *Non expectatas dabit anhelantibus umbras.*"

At this period, Sir Stamford Raffles, who has been indefatigable in the study of the languages and customs of Java and the rest of the Archipelago, was the resident at Batavia. No man is better acquainted with all that pertains to these islands; and we therefore present to our readers a part of his preliminary essay to this volume, in which a much larger portion of good sense and philosophy is to be found than in all the lucubrations of other diplomatists put together.

'From the period at which Europeans first visited these islands, their civil history may be summed up in few words; it is included in that of their commerce. The extensive trade of these islands had long collected at certain natural and advantageous emporia; of these Bautain, Achau, Malacca, and Macasser, were the principal. The valour of Portugal broke the power of the native states, and left them exposed to the more selfish policy of their successors. The Dutch had no sooner established their capital at Batavia, than, not satisfied with transferring to it the emporium of Bautan, they conceived the idea of making it the sole and only depôt of the commerce of the Archipelago. Had this object been combined with a liberal policy, and had the local circumstances of Batavia not obstructed it, the effect might have been different, and, instead of the ruin and desolation which ensued throughout a large portion of these islands, they might have advanced in civilization, while they contributed to raise the prosperity and support the ascendancy of the Dutch metropolis. But when we advert to the greedy policy which swallowed up the resources of this extensive Archipelago in a narrow and rigid monopoly; and that, instead of leaving trade to accumulate, as it had previously done at the natural emporia, it was forced, by means of arbitrary and restrictive regulations, into one which, inde-

independent of other disadvantages, soon proved the grave of the majority of those who were obliged to resort to it, we shall find the cause which made it as ruinous to the Dutch as to the people. By attempting too much, they lost what, under other circumstances, might have been turned to advantage, and the native states, deprived of their fair share of commerce, abandoned all attempts, and sunk into the comparative insignificance in which they were found at the period when our traders began to navigate those seas from Madras and Bengal. The destruction of the native trade of the Archipelago by this withering policy may be considered as the origin of many of the evils, and of all the piracies, of which we now complain. A maritime and commercial people, suddenly deprived of all honest employment, or the means of respectable subsistence, either sunk into apathy and indolence, or expended their natural energies in piratical attempts to recover, by force and plunder, what they had been deprived of by policy and fraud. In this state of decay, they continued to degenerate, till the appearance of the British traders revived their suppressed and nearly extinguished energies, and awoke to new life the commerce and enterprise of this interesting portion of the globe. The decline and corruption of the Dutch power in the East offered little obstruction; as our intercourse increased, their establishments were withdrawn, and long before the conquest of Java, and, indeed, before the last war, the English had already possessed themselves of the largest portion of this trade.

'When we consider the extent of this unparalleled Archipelago; the vanity and peculiar character of its people; the infinity of its resources; its contiguity to China and Japan, the most populous regions of the earth; and the extraordinary facilities it affords to commerce, from the smoothness of its seas, the number and excellence of its harbours, and the regularity of its monsoons; it would be vain to assign limits, or to say how far and wide the tide of commerce might not have flowed, or how great the progress of civilization might not have been, had they been allowed to pursue their free and uninterrupted course, protected and encouraged by a more enlightened and liberal government. Had the commerce been properly conducted, the advantages must have been reciprocal; if it enriched the one party, it must have raised the other in the scale of civilization; by creating new wants, it must have opened new sources of enjoyment, encouraged industry and emulation.

'The prejudice which has so long existed against the Malays is fast subsiding. Among the Malay states, we shall find none of the obstacles which exist among the more civilized people of India to the reception of new customs and ideas. Of the extensive and varied population inhabiting the Eastern Archipelago, and the continent adjacent, the gradations of civilization are wide, from the rude untutored Harafora, to the comparatively civilized Javan and Siamese; but the absence of inveterate prejudice, and a spirit of enterprise and freedom, distinguish the whole. In the interior of the larger islands, the population is almost exclusively

devoted to agriculture; but, on the coasts, the adventurous character of the Bugguese, and the speculative industry of the Chinese, have given a stimulus and direction to the energies of the maritime and commercial states. Establishments are formed on each of the principal rivers; and while the less civilized inhabitant of the country is engaged in collecting its valuable raw products, in traversing the woods, and sweeping the shores, these native merchants become the carriers to the more distant markets. The natural demands and necessities which must exist in so extensive an Archipelago, in which the employment and condition of the inhabitants are so various, give rise to a constant intercourse between them, and consequently to an extensive native trade, which, from its nature, must be beyond the reach of fiscal regulation.

'The whole of this population, at least, on the Malay peninsula, and throughout the islands, have imbibed a taste for Indian and European manufactures, and the demand is only limited by their means. Artificial impediments may, for a time, have checked these means; but in countries where, independently of the cultivation of the soil, the treasures of the mines seem inexhaustible, and the raw produce of its forests has in all ages been in equal demand, it is not easy to fix limits to the extension of these means. These people have not undergone the same artificial moulding; they are fresher from the hand of nature, and the absence of bigotry and inveterate prejudice leaves them much more open to receive new impressions, and adopt new examples. Whatever may have been their original religion, its character does not appear to have been deeply imprinted, and they have carried the same moderate and temperate spirit into their new faith. They have no knowledge of the odious distinction of castes, but mingle indiscriminately in all society. With a high reverence for ancestry, and nobility of descent, they are more influenced by, and quicker discerners of superiority of individual talent, than is usual among people not far advanced in civilization. They are addicted to commerce, which has already given them a taste for luxuries, and this propensity they indulge to the utmost of their means. Among a people so unsophisticated, and so free from prejudices, it is obvious that a greater scope is given to the influence of example; that, in proportion as their intercourse with Europeans encreases, and a free commerce adds to their resources, along with the wants which will be created, and the luxuries supplied, the humanizing arts of life will also find their way, and we may anticipate a much more rapid improvement, than in nations who, having once arrived at a high point of civilization, and retrograded in the scale, are now hardened by the recollection of what they once were, are brought up in a contempt for every thing beyond their own narrow circle, and who have, for centuries, bent under the double load of foreign tyranny and priestly intolerance. When these striking and important differences are taken into the account, we may be permitted to indulge more sanguine expectations of improvement among the tribes of the eastern isles. We may look forward to an early abolition of piracy and illicit traffic, when the seas shall be open

open to the free current of commerce. Restriction and oppression have too often converted their shores to scenes of rapine and violence; but an opposite policy and more enlightened principles may, ere long, subdue and remove the evil. In the spirit of personal independence which distinguishes these people, their high sense of honour, and the habits of reasoning and reflection to which they are accustomed from their infancy, are to be found the rudiments of improvement, and the basis on which a better order of society may be established.

'Such were the opinions entertained by Leyden, previous to the conquest of Java; and the peculiar interest which these people excite, cannot, perhaps, be better illustrated than by the general feeling which exists towards them, on the part of every Englishman who has since been among them, and become more intimately acquainted with their character: notwithstanding their piracies, and the vices usually attributed to them in their present state, there is something in the Malayan character which is congenial to British minds, and which leaves an impression, very opposite to that which a much longer intercourse has given of the more subdued and cultivated natives of Hindostan. Retaining much of that boldness which marks the Tartar stock, from whence they are supposed to have sprung, they have acquired a softness, not less remarkable in their manners, than in their language. Few people attend more to the courtesies of society. Among many of them, traces of a higher state of civilization are obvious; and where opportunity has been afforded, even in our own times, they have been found capable of receiving a high state of intellectual improvement.'

Having given this extract from the introduction, we have exhausted the most valuable portion of the volume: for the Malay Annals themselves, on which Dr. Leyden expended so many laborious vigils, will probably be considered as much heavier than the worst nonsense that has ever issued from the press. To prove our assertion, and to shew that we do not deal in gratuitous criticism on subjects with which we profess ourselves to be somewhat acquainted, we will finish our article by a few specimens from the commencement of these documents:

'It happened on a time that Raja Secander, the son of Raja Darab of Rum, of the race of Makaduniah, the name of whose empire was Zulkarneini, wished to see the rising of the sun; and with this view he reached the confines of the land of Hind. There was a raja in Hindostan, named Raja Kida Hindi, who was very powerful, and whose empire extended over the half of Hindostan, and immediately on the approach of Raja Secander, he sent his prime minister to collect his forces, and marched out to meet him. The armies engaged, and a fine battle ensued, as is recorded fully in the history of Raja Secander. In fine, Raja Kida Hindi was defeated and taken prisoner, and embraced the true faith, according to the law of the prophet Ibrahim, the friend

of God; after which he was sent back to his own country. This Raja Kida Hindi had a daughter extremely beautiful and handsome, whose face glittered and shone like the sun, and whose understanding and qualities were equally remarkable, and she was named Shaher-ul Beriah. After sending his head minister, Perdana Mantri, to consult with the prophet Khizei, who was the minister of Raja Secander, he married his daughter to Raja Secander, who agreed to pay as her dowry 300,000 denars of gold, and carried her with him on his visit to the rising sun, after tarrying ten days in honour of the ceremony. On his return, however, her father requested her to remain some time with him, to which Raja Secander agreed, and took his departure.

'It is stated by the relater of this story, that the Princess Shaherul Beriah, the daughter of Raja Kida Hindi, became pregnant by Raja Secander, but Raja Secander was unacquainted with this circumstance, nor was the princess acquainted with it herself, till a month after her return to her father. She at last informed her father that a cessation of her courses had taken place for two months, at which he was greatly delighted, considering that her pregnancy was by Raja Secander, and therefore treated her with all requisite attention. At the expiration of the months, the princess was safely delivered of a son, whom Raja Kida Hindi named Araston Shah, and who in every respect was the perfect picture of his father Raja Secander Zulkarneini. Raja Araston Shah married the daughter of the raja of Turkestan, by whom he had a son named Raja Aftas.

'After the space of forty-five years, Raja Secander returned to Makedonia, and Raja Kida Hindi died, and left as his successor on the throne Raja Araston Shah, who reigned 350 years, and then died. He was succeeded on the throne by his son Raja Aftas, who reigned 120 years, and then died. He was succeeded by Ascayinat, who reigned three years, and died. He was succeeded by Casidas, who reigned twelve years, and died. He was succeeded by Amatubusu, who reigned thirteen years. He was succeeded by Raja Zamzeyus, who reigned seven years, and died. He was succeeded by Kharus Cainat, who reigned thirty years, and died. He was succeeded by Raja Arhat Sacayinat. After his death, he was succeeded by Raja Cudarzuguhan the son of Raja Amatubusu. After him reigned Raja Nicabus, who reigned forty years, and died. After him reigned Raja Ardasir Migan, who married the daughter of Raja Nashirwan Adel, sovereign of the east and west, by whom he had a son, named Raja Derma Unus. After him succeeded on the throne his grandson Tarsi Bardaras, the son of Raja Zamrut, who was the son of Shah Tarsi Narsi, who was the son of Raja Derma Unus, who was the son of Ardasir Babegan, who was the son of Raja Cuduri Gudurz Zuguhan, who was the son of Raja Amatubusu, who was the son of Raja Sabur, who was the son of Raja Aftas, who was the son of Raja Araston Shah, who was the son of Secander Zulkarneini.

'Raja Narsi Barderas married the daughter of Raja Salan, the raja of Amdan Nayara, who, it is asserted by some, was the grandson of Raja Nashirwan Adel, the son of Raja Kobad Shah Shahriar,

riar, who was raja of the east and west. This Raja Sulan was the mightiest prince of the lands of Hind and Sind, and of all the rajas under the wind (*i. e.* towards the west, the wind being supposed to rise with the sun). By the princess his daughter, Raja Narsi had three sons; 1. Raja Heiran, who reigned in the country of Hindostan. 2. Raja Suran, whom Raja Sulan took and installed in his own place. 3. Raja Panden, who reigned in Turkestan. After a short time Raja Sulan died, and his grandson Raja Suran reigned in his place in Amdan Nagara, with still greater authority than his predecessor, and all the rajas of the east and west acknowledged his allegiance, excepting the land of China, which was not subject to him. Then Raja Suran Padshah formed the design of subjugating China, and for this purpose his men at arms, and the rajas dependent on him, assembled from every quarter with their hosts, to the number of one thousand and two lacs. With this prodigious host, he advanced against China, and in his course, the forests were converted into open plains; the earth shook, and the hills moved; the lofty grounds became level, and the rocks flew off in shivers, and the large rivers were dried up to the mud. Two months they marched on without delay, and the darkest night was illuminated by the light of their armour like the lustre of the full moon; and the noise of the thunder could not be heard for the loud noise of the champions and warriors, mixed with the cries of horses and elephants. Every country which Raja Suran approached, he subdued and reduced under his subjection, till at last he approached the country of Gangga Nagara, the raja of which was named Ganggi Shah Juana, which city is situated on a hill of very steep approach in front, but of easy access in the rear. Its fort was situated on the banks of the river Dinding, in the vicinity of Perak. When Raja Ganggi Shah Juana heard of the approach of Raja Suran, he summoned all his vassals, and ordered the gates of his fortresses to be shut, and stationed his guards for their protection. He also directed his moats to be filled with water. The host of Raja Suran quickly surrounded his fortresses, and attacked them sharply, but were vigorously repulsed. On this, Raja Suran mounted his huge elephant, and approached the gate of the fortress, notwithstanding the showers of spears and arrows with which he was assailed; he smote the gate with his chacra, and it immediately tumbled down, while the raja entered the fort with all his champions. When Raja Ganggi Shah Juana saw Raja Suran, he seized his bow and smote the elephant of Raja Suran on the forehead, which instantly fell down. Raja Suran quickly sprung up and drew his sword, and smote off the head of Raja Ganggi Shah Juana. After the death of the raja, all his subjects submitted to Raja Suran, who married Putri Gangga, the beautiful sister of Raja Ganggi Shah Juana. From Gangga Nagara, Raja Suran advanced to the country of Glang Kiu, which in former times was a great country, possessing a fort of black stone up the river Johor. In the Siamese language, this word signifies the place of the emerald (Khlang Khiaw) but by persons ignorant of this language, it is usually

termed Glang Kiu. The name of the raja of this country was Raja Chulan, who was superior to all the rajas of the countries lying under the wind.'

No account of Dr. Leyden accompanies this volume, but the public had been already put in possession of his memoirs by Mr. Morton. (See M. R. vol. xci. p. 61.)

ART. III. *Oliver Cromwell and his Times*, by Thomas Cromwell. 8vo. pp. 483. 14*s*. Boards. Warren. 1821.

THE late Mr. Oliver Cromwell, of Cheshunt, Herts, was the last of the male lineal descendants of the Protector, being great-grandson of Henry Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He had a son named Oliver, who, together with another, died in childhood; and a daughter, Elizabeth Olivera, married to a gentleman of the name of Russel, and now living at Cheshunt. On the decease of his two sons, Mr. C. was naturally anxious that the name of his great progenitor should not expire with him; and for that purpose — according to information communicated to the writer of the volume before us — he made applicatiou in the usual quarter for permission that his son-in-law should bear the sirname of Cromwell: but, to his astonishment, *the permission was refused*, though it is well-known that similar requests are commonly granted as matters of course, on payment of the customary fees. "Zounds!" said Jack Falstaff, who always seasoned his valor with discretion, "Zounds, I am afraid of this gun-powder Percy, though he be dead; how if he should counterfeit too, and rise? I am afraid he would prove the better counterfeit."— What degree of consanguinity (if any) the present writer bears to the Protector, we do not know: but it is something for a biographer to possess an affinity, though it be merely patronymic, with the subject of his memoir; and particularly when the name is so formidable that even its unreal shadow, the bare *nominis umbra*, sufficed to make "the firm nerves tremble" of a cabinet of official councillors, and so alarmed them, as it seems,

> "That beads of sweat have stood upon their brow,
> Like bubbles in a late-disturbed stream."

If we say that the volume before us was not wanted, we must be understood as not speaking disrespectfully of its execution. We accord generally in the views which the author takes on constitutional and political questions, and differ from him less as to the general character of the Protector than we did

from Mr. Oliver Cromwell, whose work we examined at considerable length not many months ago. (See M. R. vol. xcv. p. 199, &c.) That publication did not contain so much new matter as we hoped to find, probably because less new matter is in existence: but we must confess, likewise, that it is cumbrous and ill-arranged. Still it contains a mass of facts, collected with so much industry and care that the gleanings left are very scanty.

The title of the present work is 'Cromwell and his Times:' but the *times* of Cromwell are confessedly regarded only as they were calculated to call forth and employ his powers; or to excite reflections naturally, simply, and without intention to make them prominent, arising out of constitutional views of his political character. '*Cromwell himself* in his moral and domestic, equally with his political relations, this volume is principally designed to display: the scenes in which he most particularly figured have been depicted, yet are always treated subordinately.' The late Mr. Cromwell's book was an avowed apology for the Protector, or, more correctly speaking, a defence of him; for Mr. C. disdained to apologize for that course of conduct which he deemed himself capable of defending, *per fas et nefas*. The present writer certainly does not allow himself to be hurried away by so chivalrous a spirit, and can examine the darks spots in the Protector's character, undazzled by its bright portions. 'By turns, sincere and a hyprocrite; a religionist and a zealous worldling; a man of gravity and almost a buffoon; a preacher and a punster, a clown and a gentleman; stately and familiar; slovenly and precise; an orator and without words to express himself; cautious and yet enterprising; ardent and yet methodical; ready and yet invariably politic; — his very defects were made to turn to his account, almost equally with his admirable qualities; and by literally becoming "all things to all men" he contrived to elevate himself above all his competitors.' A more extended character of him is given in another place (p. 68.); where it is said, 'He could be gentle almost to effeminacy, or rude almost to brutality: *the protector of an insect, or a savage presiding at a human massacre.*' The author here seems to have been content to sacrifice his hero's reputation to an antithesis; and indeed the entire character is drawn up with an evident intention to dazzle by the juxta-position of opposite qualities: strong colours being brought together not to be blended, but contrasted. The writer's style is generally very bald, but he has here made a great effort at decoration:

"*Nitor smaragdi collo præfulget suo,*
Pictisque plumis gemmeam caudam explicat." PHÆD.

Why

Why is Cromwell contumeliously called the *protector of an insect?* Not, we presume, because he protected the Protestants against the sanguinary persecutions of the Duke of Savoy, and made France tremble at his threats. It was not his character to busy himself about little things: the insect of which he was the protector was the commonwealth of England; and to what effect its energies were roused and exerted under his auspices, all Europe testified.—Was he a *'savage?'* Nature gave him no taste for blood; and the author of the passage which we are now noticing has himself enumerated, with just commendation, several instances during the civil wars in which he manifested a mild, liberal, and courteous behaviour towards the enemies whom he had subdued; at the capture of Devizes, for instance, of Berkeley Castle, Basing House, &c. If any particular allusion be intended by representing Cromwell as 'a savage presiding at a human massacre,' it can only refer, we imagine, to his conduct at the sieges of Drogheda and Wexford, which were the first towns in Ireland that experienced the vengeance of the republican arms after the death of Charles. Drogheda was garrisoned by two thousand infantry and one regiment of horse, the flower of the Irish army; and its fortifications were in such good repair that Sir Arthur Aston, the Governor, undertook to stop the farther progress of the enemy for that season of the year. Cromwell, however, obtained the town in the third assault, sword in hand, and inflicted on it a dreadful punishment by slaying the whole garrison and its inhabitants, except a small number who were sent to the English settlement at Barbadoes. Heaven forbid that we should be guilty of justifying so dreadful a massacre, or of exculpating the perpetrator: nothing can justify the one, and consequently nothing can exculpate the other. Conquerors, however, are never at a loss to excuse their own military severities; and it must be acknowleged that the barbarities committed by the Irish in the beginning of the Rebellion, and during the course of the war, excited such horror in every English heart, that even "the humane and gentle Fairfax" expressed in warm and severe terms his disapprobation at granting them quarter. Whether Cromwell intended by this execution to retaliate the cruelty of the Irish massacre, or whether (which seems more probable) it was for the purpose of terrifying all other garrisons from resistance, it leaves the stain of blood on his character. His barbarous policy in these instances, however, had the desired effect; for every town before which he presented himself afterward opened its gates without resistance, and the authority of the Duke of Ormond

Ormond was in consequence absolutely annihilated. We cannot think that Cromwell was by nature of a sanguinary disposition, and it is melancholy that he could have fancied so merciless an effusion of blood to be necessary. Many instances of his clemency are on record; and the Earl of Clarendon himself acknowleges that, when a general massacre of the Royalists was proposed in a council of officers, Oliver could never be brought to consent to it, but rejected with horror the atrocious suggestion. The author before us seems aware that some particular circumstances excited Cromwell to the severities to which we have just alluded. — Being recalled from Ireland, Cromwell marched towards Scotland, where the "young King" was reported to have landed.

'On his arrival at Berwick-upon-Tweed, the General published a second declaration to the people of Scotland, recapitulating the arguments of the former; and, after taking notice of some aspersions unjustly cast upon his troops, assuring both the gentry and commonalty that he would not offer the least violence or injury to their persons, goods, or possessions, they being innocent in his opinion; and inviting them to stay and abide in their habitations, where, he tells them, they might and should enjoy what they had in peace. Nor were these empty professions; for, as upon a former occasion, he treated the unoffending inhabitants with all possible kindness, supplied even their wants, and most severely punished all who injured them. — *Did he then use harshness towards none, but the* Catholic *and* rebellious *natives of every way unfortunate Ireland?*'

Mr. Hume, it is well known, has made himself rather merry, and his readers also, by his critique on Cromwell's eloquence, and the specimen which he has given of it. The great defect, says that historian, — who in spite of his prejudices is never to be mentioned without the greatest respect, — the great defect in Oliver's speeches consists not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas: the sagacity of his actions and the absurdity of his discourse form the most prodigious contrast that ever was known. The collection of all his speeches, letters, sermons, would make a great curiosity, and, with a few exceptions, might justly pass for one of the most nonsensical books in the world. (Hume, vol. vii. ch. 61.) — After the dissolution of the Long Parliament, which merits all and more than all the eulogy that has ever been bestowed on it, Cromwell summoned another; and, receiving the members in the Painted Chamber, he addressed them in a speech, a small portion of which we shall extract for the sake of a comment on the character of the Protector's eloquence which it gives the present writer an opportunity of making:

'"When

'"When this was so, (speaking of the late Parliament's resignation,) we were exceedingly to seek how to settle things for the future. My power, again, by this resignation, was as boundless and unlimited as before; all things being subjected to arbitrariness, and myself a person having power over the three nations, boundlessly, and unlimited; and, upon the matter, all government dissolved, all civil administrations at an end, &c.

'"They (the ostensible framers of the instrument of government) told me, that except I would undertake this government, they thought things would hardly come to a composure and settlement; but blood and confusion would break in upon us. I denied it again and again, as God and those persons know; not complimentingly, as they also know, and as God knows. I confess, after many arguments, and after the letting of me know, that I did not receive any thing that put me into any higher capacity than I was in before, but that it limited me, and bound my hands to act nothing to the prejudice of these nations, without consent of a council, until the Parliament, and then limited by the Parliament, as the act of government expresseth, I did accept it. I might repeat this again to you if it were needful; but I think I need not. I was arbitrary in power, having the armies in the three nations under my command; and truly not very ill-beloved by them, nor very ill-beloved then by the people, by the good people; and I believe I should have been more, if they had known the truth, as things were before God, and in themselves, and before divers of those gentlemen I but now mentioned unto you."

'Some portions of this speech, which we might be warranted in supposing were more sincere, or which are less exceptionable, may not, perhaps, prove less interesting.

'"This government (let men say what they will, I can speak with comfort before a greater than you all, as to my intentions, and let men judge out of the thing itself) is calculated for the interest of the people, for their interest alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest. It hath endeavoured to reform the laws;—it hath taken care to put into seats of justice men of the most known integrity and ability;—it hath put a stop to that heady way, for every man that will to make himself a preacher; having endeavoured to settle a way for approbation of men of piety and fitness for the work; and the business committed to persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgment, men of as known ability and integrity as (I suppose) any the nation hath; and who (I believe) have laboured to approve themselves to God, and their own consciences, in approving men to that great function. One thing more; it hath been instrumental to call a *free* parliament: blessed be God, we see here, this day, a *free* parliament; and that it may continue so, I hope is in the heart of every good man of England: for my own part, as I desired it above my life, so to keep it free I shall value it above my life.

'"This is a narrative, that discovers to you the series of Providence, and of transactions leading me into this condition wherein I now stand.—I shall conclude with my persuasion to you, to have

have a sweet, gracious, and holy understanding one of another, and put you in mind of the counsel you heard this day thereunto. And I desire you to believe, that I speak not to you as one that would be a lord over you, but as one that is resolved to be a fellow-servant with you to the interest of this great affair."

'In these passages, as the reader will see, nothing is ambiguously or imperfectly expressed; all is manly, candid, and (for the times) masterly; and, in fact, such was almost always the character of Cromwell's speeches, unless the statements he was under a conceived necessity to make in them were such, as, being opposed either to his conscience or his real judgment, were intentionally wrapped in words leading from a subject that it was not safe fully to unveil, and thus naturally produced hesitation, and a laboured circumlocutory method of expressing them. His assertion, that his government, up to that moment, had been calculated "for the interest of the people, for their interest alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest," was nearly literally true. It might not be too much to affirm, that never, since the days of Alfred, had a prince ruled over England who so conspicuously united in himself all the qualities of a great, wise, and good governor. The national character abroad had, under him, attained to an elevation it had never previously known; and yet, he had not been more distinguished for the daring and majestic attitude he assumed towards the rest of the world, than for his connecting with the prosecution of his warlike affairs the most exact and rigid economy. At the close of a civil war, in the course of which so many religious heats had been generated, and were yet far from having ceased to effervesce, he insisted upon the maintenance of a neutrality between the conflicting religious sects, by all to whom his authority could extend; and, though a zealous supporter of the Protestant interest thoughout Christendom, "he suspended penal laws against Romish priests, and protected several of them under his hand and seal;" and, indeed, bestowed marks of his favour upon all of that persuasion who fell in his way, and who appeared to deserve it. He had caused justice to be administered with undeviating impartiality; promoted learning and learned men; and more particularly regarded the welfare of the University of Oxford, of which he was Chancellor; preferred men of ability and integrity to public employments and honourable offices, without respect to their religious creeds, provided that their practice appeared sincere; and scarcely enquiring even whether they were of his own political party, or royalists, or republicans, provided only that their demeanour was peaceable.'

For the sake of brevity, and because they do not refer to the subject immediately before us, we have been obliged to omit the notes attached to the above quotation, which contain much matter that is highly creditable to Cromwell's character. With respect to his eloquence, it is very much under-rated: when he had a plain story to tell, he could give it in a plain intelligible manner, as in the present instance: on the contrary,

trary, when he had any thing to conceal, to disguise, or to misrepresent, — when his object was to confuse and perplex, — no one will deny that the jargon which he used set the utmost subtlety of human intellect at defiance to unravel it. He could lead or mislead; could explain, or wrap in mystery most impenetrable! and is not this the very perfection of oratory? While the Protector argued in contradiction to his judgment and inclination, says Hume, it is no wonder that his elocution, always confused, embarrassed, and unintelligible, should be involved in tenfold darkness, and discover no glimmering of common sense or reason. We have seen that his elocution was not *always* unintelligible; it was involved in darkness only when he purposely extinguished the light.

Having so lately expatiated on the character and conduct of this extraordinary man in various periods of his political career, we may be excused from going over the ground again. The reader will find his history impartially detailed in the present volume; at the close of which is drawn a parallel of coincidences and contrasts between his character, actions, and fortunes, and those of another great and uncommon man, who lately finished his career on a barren rock: but the parallel is feebly executed.

ART. IV. *The Croisade;* or, the Palmer's Pilgrimage, a Metrical Romance. By Charles Kerr, Esq. 8vo. pp. 352. 10s. 6d. Boards. Hurst and Co. 1821.

THE motto chosen for this work recalls to our remembrance, very forcibly, a valuable person now no more, to whom the cause of real scholarship was most largely indebted while he lived. We allude to the late Dr. George Heath, canon of Windsor, and formerly head-master of Eton school. It will be in the recollection of some of the numerous pupils of that excellent instructor, that the line in question,

"*Triste sonant pulsæ nostrâ testudine chordæ,*"

was, with a few others of similar strength and character, attributed playfully but not incongruously to Dr. G. H. in the "Pursuits of Literature." Much ill-nature, however, was mixed with the passage in which these peculiar Latin verses occurred; and, not liking such a style of talking on such matters as are there discussed, we do not think that we have referred to the lines for a long series of years: until the extraordinary quotation of one of them, as the motto of a '*Metrical Romance*,' brought the whole circumstance to our minds,

and has afforded us this first opportunity of saying one word in literary respect to distinguished merit of a very rare kind, to preserve the memory of the departed scholar.

"*Hoc habeat secum, servetque sepulchro.*"

If the author of the 'Croisade' should think that we have not paid sufficient regard to him, while we have been so attentive to his motto, we are obliged to crave his indulgence farther; and to declare that we mean no disrespect, when we avow our inability to discover any real poetic merit in the present volume. Really, we are tired with finding fault; and we feel like involuntary executioners in a just and patriotic cause, — the cause of common sense, good taste, and classical knowlege.

"*Quorsum hæc* tam putida *tendunt?*"

said Horace long ago, and

Quorsum hæc Wat-Scotica *tendunt?*

we are perpetually obliged to exclaim now. What is the earthly, heavenly, or limbo-of-vanity use, in for ever publishing unread poems?

Mr. Kerr is evidently of a gay and galant spirit, dashed with a tinge of occasional melancholy. These are very poetical elements, but they are not enough. Admirable as they are, *still* they are not enough, we are reluctantly obliged to repeat. Something like scholarship; — something like knowlege; — a quantity of reading, approaching to the possession of local and particular information; — a quality, bearing the semblance of wit; — *all this* was once deemed necessary for the composition of a poem; to say nothing of genius, and other trifling requisites of that nature. *Mais nous avons changé tout cela.*

Well, then, let it be so; and let us consider the goodly appearance of a book in a brown cover, and blooming blue or pink back, which contains, like all its contemporaries, the following *gems of good nature*, set in verse. Will our readers have the goodness to forget Marmion, and Mr. Braham, for the present occasion?

' " He lives! he lives!... How fleet his roan!
My black scarf o'er his shield is thrown,
His plume of dazzling white
Plays in the breeze!... Oh Christ!... He's gone!
Save him!... oh save! he falls!... he's down!
He's up;... oh spirit bright!
His dagger!... Colville spare!... oh spare!"
'Tis plung'd!... for ever sinks De Vere!

' Who

'Who comes like the rock of the earthquake's shock,
When the storm sweeps o'er the lynn
At the midnight hour, when heaven's own rest
Smiles sweetly on the wearied breast,
And all is peace within;
And blushes on the virgin's cheek,
Her bosom's trembling wishes speak?
He sweeps the vale, and o'er the lea
He bounds;...he's up the hill,
He rushes where the English flee;
"De Vaux! De Vaux! and victory!"
And as he presses still
Upon the shrinking ranks, around they turn,
Sweep wide their kindling flames, and fierce, and rapid burn.

'Once more the English banners fly,
"De Vaux! De Vaux! and victory!"
Salutes the greedy ear:
And now the scattered ranks are clos'd,
To Murray's arm De Vaux's oppos'd,
Shrinking the Scots appear;
When Allan Græme swept bold along,
Amidst the Scottish spearmen's throng.

'As dives the cormorant below,
So pours along the feathery flow,
The Scottish ranks are broke;
Burst in the English horse amain,
The purpled heath is heap'd with slain,
Stands Allan as a rock;
The ocean billows round him press,
His mountain-rock still motionless.

'Sweeps on De Vaux in proud array,
Where Colville breathing from the fray,
Leans o'er the dead De Vere;
Pant man and horse;...the welkin rings
De Vaux's dread name;...he forward springs
And shakes the glittering spear;
On Colville's breast the weapon rung,
And thro' *De Vaux's* broad buckler *Colville's* sprung.'

"*Hectoris ac clypeum sic lancea fixit Achillis.*"

ART. V. *Poems, and Translations from Schiller.* 8vo. pp. 346. Boards. Rodwell and Martin. 1821.

IN a large portion of its contents, this is very far from being a common-place volume; as, indeed, the great German name in the title-page would assure the reader. The *original* poems of this anonymous writer, however, do not in any way vie with his translations, even if from them alone we form a judgment of the

the latter: but we speak rather of the general attractiveness, than of the particular execution, of these two divisions of the volume. The whole work is very fairly worth the attention of the modern readers of poetry; although we frequently encounter specimens of that carelessness of style, that prosaic species of the poetic genius, which is all that we seem likely at present to *enjoy* in this once delightful department of literature.

The opening subject in the book; 'The first Anniversary of Waterloo,' is rather disheartening to the sated critic, however animating it may be to the patriot and the warrior. Will not the most devoted admirers of Walter Scott regret, on reading the following lines, that he ever taught this author, and almost all his contemporaries, to leave out that once important part of speech, *the definite article*, besides some other omissions which we cannot stay to specify?

'Day!—that a world prepares to hail
"Recorder of its rights restored!"
Day!—that the vanquish'd, 'mid their wail,
Almost shall welcome;—undeplored
The triumph of the avenging sword,
That like an angel's chast'ning brand,
Administ'ring to sovereign Word,
Smote healingly the guilty land.'

Again;

'Perchance Reflection dwelt on theme,
That muser's thoughts will oft control,
(But scorn'd, alike with dotard's dream,
As pride or passion sway the soul;)
The precept gilding hallow'd scroll,
In strait revered, in power despised;
But ne'er with such attempt, such fall,
Rebell'd against, or *signalised*.'

Surely this is all very hard to construe. Our modern poetical language often seems to sound in our ears like *hints for future phraseology*, rather than present expressions of thought:—but we conclude that we must be wrong, as the remark is neither made nor sanctioned by others.

We perceive a little trace of the *other imitation*, the imitation of Lord Byron, in the subsequent verses:

'O! for a charm to rouse from sleep,
As yestermorn, by trumpet breath,
The associates of yon mangled heap,
That so o'ercharge the subject heath!—
—Scorn they the call that summoneth?
They do not mock; they ne'er shall rise;
And those that closest clasp in death,
Living, were darkest enemies.

'Friendship! thou balm for bleeding heart,
Go — gaze upon that anguish'd face!
Cannot thy voice some note impart
Of power to loose from foe's embrace?
Injurious War! thou dost deface
The fairest spectacle on earth;
While enmity usurps the place
Sacred through life to plighted worth!

'Of many a boasted field the pride,
Ambition's early-faded flower;
The tyrant's prop; the regicide;
The foe to all, save rightful power,
Who may distinguish in this hour?
No more in bright attire they vie;
No more, as with contention, lower;
And lie they not as friends should lie?

'Yet are not all that strew the field
Deaf to the note that peals to arm;
But, oh, how changed! what ardours quell'd
Since last they hailed the shrill alarm.
The boast of strength, the charm of form,
Defaced with scars, defiled with gore,
Subdued, as life-blood oozes warm,
The spirit, that so wont to soar!'

The verses on the interment of the bones of the Roman legions, slaughtered by the Germans, are in some parts good: but really the quotation from Tacitus, which forms their appropriate motto, exhibits such an unrivalled power of description, — we may say of moral painting, — that we know but little poetry that could in any way be advantageously compared with it.

'"*Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus, sextum post cladis annum, trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut conjunctos, ut consanguineos, auctâ in hostem irâ, mœsti simul et infensi condebant.*" — TACITUS *Annal.* lib. i.'

The ensuing sonnet affords much matter for reflection; and thoughts will arise in some minds of a very different nature, perhaps, from those which the author intended to excite:

'*To Buonaparte.*

'Thou art not fall'n, as fall the grand in soul,
Captive of many nations! — yet thy fate
Hath stamp'd thee so supremely desolate,
That some who wrought thy wreck almost condole;
Power is not thine, one vassal to control,
Yet such a semblance lingers round thy state,
That kings have heard thy legions at their gate,
As through their courts thy rumour'd rescue stole.

— All-

— All-fetter'd as thou art, and abject now,
The destinies of realms are still on thee;
The bond of union 'mid their rulers, Thou!
More puissant, in thy dread tranquillity,
Than when thy madness made the nations bow;
— Bondsmen were then thy debtors; — now the Free.'

We do not greatly approve (for we wish to speak modestly on subjects that are favorites with the public) of such materials for poetry as the subjoined:

'*To a Sea-Weed picked up after a Storm.*

' "Weed wide enough to wrap a fairy in."

' Exotic! — from the soil no tiller ploughs,
Save the rude surge; — fresh stripling from a grove,
Above whose tops the wild sea-monsters rove;
— Have not the genii harbour'd in thy boughs,
Thou filmy piece of wonder! — have not those
Who still the tempest, for thy rescue strove,
And stranded thee thus fair, the might to prove
Of spirits, that the caves of Ocean house?

' How else, from capture of the giant-spray,
Hurt-free escapest thou, slight ocean-flower?
— As if Arachne wove, thus faultless lay
The full-develop'd forms of fairy-bower;
— Who that beholds thee thus, nor with dismay
Recals thee struggling through the storm's dark hour!

'*To Another.*

' Thou hermit beauty! — not the violet
With fence like thine encumbers its sweet head,
Nor lily shrinks within its emerald bed,
Remote as thou, beneath the billows' fret;
Thou dost array the paths inviolate,
The regions unexplored of human tread,
Or twin'st thy wreaths in secret round the dead,
A mourning flower o'er seaman's hapless fate.
— None eye thee, save through tempest of the surge,
That flings thee as in boast upon the strand;
And then, like something charm'd, thou dost emerge,
Some sample of the growth of fairy-land;
And then to loftier musings thou dost urge,
Creation of the tempest-stirring hand!'

Stella was supposed to highly compliment Swift, as well as bitterly to attack her rival, when she said that the Dean could write beautiful verses on a broomstick; and Mr. Wordsworth, in his pocket poetical edition of *inanimate* nature, seems to discover much attraction in such subjects, and of course much merit in the management of them.

In the translations from Schiller, although we could object to much of the language, and on such grounds as we believe would convince the unprejudiced that we were in the right, we shall not do this; — both because we feel sincerely obliged to the translator for this present from the richest mine in Germany; and because our readers are sufficiently in possession of our principles of judgment in poetical criticism, to render it unnecessary for us to point out errors, to which we already have afforded such numerous clues.

Madame de Staël has made what we consider as a very just remark on one branch of German poetry, which forms the well-chosen motto to these translations:

' " *Les poésies Allemandes détachées sont, ce me semble, plus remarquables encore que les poëmes, et c'est surtout dans ce genre, que le cachet de l'originalité est empreint.*" '

These extracts from Schiller alone amply vindicate the correctness of this panegyric: — but the little tales of that writer have indeed the stamp of originality. We scarcely know which to select for our reader's amusement. 'Knight Toggenburg' has been so condensed, and so refined, by Mr. Campbell, in his "Brave Roland," that it would reflect no credit on the original minstrel to compare the two effusions. We say, Mr. Campbell has *refined* the little poem; because, in substituting a manly and simple pathos for the overstrained sentimentality of the German, he has conferred on his ballad that which we regard as the truest refinement. — The 'Glove' is very peculiar and forcible; while 'Cassandra' has a fine lyric glow about it, and parts of it might have done for a Greek chorus — *mutatis mutandis.*

' " All to transport is abandon'd;
Hearts to rapture full display'd,
Aged parents hope indulging,
Bridal sister stands array'd;
I alone in secret lower,
Since no dream hath charms for me;
Ruin wing'd to gain each tower
Hovering near, alone I see!

' " There's a torch that yonder lightens,
But 'tis not in Hymen's hand,
To the clouds it lengthening brightens,
Not as altar-fuming brand;
There's a festival preparing,
But, through sad presaging skill,
Gods already in my hearing,
Doom it instrument of ill!

' " And

" " And they spurn at my repinings,
And they mock my bosom's smart,
'Mid the desert's dusky windings,
Lone, I bear an anguish'd heart;
Shunn'd by those whom fortune pampers,
Rail'd upon by those who smile;
Woefully hast thou endowed me,
Pythian god! thou god of guile!" '

The 'Diver,' or the strange story of Nicolas Pesce-cola, contains some powerful thoughts: but the opportunity which our unrivalled Shakspeare has seized, in Clarence's dream, is not here equally improved. The 'Hostage,' or the sweet old tale of Damon and Pythias, (by nobody better told than Soave, excepting Cicero,) calls forth much of the genius of Schiller. 'The Fight with the Dragon' is very satisfactory — in its conclusion; and 'The Trip to the Forge' is one of the most impressive and best conducted little tales that we remember. 'The Chime of a Bell' has a most touching tenderness in some of its ideas; and we cannot help fancying that our own exquisite poet of "Human Life" must have caught a small portion of the character of his exordium, at least, from this poem. 'The veiled Statue' at Sais is impressed with the finest character of the solemn antient allegory; and some of the remaining tales, which we have not named, have their own kind and degree of merit. The composition, however, which after all remains our favorite, and which we believe we are borne out in admiring by very general agreement, bears the well-known title of the 'Cranes of Ibycus.' Can any thing be more striking than the description of the Eumenides as they appeared on the Grecian stage? At all events, we must go to their own great dramatic originals to exceed the painting of Schiller. Before, however, we introduce the Furies, we must briefly regard the dying moments of the poet Ibycus; who, on his way to the Isthmian games, is murdered in a wood near Corinth. He had observed a large flight of cranes on his road, both by sea and land; and now, expiring in a wood within sight of the scene of his glory, under the murderous hand of robbers, he looks up with dying eyes at the same travellers of air:

' And o'er the spot where fast he failed,
The cranes on rushing plumage sailed,
And on his ear, while sight forsook,
The clangor of their voices strook;
" May ye, ye wanderers of air,
(Though not another tongue disclose,)
My most unworthy fate declare!" —
— He spake, — and sunk him to repose. —'

The succeeding description of the crowd flocking to the theatre, to witness the celebration of the games, is very beautiful; and none but a master-hand could have so crowned the picture, as Schiller has done in the following lines, — presenting directly to our view the vast assembly of an antient theatre, open to the sky:

'Bench above bench the torrent gains,
Till scarce the o'ercharged base sustains;
Together flock'd, from far and near,
The Grecian thousands wedge them here,
Hoarse-murmuring, as the sea-waves' flow: —
— Swarming with life, the structure swells;
And in a still expanding bow,
To sight, the azure vault it fills.

'Who might the name of each retrace,
That came, that spectacle to grace? —
From Theseus' city, Aulis' strand,
From Phocis, and from Spartan land;
Nor Asia's shores were too remote,
From the far isles, they came to see;
And now, from off the stage they note
The Chorus' awful melody, —

'That with grave pace, and sober front,
(As was of ancient rite the wont,)
Advancing from the scenic ground,
Now stalked the theatre around.
— Not that the march of earthly dames,
No mortal parents own such birth;
The giant stature of their frames
Surpasses even the sons of earth.

'Round each a sable cloak is wrung;
By each, from fleshless grasp is flung
The brandish'd torch's sooty flake; —
Bloodless and lank each livid cheek;
And where the ringlet's glossy play
To human fronts a charm can lend,
Vipers and serpents in affray
Their venom-swollen throats distend.

'And gather'd in a dusky ring,
Portentous melody they sing;
That through all hearts infuses pains,
And wraps the breast of guilt in chains.
Thought-confounding, heart-compelling,
Peals the Furies' descant dire;
It peals, the hearer's frame deep-thrilling,
Unaccordant with the lyre: —

'"Thrice-happy, who from our control
Finds refuge in his spotless soul!

Him

Him may we not approach with dread;
Freely the life-path let him tread;—
But woe to him, whose arts conceal
A deed of murder from the light!
We on his track unceasing steal,
We, the relentless brood of Night!

" And hopes he to elude our grasp?
Winged we attend, and hurl a clasp,
That brings, about his footing wound,
The felon-fugitive to ground.—
Restless, our victim we pursue,
Nought can repentance shake our will;
Down to the shades we trace him through,
And there, even there, beset him still."

'Twas thus in moody dance they sung,
When the vast building overhung
A stillness Death might well command,
As though the Immortals were at hand!
Then, (as at ancient rite had place,)
They strode the theatre around,
With aspect grave and solemn pace,
And parted from the scenic ground.

— Betwixt illusion and the truth
Wavers each breast, alive to both,
And the dread Providence reveres,
Mysteriously that interferes:—
Inscrutably, and all apart,
That doth the chain of Fate survey,
Oft manifest to hidden heart,
But trackless 'mid the glare of day!

And sudden, from the topmost seats,
A voice is heard, that loud repeats;—
" Behold!— behold!— Timotheus!
The crane-array of Ibycus!" —
— And blackened, as he spake, the sky,
And o'er the theatre's expanse
A flight of cranes passed rushingly,
And swept along in dark advance.

— " Of Ibycus!" —the name caress'd
With sharp emotion thrills each breast,
And fast as wave to wave succeeds,
From mouth to mouth the rumour speeds;
" Of Ibycus!— of him we mourn!—
Whom through assassin's deed we lost;—
— What retrospect, what dread return
Of scene, awakes this winged host?"—

And louder hath the clamour grown,
And bodings have, as lightnings, flown,

Shot through all hearts; — "Give earnest thought,
This the Eumenides have wrought!—
— Avenged sleeps the sacred bard,
The assassin hath himself denounced;
Him seize, the notice who preferred,
And him, to whom it was announced!"

'Soon as the guilty one had spoke
The fatal words, he would revoke; —
— In vain! the faltering lips and frame
Too well the homicide proclaim;
— To judgment are they hurried down,
The scene is for tribunal given,
And both, in brief avowal, own,
The RETRIBUTIVE hand of Heaven.'

No room is left to us for additional remark, or we should certainly both quote, and highly praise, the '*Ideal.*' Yet this picture of the early glowing hopes of youth, disappointed as they must be by those realities which are enough for sense but not for imagination, is well-known to all our classical readers; and especially to those who have enjoyed, in its full power and softness, that dream of fancy which is here so feelingly pourtrayed.

ART. VI. *Sketches of Manners, Scenery, &c. in the French Provinces, Switzerland, and Italy.* With an Essay on French Literature. By the late John Scott, Esq., Author of the *Visit to Paris.* 8vo. 14*s.* Boards. Longman and Co.

THE author of this posthumous production was much respected while in the active progress of his "earthly pilgrimage," and deservedly bewailed at his untimely death; his life having been sacrificed in the midst of its promise to that spurious but tyrannical sentiment of honour, against which religion, law, and reason, have long raised an unavailing voice. The circumstances, therefore, under which the volume makes its appearance, must prevent any rigor of animadversion; and in truth it may be questionable whether it really falls within critical jurisdiction, since it consists of loose travelling memoranda, the basis probably of an intended work, which no writer could have been so regardless of public opinion as to have hazarded in a shape so crude and undigested. From the preface of the editor, it should seem that a small portion of it was actually left for the press: but we doubt the fact; for it bears no internal evidence of such preparation; and Mr. Scott was too much practised in literature to have risked the reputation which he had justly earned, by the broken

broken and hasty though sometimes lively sketches in the present publication. They have been dragged reluctantly into day; — and their imperfections and faults are chargeable only on the indiscreet zeal which has disturbed their repose.

The journal, however, through part of Brittany to Angers in Anjou, and thence to Tours by water, is in a less unfinished state than that which relates to Swisserland and Italy. The little island of Jersey, whence Mr. S. took his departure for the Continent, and which has been so long overlooked by our modern race of travellers, as if its beauties were too microscopic for their notice, is glowingly and we believe correctly described:

'I entered France, this time, by Saint Maloes, from the beautiful little island of Jersey. Nothing can be conceived more interesting than this small but strong outwork of Great Britain. Its advanced situation, standing almost within the open jaws of our great enemy; the delightfulness of its romantic scenery, in which most of the charms of nature are united on a small scale, that puts every thing under the view in connected order; and the honest simple character of the native islanders, constitute Jersey a place that kindles feelings of the most agreeable and animated kind. The principal road throughout the island is a military one, and is of comparatively late construction: the roads that existed before, are now called lanes, and intersect the island at such small distances, that there is not a spot of it which cannot be seen. These lanes are all finally overshadowed by fruit-trees; and the farm-houses, which are generally of a very respectable kind, are adorned with spreading vines. Cultivation, and the system of inclosure, are here carried to the highest degree of perfection, the islanders being obliged to make the most of their miniature territory. The horses, and even the cows, are not permitted to feed at large; this would be considered a waste of pasture in a place where every inch of ground is an important object. They are to be seen tethered to their limited spaces, and looking wishfully to the luxuriant herbage that grows beyond their allotment.

'The whole island of Jersey is almost within the reach of a pedestrian excursion; wherever one goes one meets with all the usual features of nature and society, modelled on so reduced a scale, and at the same time so highly finished, as to excite, at every step, an admiring surprise. The capital is a small market-town, — the towns are villages, — the villages scarcely reach to the size of hamlets. You are sunk in the silent recesses of a small valley, shut in by woods, and overlooked by romantic elevations, having every characteristic of Alpine mountains but size; the want of which, however, is not felt to reduce the general effect, because every thing is in proportion. In two minutes you are out of this seemingly remote concealment, looking down upon a town, and over an expanse of luxuriant country, terminated by a rocky shore and the wide ocean. The fortifications, some of which are perfect,

perfect, and others now in progress, form, from various points of view, a noble addition to the scenery. They crown Saint Hilliers with an imposing diadem, and while the rural beauties of the island speak peace and delight, they give an assurance of strength and courage, and seem to hold a high tone of defiance, directed full against adjoining France.

'The living in Jersey is both cheap and good. French wines come over, free of duty, except a very trifling charge imposed for the sake of keeping up the harbour. Poultry is excellent, and its price low. Of fish, the island possesses most of the finest kinds. John-dory and mullet are commonly to be found in the market of Saint Hilliers. The climate is so gentle, that a number of invalids have found it answer all the purposes of a distant journey from Great Britain. A gentleman who had unfortunately cause to leave England on account of his health, lived in Jersey, in a charming cottage, with a beautiful garden, and neatly furnished, for which he paid only a guinea a-week. Fruit is good, plentiful, and cheap. The military officers who have resided in the island some time, bear unanimous testimony to its pleasantness, though I understood its society is not quite so polished and gay as that of Guernsey. The handsome houses and cottages, however, in the outskirts of the capital, and adorning the hills around it, prove that there are many very genteel people residing there.'

Mr. Scott landed at St. Maloes, proceeded to Dinan by water, and thus describes the sail up the river Rance:

'France in general cannot be called picturesque; by far its greatest proportion is tame and uninteresting. The banks of the Loire, of which they boast so much, are very tame to an English eye. But the neighbourhood of Dinan can be rivalled by but few spots in the world. The sides of the Rance, as we advanced up it, became nobly precipitous and rocky. Castellated houses and chateaux were seen on the heights, with old-fashioned gardens, and a countless number of windows. There were numerous ruins also, that attested the popular fury of the Revolution. One of the best of the mansions, distinguished by the beauty of its situation, had been taken by an English nobleman and family, who had here their abode while Buonaparte was last in France. As we were looking at this house, the remark was then made to us, which has been often made since, "Many of you English are fond of Buonaparte."

'Brittany possessed a numerous and powerful nobility, whose family-seats were all built in the form of castles. Many of these were destroyed during the Revolution, so that nothing now is more common than to meet with fine ruins adding solemnity to the most exquisite beauties of natural scenery. The town of Dinan had lately attracted considerable notice by its romantic situation: coming up the river, you first catch sight of it, perched on high, overhanging the stream, with its decaying battlements and mouldering towers, admirably variegated, and presenting a glorious study for a landscape-painter. The river here winds excessively,

cessively, so that you approach and recede from this fine object for a long time before you reach it. The steeps on each side are fringed with wood in some places, in others they present inaccessible projections of bare dark grey stone, and in others they afford a scanty herbage between the rugged cliffs, which is browzed by a few sheep and goats, that are seen hanging in the air.

'We landed at a bridge below the town, to which the ascent is remarkably steep, so much so, that it would seem impossible for carriages to go up and down. The walls of the town became every instant more interesting. They are very ancient, and are falling rapidly into ruin. Several detached hills near the town, have each its top encircled by the walls of a decayed castle. Winding footpaths lead down from the main road to villages amongst the rocks, and in the narrow valley below the river, now above the reach of the tide, runs its quick and reduced stream. At every fresh step, you discover a new feature of picturesque beauty: new hills disclose themselves; new rocks start up: the spires of churches and the cottages of peasants discover themselves, some half way up the mountains, others capping their extremest pinnacle. The numerous footpaths add greatly to the beauty of the scenery, for, on catching their zig-zag lines, a single peasant, or a boy pursuing a goat, was seen, and lost, and recovered again, and finally escaped the eye under some projecting cliff.

'The town, on entering it through an old gateway, seems silent and worn out. The streets are empty, the houses are falling to pieces, no signs of trade, or any kind of the business of man. It appears to receive one as to a place of other years. In the summer months, however, some strangers resort to it for the sake of its mineral wells, that are situated in a deep valley a mile from the town, where the scenery is even more magnificent than it is in that quarter which I have attempted to describe. Never have I felt the fascinating power of nature so strongly, as on the evening when I first visited these beautiful wells. The sun was setting in splendour behind the lofty rocks, which on all sides enclosed the valley. The path that led down to it was steep in the extreme; the goats were feeding on the shelves of the rocks; children were hunting them from steep to steep with their shrill cries; a single priest, in his sacerdotal robe, was walking slowly, with an umbrella under his arm, along a winding path, through some low wood; a feeble and bent peasant woman was ascending the hill painfully, with a white sack on her back; a dog barked at the bottom from the door of a cottage, and a black lamb suddenly started off down the rock, playing a thousand fantastic freaks as it ran, pursued by two beautiful children.'

Of the filth and wretchedness of the peasants in Brittany, the writer gives us a picture, drawn no doubt from the life. In the course of his walks about Dinan, he was forcibly struck with the wretchedness of the cottages, none of which have glass windows. At the inn of a small village called Chaussée, a long passage up stairs led to six apartments; one open to the sky,

sky, another half full of chaff, a third half floored, a fourth empty, while the fifth and sixth held the beds of the family, all sleeping together, male and female.

Vitré, on the road to Laval, is interesting for its venerable air of antiquity, and seems to have remained stationary in condition for the last five hundred years. 'It looked as if it had not moved with society, and existed but for itself.' The fine castle is in ruins, the rooms having been destroyed during the Revolution, but the walls and towers are magnificent. The writer's description of this scene, and his reflections on it, form one among numerous other passages in the book, which prove the change that Mr. Scott's political sentiments had undergone, since his feelings were governed by the fervor of youth.

The account of a small town on the banks of the Mayenne, called Château Gontier, presents a picture so different from the usual representations of French towns and French manners, that we must quote it:

'We had scarcely entered it, when, from the windows of our voiture, we had discovered enough to make us remark that the place seemed cleaner than any we had ever seen in France. We stopped at a small inn, which fully confirmed or rather increased our first favourable impression. The articles in the kitchen, through which one must always pass to reach the rooms of a French inn, were tidy and complete. The landlady presented herself, a handsome woman, with a tendency to fleshiness becoming in one of her profession. Her own apartment, as we passed it, we saw to be nicely furnished, and the chambers up stairs left us nothing to wish for. Accommodations so unexpectedly excellent, after the wretched treatment and insufficient supplies we had been accustomed to receive, gave our ladies extreme delight. They poured out their encomiums to our civil and prepossessing landlady, and, as the greatest possible compliment, told her, that her inn was as neat as an English one. She seemed much pleased at hearing this, and said, the town of Château Gontier had the reputation of being very *aimable*.

'The walk we took up the streets supported what she said. We understood that the inhabitants were chiefly rich and genteel people, and the cleanliness of the externals of the houses wore the appearance of a Dutch rather than of a French town. After crossing the bridge, from the inn, we found the streets remarkably steep and narrow; the town lying on the side of a romantic hill, of considerable height. The small shops are well furnished and well arranged; but the greater number of the houses are shut up within gardens, and thus shew that their owners are above trade. We did not see a single beggar in the place; whereas usually, in France, the traveller is invaded by them, and assailed at every corner and place of stoppage. 'We afterwards were told, that in fact there was not a single beggar in Château Gontier. The road

on

on which it is situated is not a very frequented one; the route we took being no direct line, either from or to Paris. Very few English, they said, passed through their town, and the appearance of our party of course excited much curiosity, and drew upon it much anxious observation.

'Nothing can be imagined more beautiful than the view from the top of the hill, where there is the public promenade. It is crowned by a neat church, with a wooden spire, like the church of an English village. The river runs at its foot, and whether one looks up or down, it presents delightful and luxuriant banks, with mills and pleasant houses. The houses scattered over the hill are beautifully placed among the trees, and the promenade has the most superb prospect from its shaded walk.

'We entered the church, which, notwithstanding all we had seen, quite astounded us by its surprising order and decency, compared with the general dilapidation of the churches in France. The passages were matted, a thing we had never seen before in the country. The whole of the interior was kept with the greatest care, and furnished even beyond completeness.

'The sexton met us in the principal aisle, being, as he said, in constant attendance on the church. He was in appearance as much above his fellow-sextons as every thing else in the place was superior to what we had before seen in France. The church had no architectural elegances or pictures to be shown; it was simply neat. He took us into a room where the priests robed for the service, and where there were wash-hand basins, and towels, and a general regularity of arrangement quite novel to us. We began to wonder whether we had not been transplanted to England by enchantment. It seemed as if we had, at least, been removed from France. The old sexton was much pleased with our praises of his church and town, and the more so as we accompanied them with expressions of dissatisfaction with what we had seen in other French places. He also told us that Château Gontier was famous for what we admired in it, and that the people were as good as they were clean.'

Angers also is a town, like Vitré, that in every feature gives evidence of its antiquity:

'We arrived on a Sunday in Angers, and had scarcely set our feet in the inn, before we were told by the landlady, that, if we had a mind to see the promenade, we were almost too late; and it was delightful. This immediate and earnest intimation induced us to think that there must be something peculiarly interesting in the promenade of Angers above that of all other towns. We accordingly made ourselves a little smart, and then set out. The landlady's ideas of the delightful differed in some measure from ours. We found, at the very top of the town, in a place which looked like a horse-market, three or four rows of miserable trees, and a number of people, male and female, walking up and down between them, staring at each other. This sort of ridiculous promenading is in vogue throughout all France: you never scarcely meet a walk-

ing

ing party any where in the country, near great towns: if ladies and gentlemen wish to walk, they go to the promenade of the place, where, on week-days, they may see servant-girls and children, and on Sundays look at their neighbours, every one of whom they know.

'In the fine gardens and noble parks that form the ornaments of large capitals, the fashionable promenade has many charms, which in the shabby dull square of a provincial town it cannot have. In the beautiful gardens of the Thuilleries, in the magnificent plantation of Brussels, and the noble space of Hyde Park, there are collected strangers of every sort, and specimens of all sorts of fashions. Here curiosity is gratified, the eye is pleased, and the spirits are raised: but walking up and down amongst monotonous and stupid rows of trees, meeting only with neighbours and friends in their Sunday's clothes; the grocer recognizing his friend the tobacconist, — is a piece of finery and amusement only to the taste of a Frenchman.'

We are not much enamoured of the sentimental observations of Mr. Scott on dilapidated churches and desolated cathedrals. There may be truth and sense in them, but they savour too much of the modern artifices of composition, by which the most is made of a plain and obvious remark. They seem to be at an equal distance from the sobriety of prose and the exaltation of poetry; — and, after all, the same things have been said and thought a thousand times. We give the following specimen:

'Look at the obscured glory of the high-pointed windows of a cathedral; the terrific suspended threat of its arched roof; the rapid loftiness of its slim pillars; the capacity of its aisles, the interminable look of its passages; the mysterious promise of its many doors; the echoing of its vaults; the winding of its staircases, and that grand spaciousness, which is every where the characteristic of the place, and which constitutes it the solemn palace of silence: — look at an ancient cathedral with all these features perfect, and it seems the work of the Creator, rather than of man; — look at it in ruins, and it seems the victim of an earthquake, rather than of any human mischief.'

Angers has a public library, including almost every book that a student can require; access to them is perfectly free, the conveniences for study are excellent, and the necessity of having private libraries is quite superseded.

'Nothing,' says Mr. Scott, 'can be more interesting than the sight which presents itself on entering one of these public libraries. General silence prevails, and is most respectfully preserved. The librarian addresses a stranger in a whisper, and conducts him, walking so as to make no noise, to the curiosities of the place. Around the long tables the readers sit, some of them old men, veterans in the pursuit of those fascinating, but not always ad-

vantageous pleasures, which a literary life offers: others, young men, just starting on the career, full of hope and intense application. The dress and appearance of many of these show that they are looking upward to the splendid fruits that hang from the tree of knowledge, from low conditions of life, and a multitude of difficulties; and the probably heavy disappointments that lie waiting on these raise a melancholy sympathy in their behalf. The French are in general excellent students; they pursue laborious investigation with extreme patience, and their natural shrewdness enables them quickly and cleverly to draw results from investigation. If genius could come from reading, or truth from systematizing, the chief abode of both would be in France; but this unfortunately for the French is not the case. Perpetual building upon the works of others is repeating over again the folly of the tower of Babel. You may reach to a great height, but to what purpose? As you rise you lose sight of the earth, and have just as little chance, as when laying the first brick, of gaining heaven. Still, however, we must repeat our eulogium on the wise public spirit in France that provides these noble libraries for the delight and assistance of those whom fortune seldom favours enough to enable them to furnish themselves very fully in this respect. England deserves to be told of her shameful deficiency on this main point, in the warmest language. The locked doors of a college-room, which are only opened by the porter who *shows* the books for half-a-crown, or the guarded gates of a mighty museum, to get within which tickets must be sought and granted, are all she possesses in this way. These invite not the poor and naked, the hungry and the thirsty, but the graduated, the known, and the wealthy. A student with a shabby coat can scarcely reach these guarded treasures; and if he should be fortunate enough to do so, a repulsive air would greet his entrance, and the liveried attendants would deem themselves degraded if called upon to wait on so humble a reader. In France, to her credit be it said, the distinction between the well-dressed and the ill-dressed is not known in scientific and literary society. — The internal qualifications alone settle the degree of deference here.'

In Italy, the traveller's memoranda become more desultory and imperfect; yet they are not destitute of that good sense, reflection, and active observation, by which he was characterized. The iron yoke of the Austrians does not sit very easy on Italian necks. At Milan, he often heard it remarked, "Such a thing has been so — *depuis que les Allemands sont venus.*"

'These words were uttered with a strong expression of disgust and hatred; and it is impossible not to participate in an Italian's feeling in this respect. The Austrian government is mild and paternal at home, and the Germans are an estimable people; but here they know and feel themselves opposed to the public opinion; they are strangers in the place, and at the same time masters, which

which is terrible. The consciousness of being hated, gives gloom and severity to their character and conduct. It was said to me, that, since the Austrians have been here, the courts of justice are not open to the public when causes are tried; people are taken to prison, tried, and put to death, and nothing known. It is not pretended to be denied, that these are really malefactors; but as the practice of the French was more liberal, the alteration is much to be condemned. The punishment of death has been changed from guillotining to hanging.'

The rhetorical figure which Partridge calls a *non sequitur* is admirably illustrated by the following passage, in which the author endeavours to shew that the Italians are more religious than the French. The instances by which the position is proved are very amusing.

'Every thing betokens this to be a more religious country than France; numbers of genteel people were attending the sermon. Bucks even kneeling down, crossing themselves, and repeating their prayers half audibly. Among the congregation were to be seen many fine Italian female heads, intent, the moment you looked at them, to adjust their graceful veil, and to put a particular expression into their large black eyes. A priest in an enclosure near an altar, was occupied in placing as many lighted candles in a large chandelier, as the people gave him sous. The candles differed in size, according to the price. It was generally the poor who gave; and for two sous of Milan, one had but a very small taper. The money was put into a box, how appropriated I do not know, and the lighted taper was considered by the worshipper as a duty performed. The priest had a sharp eye to all offerers.'

For any new or original remarks on Italian manners or Italian literature, we may here look in vain; although the running titles, 'State of Manners,' 'Italian Character,' 'Literati,' led us naturally to expect something more than such observations as these, of which we can offer only one specimen: 'Wednesday 16th. My Italian master told me of the terrible war that had existed for some time in Italy between the romantics and the classics, and mentioned to me certain authors engaged in the dispute. He said there was much *acharnement* in the affair.' (P. 235.)

If some of our strictures on this volume have been rather severe, they have been excited by our feeling that manifest injustice has been done to the author by the publication of hasty and disjointed reflections from his note-book. We shall always persist in discountenancing this practice; for it is as unjust to promulgate unfinished memoranda from the port-folio of the deceased, as it would be to plunder that of the living writer. In both cases, that *locus penitentiæ* which may divert the author's intentions from publishing is taken away

from him; and he is pushed on the public stage, while, perhaps, he is in the most unfit state for it, — in his robe de chambre, — or rather in a state of absolute nudity, — and exposed to those sneers and censures of criticism which he cannot be said to have justly incurred, who has not spontaneously braved them.

The Essay on French Literature, which fills a considerable part of the volume, has in substance, we understand, already appeared in a periodical work. We have read it with attention, and are disposed to agree with the writer in the general cast and tenor of his criticism. Its tone is evidently taken from the animadversions of Schlegel on the French drama.

Art. VII. *An Inquiry, chiefly on Principles of Religion, into the Nature and Discipline of Human Motives.* By John Penrose, M. A. formerly of C. C. C. Oxon., and Author of the Bampton-Lecture Sermons for 1808. 8vo. pp. 404. 10*s.* 6*d.* Boards. Baldwin and Co.

We are ready to allow that this work displays some ability, and a considerable extent and variety of reading on the important subject to which it relates: but it does not appear to us that the author has added much that is new or original to what was already to be found in the standard writers on practical morality; and though the treatise has the *shew* of an apparently exact and methodical arrangement, yet, after an attentive perusal, we find ourselves somewhat at a loss to make out distinctly its plan and scope. To use Mr. Penrose's own words, we could 'quote from it a thousand just positions on the points which this enquiry professes to comprehend, but we cannot always discern the principle which combines them.' His object, as he informs us in his preface, 'is no less than that of applying to the whole science of morals the principles of religion; or, in other words, to shew the dependency on religion in which all human thoughts and actions ought reasonably and prudently to be held.' For this purpose, he endeavours in the first place to describe the character of mind that forms the object at which all men should aim, and afterward to make an estimate of the means that may enable us to attain this end. The work is accordingly divided into two parts; the first treating 'Of Motives essential to that Habit or Character which forms the Object or moral Pattern of human Life;' and the second, 'Of moral Discipline, and of Conscience especially; and of the Nature and Place of the subordinate Motives.'

As we have just observed, this is *apparently* a distinct and luminous arrangement: but we cannot say that the purpose of such an arrangement appears to us to be attained, namely, that of promoting clearness and precision of ideas either in the author or his readers. The first part, we presume, is intended to treat exclusively of what Mr. P. calls the *primary* motives, or of those dispositions which are essential to the perfection of the moral and religious character: yet among these we are surprized to find enumerated those sentiments which 'are usually entitled *malevolent.*' That no feelings analogous to such as are generally denominated *resentment*, *indignation*, or *vengeance*, which prompt us to wish and to do evil to others, are to be admitted into the breast of the man of true virtue, we will not maintain: but they are certainly feelings on which the *Christian* moralist will look with peculiar distrust. Mr. Penrose, we think, in common with a numerous class of ethical writers, (most of whom, however, have not professed to lay any stress on the authority of Revelation,) has gone much too far in his apology for such dispositions. 'We are apt,' he observes, 'to attribute *anger*, *indignation*, and even *vengeance* to God. But the moral qualities which we attribute to God include and can only include the excellences of our human nature.' Hence we are to infer that these sentiments are becoming and suitable inmates of the human breast. Such an argument must appear very inconclusive, if we consider that, when these dispositions are ascribed in Scripture to the Divine Being, the sacred writers are only using language adapted to our imperfect conceptions. To suppose that the Deity is really affected by hatred or revenge, or any other malevolent sentiment, would be blasphemous, and is in fact equally contradictory to reason and Revelation; — and even if it were otherwise, that is surely a strange argument which would vindicate the transference of every feeling that exists, or might be supposed to exist, in the Divine mind, into the breasts of his weak and fallible creatures.

'If any person' (says Mr. P., p. 121.) 'is desirous of asserting further the moral utility of these dangerous principles, he may be satisfied with this additional concession; that even *malignity itself*, so kind is nature in always affording the opportunity of correcting poison by its antidote, is often not without some compensation in that zealous spirit of attachment for which men who are highly malevolent towards some persons, are, I believe, usually distinguished in their conduct to others. For such is the difficulty of extirpating all the good dispositions of the mind, a difficulty, we may humbly believe, even greater than the difficulty of perfecting them,

them, that to dry up the charities of life in some of their outlets has ordinarily the effect of causing a more abundant issue in others.'

As a reply to this somewhat 'dangerous' concession, — this singular scheme of drying up some of the charities of life in order to cause a more abundant issue of others, — it may be sufficient to observe that a metaphor is no argument; and to call for proofs of the fact here asserted, which when expressed in plain language amounts to this, that to cherish the feelings of hatred and animosity is a most effectual method of promoting the growth of charity and benevolence. At any rate, we should think it must be universally admitted that malevolent dispositions, if in any case or circumstances allowable, ought to occupy only a very subordinate rank; and therefore they are placed with little propriety in the catalogue of those qualities, which are essential to the highest perfection of the moral character. On the other hand, some dispositions, such as the desire of knowlege, to say nothing of that of power, and even of money, (to which the author has attributed a degree of importance that seems to us equally unsuitable to the principle of his arrangement and the consistency of his character as a *Christian* moralist,) are placed in the class of subordinate motives.

In the chapter on the Motive of the Love of God, or of Piety, we have an accurate and judicious account of the nature and operation of this principle, with its importance and necessity in order to the perfection of the truly virtuous character. Mr. Penrose has not, however, been equally successful in explaining the effects produced by the combination of this principle with other motives. The love of God, we are informed, cannot exist in a separate or uncombined state. To suppose this would indeed be absurd, since it may with propriety be considered as the final result in which all excellent and virtuous dispositions ultimately terminate; and a mere speculative sentiment of admiration for the perfections of the Divine nature, unaccompanied by any practical influence on the heart and life, would not deserve the name of true piety. The pious man, therefore, not only *may* but *must* be benevolent; and he will also be prudent, in the best sense of the word: though, indeed, in the progress of moral improvement, an *explicit* regard to his own interest will be continually less and less an operative principle in his mind. Hence we cannot agree with Mr. P. that the love of God must always be combined with feelings that have some reference to self; — at least, it appears to us to be the evident tendency of this disposition to reject and exclude every thing selfish, as incon-

sistent with the highest perfection and happiness of our nature. Still less can we coincide with him in affirming that pursuits which *terminate* in self may be immediately dictated by a spirit of piety. 'The love of God,' (says he, p. 71.) 'may prescribe knowlege, or power, or wealth, or even reputation, as *the ends* which we may most wisely pursue; but, in the pursuit of some of them, if not in that of all, the specific desires of these ends themselves must of necessity germinate in the mind.' According to this doctrine, the love of God has a tendency to strengthen the love of the world. That the minor and secondary objects of pursuit here mentioned may in some instances be reasonably sought, as the means of more effectually serving our fellow-creatures, in obedience to a rational sentiment of piety, is certainly conceivable: — but this sentiment must be imperfect indeed in its growth, or in its influence on a man's mind, if it suffers him under any circumstances to withdraw his attention from the great ultimate end and purpose of his being, in order to transfer it to these comparatively mean and sordid pursuits. It is true that such inferior principles of action, when judiciously regulated, may be conducive to the growth and improvement of piety: but we find it difficult to conceive that the reverse of this process can ever take place, as the author in this passage seems to insinuate. The complete establishment of the above principle in the mind is, in truth, the perfection and final consummation of the moral and religious character; implying the entire absorption of every meaner case of more limited affection, and especially of all the comparatively sordid desires and pursuits which terminate in self, in one universally operating motive. The tendency of the discipline of this world to promote the growth of this comprehensive sentiment, and thus to lead to the highest perfection and happiness of our nature, is most satisfactorily explained by Hartley in his rule of life. With the "Observations on Man" it is difficult to imagine Mr. Penrose to be unacquainted, though he nowhere refers to them: — but we cannot refrain from expressing our opinion that, if he had studied this admirable work with the attention which it deserves, and indeed requires, his own book would have been the better for such a previous consideration of the subject.

Mr. P.'s chapter on Friendship is on the whole very pleasing and ingenious. It is observed that this feeling is distinguished from the other social affections, in as much as it supposes a certain equality between the parties; not an equality in rank or fortune, but in those estimable qualities which the friends mutually ascribe to each other, and to which they agree in attributing a degree of intrinsic merit sufficient to counterbalance

balance all minor and accidental differences. The importance, however, of an approach to equality, in those external circumstances which commonly separate men into separate classes, is frequently observable.

'Most men, with the exception of the humble Christian, are vain of their own particular eminence, and seldom fail to shew some exultation in it over all others who are in that respect their inferiors, though those others profess great merit of their own, merit allowed perhaps to be the greater in a just estimate, and though each may value and love the other sincerely. It is extraordinary that even artificial politeness does not go farther than it usually does in covering this adulation of self: but that thin veil has almost always some fissure through which the true character is discernible. And no man, who sees that another thinks inwardly; "I have fortune, or station, or ability, or even personal grace and dexterity, which set me higher than you, though I acknowlege that you have also your good qualities which I very sincerely regard and esteem;" no man who sees that another thinks thus, though he may and often does still entertain a reciprocal regard and attachment, can feel any thing of the true fervour of friendship.

'The case is the plainer, because it is seen to occur even among men who, to the other elements of friendship, had in time past added that of equality, and had been very intimately and dearly connected, — but who have embarked in different professions, or fallen into different habits of life. In such cases, the ties of friendship are often maintained closely and permanently; but often the soldier learns to think of the divine that he is become embarrassed with a professional bigotry, and the divine supposes the feelings of the lawyer to be overgrown by legal chicanery. Hence arise mutual alienation and distrust; though it sometimes happens, and must happen on these principles, that the friendship continues to subsist in one mind, even when it has ceased for ever in the other.

'Or suppose that the friends, instead of embarking in life with different ventures, or with different objects in view, devote themselves to the same profession, but follow it, as must naturally be the case, with very different degrees of success. Here, too, in many cases, the friendship will remain unchangeable: in many more cases, I firmly believe, will the recollection of common studies and common ability keep up the lively feeling through all discrepancy of circumstances, than any other bond of union not absolutely and essentially moral.

'But, on the other hand, how numerous are the instances in which nothing but the mere difference of success gradually estranges the firmest friends from each other! The more fortunate, though he may sincerely love to cherish his early and habitual regards and attachments, is seen to imply by something in air and demeanour, by some expression, which may be too evanescent to fix: "We now live in very different circles. I see the wheels which put that surface in motion, which alone is apparent to the gaze of the public. Events have proved that I add to natural

talent a tact and a prudence in the application of it which is every way a more valuable possession." — Wherever the least degree of such a sentiment as this does but seem to mix itself in the estimate which one man makes of another, their friendship is already evaporated.

'Nor is it evaporated only because in many, or probably in most cases, such sentiment is only the product of an overweening vanity or self-conceit, which cannot estimate the true value of those qualities which may flourish in a contented obscurity. Friendship is not the less annihilated, when all the facts are true which have given birth to the sentiment. That they may be true cannot be questioned, particularly since that exercise of talent which is usually exacted by station, and that prudence which is acquired by the conduct of affairs, do actually augment the powers of the mind in a degree which is seldom duly estimated by those who, from a station of privacy, think that they see more than the actors of the true meaning of what passes in the world.'

These remarks are just and important; indicating, also, if we mistake not, a mind of peculiarly delicate sensibility, and habituated to an accurate observation of human life. True friendship is indeed both the balm and the medicine of our existence; and to those who are blest with opportunity to cultivate this delightful sentiment in its perfection, it is doubtless one of the most valuable sources of happiness and improvement: — but this is evidently a privilege not granted to every one; and hence it seems unreasonable to consider friendship, in the limited and peculiar sense in which the present author understands the term, as an essential part of a truly virtuous character.

The chapter on the Moral Influence of the Desires contains some rather startling paradoxes; which, as usual in such cases, derive their plausibility chiefly from an abuse of words. 'The desires,' we are told, 'though the just regulation of them is among the most important ends in morals, are not ever to be regarded as virtues. If we could suppose it possible for a man to possess all the moral affections, and yet to be utterly without the desires, though we might think his mind very strangely constituted, we should hardly think the worse of its moral worth.' (P. 130.) If we attach its ordinary meaning to the term *desire*, this passage is little better than nonsense; for to suppose a man to have the affection of benevolence, for example, but no *desire* to promote his neighbour's happiness, is not far short of a contradiction. 'The *desire* of God's approbation, the *desire* to know his will, the *desire* of power to do good, are not exceptions to the statement which has here been made. These desires, if they may all have that title, are essentially virtuous only as they are combined with piety and bene-

benevolence; they borrow from those elevated affections the whole of the moral nature which they possess.' (P. 132.) Here we are naturally inclined to ask, in what do piety and benevolence consist, but in the prevalence of these desires as habitual principles of action? We are told, however, (p. 30.) that 'the desires centre solely in the private and personal enjoyments of the mind;' and with this limitation the mystery vanishes. Yet here, as in most other cases of arbitrary deviations from the received meaning of words, the author, by omitting to adhere rigidly to his own definitions, has been betrayed not merely into apparent paradox, but into real and fundamental error.

The second part of this volume treats of Moral Discipline, and proposes to assign the proper stations and relative importance of the *subordinate* motives to human action. To the general view which the writer has given of this very extensive subject, we have on the whole little to objeet: but some of the details and incidental remarks have rather surprized us. In p. 197. we have the following passage:

'Piety and benevolence are of all ends the most valuable, nor can any other ends be of the least moral utility except as subordinate or supplemental to these. Yet no one surely will estimate the desires as being on this account wholly base or immoral principles, who reflects for a moment that we owe to the operation of the desire of knowlege the mind even of Newton, and all the applications which we can make of his philosophy.

'To select another, and perhaps a preferable, because certainly a less dazzling, example; the soldier may find in the profession of arms his best and most accessible means of attaining moral improvement. We may permit him to look to military honour as the leading object of his active pursuit. We only stipulate that his pursuit of this object be guided and limited by justice and reason; though we allow, certainly, that without such guidance he naturally degenerates into one of the most odious of characters, and becomes stained with all the vices of blind and brutal ferocity.'

We can scarcely admit that this is a 'less dazzling' example, when we find that the false glare of martial glory has bewildered a *Christian* moralist to such a degree as to induce him, not in the heat and excitement of action, but in the calm tranquillity of his closet, to hold up military glory as a primary pursuit of a rational being. As for the stipulation that such a pursuit shall be guided and limited by justice and virtue, every one must perceive it to be utterly inapplicable to the subject. Nothing is more difficult than to lay down rules of right in a matter essentially wrong: but, even if this were practicable, these are evidently criteria which the soldier has no opportunity of applying; or, if he had, would not be

permitted to apply, to the military enterprises on which he is employed. His duty is to obey; the justice or policy of the war is no part of his business, and is an inquiry with which he rarely troubles himself. — On the question whether the practice of warfare be, under any circumstances, reconcileable to the principles of Christian morality, we do not propose at present to offer a decided opinion. We are aware that the subject involves many difficulties, and are not indisposed to admit that they who utterly deny the lawfulness of war, in any conceivable case, pursue a line of argument which cannot be maintained. Yet on this ground we profess ourselves prepared to take our stand, that, really and truly, war can be justified only when it is strictly defensive; and, above all, that such wars as are undertaken for the avowed purpose of national aggrandizement, or of military glory and renown, ought to be objects of abhorrence to every consistent Christian. We should, therefore, be very far from holding up the profession of arms as an eligible *school of moral and religious improvement*.

In the chapter on the Desire of Money, we are presented with an interesting and apparently a very just view of the favorable circumstances in the moral condition of that numerous class in the middle rank of society, who, while they possess a sufficient share of education to enable and incite them to avail themselves of every means of intellectual improvement within their reach, are under the necessity, in order to obtain the means of subsistence for themselves and their families, of devoting the greater part of their time to some active and laborious employment. We agree with the author that the moral circumstances of this class, which is perhaps the most respectable and influential in every civilized society, — and the class from whose increasing numbers, and intelligence, the growing and beneficial authority of public opinion is in a great degree derived, — are much more favorable to their improvement than they are generally imagined to be. Yet we are inclined to think that he has afterward carried these views rather too far, in maintaining that, when a man has raised himself to opulence by an assiduous attention to employments in which the acquisition of money has been the leading if not the sole object, the pursuit of wealth still continues to be his interest, and even his duty. This appears to us by much too worldly-minded a doctrine to be expected from a writer, and a clergyman, who inquires into the nature and discipline of human motives 'chiefly on principles of religion.' The argument, however, is plausible, and ably stated;

and therefore we shall allow the author to present it in his own words.

'It is to be observed that men even of the greatest opulence and ability may be so placed by the condition of their birth, or by other relations with society, that the pursuit of wealth shall be their natural occupation. A great commercial establishment once built up by labour, and made respectable by integrity, by the labour and integrity perhaps of successive generations, is a sort of inheritance which it may be very unwise, nay wrong, to relinquish, merely because the heir is in possession without it of all the decencies or even splendours of life. It is a post of no inconsiderable importance, which no one else probably can fill so well, and which, if he deserts, he himself probably will lapse into uselessness; a danger always the greatest with those persons who either own but few ties with society, or who abandon those which they own.

'At the same time, it is material to observe that men, in the circumstances which I have now described, though the pursuit of wealth is still properly their business, are above all others indispensably required to dignify it by every possible method. As the motives to desire it for its most obvious uses diminish in the degree in which it is attained, so the influence of the nobler, and particularly of the moral, motives which may combine with it, ought naturally to increase in proportion. And the natural reason there is to expect that, as this ought to be, so it probably will be so, confirms strongly the eligibility of the pursuit for those persons who, though already opulent, may, as has been said, be naturally called to embark in it. For though the intense desire of money is often rivetted by habit in the minds of those persons whom necessity may have first taught to desire it, and will therefore subsist when the necessity is removed, yet they, in whom the pursuit is originally dictated by a freer choice, can hardly be supposed in general to feel the desire with the same intensity. It may be therefore fairly expected of them, that they will in general be both the most able and the most inclined to dignify the pursuit they engage in by combining it with noble and liberal views. The important advantage which may thus result to society, by raising in general the tone of the pursuit, (for even the efforts of a single individual to adorn and elevate the pursuit he is engaged in may possess a very wide and permanent influence,) cannot easily be over-estimated. And though this result is not the criterion of moral worth, yet for a man to model his occupation or pursuit with a judicious view to this result is merit of a high, or of the highest, order.'

We should be very far from denying that there have been, and are, in this great emporium of the commercial world, many eminent individuals not less distinguished for their diligence and success in mercantile pursuits, than for the liberality and munificence which they display in dispensing their honorably acquired gains. We will farther grant that, when this union

does

does take place, of a close and successful attention to trade with a taste not only for the splendors and elegant refinements of a cultivated and luxurious age, but for the variety of noble purposes to which great wealth under the direction of patriotism and philanthropy may be applied, a character is formed which may be extensively beneficial to society, and is peculiarly fitted to exalt and dignify the mercantile profession. It is our duty, however, to consider not merely the advantage which arises to society from the existence of such a character, but also the probability of its being formed under the circumstances here supposed; and we fear there is too much reason to believe that the eminent persons, to whom allusion is here made, are rather exceptions to a general rule; — while the great mass of those, who continue to devote their *whole lives* to the pursuit of this species of personal aggrandizement, are actuated by motives less honorable to themselves and less beneficial to the public. If we judge either from what passes around us or from the united experience of mankind, such an occupation seems with most men to have a great tendency to absorb the whole attention of the mind, and both to indispose and disable it for any more noble and dignified purusit. The expectation which Mr. P. holds out, that, in proportion as the necessity of farther accumulation diminishes, the intensity of the desire for it will subside, and may consequently be more readily combined with noble and liberal views, we apprehend to be very little countenanced by common observation; which rather shews the still prevailing truth of the remark of the Roman satirist,

"*Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.*"

The Appendix contains a discussion of the much controverted subject of Moral Obligation. Virtue and obligation, according to the author, are correlative and commensurate terms; whatever is virtue *obliges*, whatever *obliges* is virtue; and hence the question why we *ought* to practise virtue is identical and unmeaning. Yet surely it is one thing to perceive the conformity of a certain mode of conduct with a particular rule, and another to point out the sanction or authority which enforces that rule and converts it into a law. The difficulties which have arisen in the *theory* of this subject, for there is none in the practice, have occurred in a great measure from the circumstance that ethical writers have in general considered it exclusively with reference to the persons *obliged*, and not to the authority *obliging*. Obligation has been defined by some to be the *necessary* connection between the practice of virtue and the attainment of happiness. Now this connection

connection must evidently arise either from the essential nature of things, — that is, in other words, from the course and order of Providence, — or from the express and acknowleged will of a Being who is capable not only of enforcing obedience to his laws by rendering it necessary to our happiness, but likewise of inspiring respect and veneration by the intrinsic excellence of his nature. It is from the Divine will, therefore, that all moral obligation must originally emanate; and in the stress which Dr. Paley has laid on this circumstance, his account of this subject appears to us more satisfactory than that which is given in the work before us. We should make the obvious distinction, however, between the ground of obligation and the leading or predominant motive to action; and, from not sufficiently attending to this distinction, considerable obscurity and confusion have arisen, we think, in Mr. Penrose's views of this subject.

ART. VIII. *An Address to the People of England in the Cause of the Greeks,* occasioned by the late inhuman Massacres in the Isle of Scio, &c. By the Rev. T. S. Hughes, Author of "Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania." 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.* Simpkin and Marshall.

No reader of Mr. Hughes's Travels in Albania, to which we had pleasure in paying a deserved tribute in our Number for June, 1821, will feel surprized that *his* mind should be impressed with the shocking scenes now passing in Greece; that *his* eloquence should be excited by the anxious struggle, and heated to indignation by the horrid sufferings, of the living descendants of the illustrious dead; and that *his* personal knowlege of that beautiful, interesting, but ill-fated country should enable him to depict with living truth, and harrowing effect, the existing struggle between science and ignorance, arts and barbarism, Christianity and Mohammedism! Creditable it is to his classic recollections and enthusiasm, and worthy of his feelings and character as a Christian minister, that he cannot remain silent in such a crisis, but arises to plead the cause of a tortured nation; among whom he had experienced the rites of hospitality, and whose misfortunes as well as whose antiquities he had already endeavored to make familiar to his countrymen. Let those countrymen blush that they require his exhortations: let them blush still more, but let them rouse and recover their lost fame, when they hear him say;

'I have

'I have learned that the character of England, which once stood so pre-eminent among all nations for generous sympathy towards the unfortunate and oppressed, has become an object of disgust and detestation to a suffering people, who, in the commencement of their struggle, looked up to us as the natural averters of misery, and patrons of humanity. From public documents, and private information, I plainly perceive the inclination of continental confederates, tending to the support of what is called "the balance of power," and "the peace of Europe;" or, in other words, to the protection of an infidel exterminating government, to an alliance with deliberate murderers, barbarians habitually stained with the most abominable vices, and declared enemies of the Christain faith. — Under such reflections, I felt that, in remaining silent any longer, I should be a traitor to myself, a traitor to my country, a traitor to humanity, and a traitor to my God.

'I appeal not to governments, statesmen, and politicians. I am aware that they are surrounded with difficulties and perplexing considerations; that they are frequently obliged to pursue what appear to be temporary interests, in preference to those which are more remote, and to adopt a line of policy which their consciences cannot help condemning: but, whilst I endeavour to shew that the policy of supporting such an empire as that of Turkey is weak and vain, unless it were possible to effect an entire change in the moral habits and religious principles of its constituents, I would excite that ardour and enthusiasm in the breasts of my countrymen, which may lead them to express openly their sentiments in the cause of humanity. The *vox populi* has been sometimes rather impiously denominated the *vox Dei*: in this instance, however, it might deserve the appellation; and if it should fail to influence our rulers in adopting more liberal and generous resolutions, and redeeming the character of government abroad, upon which the best interests of a nation always depend, let us at least demonstrate by our acts, as individuals, that we are not indifferent to the fate of a Christian nation, struggling for existence with infidels and barbarians. It is not by steel only that the sinews of war are supplied, or its events decided. The expression of a great and generous people's approbation, the very influence of their encouragement, and, above all, the communication of their resources, might at this time operate most powerfully in restoring a miserable nation to its rights; in vindicating the cause of Christianity through the triumph of the Greeks; and in delivering Europe from the disgraceful presence of a tribe, who, to the vices of the most effeminate, add the cruelties of the most barbarous people; who contribute nothing to the general interests of nations, but render the beautiful country which they oppress the common sepulchre of arts and science.'

Mr. H. addresses himself warmly to that spirit of benevolence and philanthropy which has so eminently distinguished the British nation, and trusts not alone to an excitement of classic enthusiasm

enthusiasm for that land where sacred and profane history equally unite in forming the most attractive associations; 'where Socrates taught the lessons of his incomparable ethics, and a still greater than Socrates disclosed the mysteries of the "unknown God" to those who sat in darkness.' Justly does he represent that he might call forth both gratitude and compassion, by passing before our eyes the shades of departed sages, poets, and historians, whose immortal writings still form and delight our minds; or might inflame our ardor by apostrophizing the manes of a Miltiades and a Leonidas, and dwelling on the glories of Salamis and Thermopylæ. Delightful, honorable, and impressive as such a task would be, founded on such a cause, and adorned and enforced by such arguments, yet, the author truly adds, he has a still more sacred cause to plead, and an infinitely higher name to invoke. 'The cause I plead,' says he, 'is that of suffering Christians; — the name I invoke is that of Him who died upon the cross, and who, in the frightful torments of his followers, is daily crucified afresh; while innumerable multitudes of those followers are urged by fierce, relentless persecution, to apostatize from their faith, and to seek the only remedy for their temporal calamities in the perdition of their immortal souls.'

We must call the attention of our readers to Mr. H.'s animated representation, first, of the barbarizing nature of the Turkish government; and, then, of the actual effects that it produces on the hallowed land which it profanes by its sway and desolates by its ferocity, as displayed in scenes of which the author has been himself a witness.

'It is possible that the people of England may be unacquainted with the superstition of these barbarians, who are so zealously supported by Christian powers! They may not know that it is fiercely and implacably hostile to Christianity — that it was hatched and matured in falsehood, hypocrisy, and blood — that it addresses itself to the sensual appetites and corrupt passions — that it cherishes inordinate pride, fanatic zeal, and is a pander to the most abominable impurities — that it degrades the dignity of human nature, and depreciates the value of human life — that it encourages ignorance by representing all arts, sciences, and literature as unnecessary, or prejudicial to mankind, unless warranted by the Koran — that it produces mental torpor and apathy, chilling every tendency to speculative exertion or intellectual and moral improvement, by the desolating doctrines of fatality and predestination — finally, that it establishes the horrid principle, that civil and political power shall depend exclusively upon faith in the law of Mahomet, whilst it exposes every Christian to the unrestrained

unrestrained brutality, and irresponsible tyranny of the vilest wretch that wears a turban.'—

'Would the reader know more concerning the internal government of this wretched country? let him take the portrait as I am able to sketch it from personal observation: for I have traversed no small part of these interesting realms, so rich in all the gifts of bountiful nature, and so despoiled by tyrant man: I have seen the pallid countenances and squalid forms of their wretched peasantry, worn to the very bones by labour, want, and oppression — I have seen blows inflicted by wanton authority, and borne with patient submission — I have seen those, who, by commercial or any other fortunate speculations, had amassed wealth, either careful to hide it from their rapacious tyrants under the external garb of misery, or dissipating it in prodigality, in order that they might secure a few moments of happiness, and then live upon the recollection of the past — I have seen rich and amiable families turned out of houses and possessions, at the caprice of a Pasha, who desired them for his favourites — I have seen whole districts so appropriated, after the inhabitants had been exposed to unheard-of persecutions, in order to make them *voluntarily* throw up their territory into the hands of a tyrant — I have rode over the ruins of large villages, scathed by the flames of destruction, because some reputable family had refused to deliver up a beautiful son or daughter, as the victim of that tyrant's execrable lusts — I have seen part of the Turkish population, in a large city, armed against its Frank inhabitants, cutting and maiming with swords and ataghans every Christian they met with, on account of a private quarrel — I have seen large towns, professing the Mahometan faith, whose inhabitants had all to a man apostatized from that of their forefathers, to escape the inordinate exactions and oppressive cruelties to which as Christians they were subjected — I have seen rich tracts of country turned into deserts, fields languishing without culture, and cities fallen into decay, where misrule and injustice had combined with plague and famine against the constitution of society; and, as public immorality flourishes most and grows up to maturity under the reign of despotism, I have seen apostates, false witnesses, secret poisoners, open assassins, and all the other agents of unlimited tyranny, clothed in the spoils and rioting on the property of their unhappy victims. In short, I have seen a nation humbled, degraded, and abused; I have seen man, made in his Maker's likeness, reduced below the standard of the brute creation, living without civil or political existence, plundered without remorse, tortured without mercy, and slaughtered without commiseration!'

After these affecting appeals and representations, Mr. H. inquires what motives can induce Christian states to patronize such a power as Turkey; and first he considers the fear of the aggrandizement of Russia, by allowing it to conquer that country, and its dependent states of Greece. He deems this a vain speculation, because the colossus of clay *will* be kicked down,

down, he says, 'whenever it shall please the Arctic Despot to stretch out his leg;' — and

'What can prevent the Greeks, connected as they are with Russia by a common faith, by great mercantile establishments, by offices and emoluments which the Autocrat of the North so liberally bestows upon them, from inviting his aid and imploring his co-operation whenever they may rise to throw off the yoke? What but the establishment of an independent Grecian empire, having rights worthy of defence, and privileges worthy of enjoyment? This, I venture to assert, would be the firmest barrier against all encroachment, whether Russia should endeavour to seize upon the whole, or should admit other continental states to a participation of the plunder.'

His next consideration is that the Greeks are supposed to be sacrificed to a sordid spirit of mercantile advantage: but he endeavors to shew that our Levant trade has long been declining, and never can be so flourishing with ignorant, slothful, and fanatical Turks, as it would be with the liberated enterprizing Greek. Like South America, emancipated Greece 'would open a capacious mart for European produce: England would be the first country to enjoy the advantages of this commerce; and as Greece has neither external colonies nor the means of acquiring them, she would seek their produce from Great Britain: while interest on the one side, and gratitude on the other, would cement the union of the two nations, and guarantee its durability.'

A third and more important topic of consideration is that the standard of the Cross, raised against the Crescent, is perhaps deemed 'the signal of rebellion; and that the throne of the Sultan is considered as fixed on the basis of legitimacy.'

'Gracious heaven! that terms should ever be so perverted; or that the epithet legitimate should be attached to tyrannic despotism! What allegiance do the Greeks owe these barbarian lords? If indeed to strip an unfortunate people of their property, to incapacitate them for civil or political appointments, to expose them to insufferable exactions and wanton injury, to leave them without guarantee for liberty or life, and not unfrequently to deliberate upon their utter extirpation; in short, if to attack and conquer them without provocation, and to preserve through four successive centuries the broad indelible mark of slavery between the conquerors and the conquered, if this be to secure the duty of allegiance, then has the Sultan a right to expect support from the confederated Christian states. — But I rather believe that every liberal and unprejudiced man will think with me, that, since history cannot point out one solitary paternal monarch in the blood-stained annals of the Ottoman empire, that, since the sword of conquest has never yet been deposited in the hands of justice, and

no

no laws exist for the protection of the Greeks, to no laws are they amenable. Unattached to their conquerors by a single benefit, unacknowledging their odious dominion, unbound by a single oath, unrestrained by any bond but that of terror, and never having renounced the imprescriptible law of national independence, they retain the same right to rise against their ferocious tyrants, as when those savage hordes first crossed the Bosphorus to usurp the throne of the Cæsars: nay more, they have the strongest possible claim to succour and assistance from all Christian powers; and every philanthropic government would at least leave private speculation free, and furnish them with the provisions of war, instead of prohibiting such supplies, or granting them to their adversaries. — To denounce their patriotic struggles for the recovery of those rights on which alone legitimacy is founded, as the efforts of rebellion, is political blasphemy, is an outrage against the law of nations and the law of nature; and the endeavour to detain them under the iron sceptre of their oppressors is not more unjust than it would be to replace Spain under the dominion of the Moors, the Low Countries under that of Spain, or the Russians under the yoke of the Mogul Tartars.'

The late heart-sickening transactions at Scio are then stated as one other motive for this appeal, 'capable of moving every heart which the scorching breath of modern policy has not dried up and withered;' and Mr. Hughes closes with this forcible apostrophe:

'Reader, if you be a brother, a husband, or a father, I call upon you by those sacred ties of nature, I call upon you in the name of Woman, of her who exalts our joys and soothes our sorrows, of her whose weakness is her greatest power, of her who is the protectress of our infancy, the inspirer of our youth, the companion of our manhood, and the consoler of our age; if you desire your own island still to remain, as it hitherto has been, a sacred temple on whose altar Virtue herself offers up the pure incense of congenial souls, I call you to discard your apathy, to exert your efforts in the sacred cause of liberty and religion, and preserve your fellow-creatures from worse evils than the exterminating sword of ruthless savages.

'And you, the advocates of philanthropy in our senate, who have so oft proclaimed the sorrows and vindicated the rights of suffering humanity, who have extended the arm of power to the relief of the captive African, why are ye now silent? I would be the last person to suppress generous feelings for human misery under any shape; but what are the pains of hunger, of captivity, or of death itself, what are the sufferings of the Indian slave, or Irish peasant, compared with those horrors which overwhelm the wretched daughters of unfortunate Greece? Speak out therefore in this cause, or boast no more your philanthropic sentiments! By those virtues that distinguished our brave ancestors — by the blessings of civil and religious liberty, which we ourselves enjoy — by

— by that sacred ensign, the Cross of our Redeemer, which is degraded and despised — by Him who died upon that Cross, and taught us in our prayers to address his Father as our Father — and by that paternal God, who may possibly permit these evils to exist, for this, amongst other inscrutable reasons, that they may excite in us a spirit worthy of our high calling, speak out, that our national honour be not further compromised, and the stain of everlasting disgrace stamped upon our annals. Ye must know the cause which is now at stake — ye know that the struggle is between oppression, tyranny, and injustice, arranged against humanity, civilization, and Christianity.'

At p. 234. of this Review, we have quoted the opinions of Napoleon Bonaparte on the question of Russian aggrandizement and the subjugation of Turkey. We apprehend that similar ideas are entertained by the present European potentates, and influence our Ministers in their conduct with regard to the profligate inhuman Turk and the virtuous but degraded and agonized Christian. Can these political feelings, however, so much pervade all England, that they have produced the indifference to the situation of the Greeks which we must so reluctantly admit to have prevailed? Whatever be the cause, may the energetic appeal of Mr. Hughes not have been made to them in vain, either as an invocation or as an argument; and let us cheer the noble combatants themselves by the animating voice of one of their own immortal orators.

Χαίρειε ἀκούοντες οἵαν τὶς ἐπαινη τους πρόγονους ὑμων, καὶ τα πεπραγμένα ἐκείνοις δίεξιη, καὶ τρόπαια λέγη. Νομίζειε τοίνυν ταῦτα ἀναθηναι τους πρόγονους ὑμων ουκ ἵνα θαυμάζηιε τἀῦτα θεώρεντες μόνον, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ μιμησθε τας των ἀνάθεντων ἀρείας.

DEMOSTH. *pro Rhodiorum libertate.*

ART. IX. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, for the Year 1821. Part II. 4to. 1*l.* 1*s.* sewed. Nicol and Son.

NATURAL HISTORY, CHEMISTRY, ANATOMY, &c.

SOME Observations and Experiments on the Papyri found in the Ruins of Herculaneum. By Sir Humphrey Davy, Bart. P.R.S. — This paper relates experiments made in England on fragments of papyri, with a view to unroll MSS.; gives a description of the rolls in the Museum at Naples, and of some analytical experiments made on them, with a full detail of the various chemical processes executed in the Museum at Naples on the MSS.; and states the reasons which induced Sir Humphrey to renounce the undertaking

before it was completed. Some general remarks on the MSS. of the antients are also added. The ink used by them being composed of charcoal, and chlorine and iodine having no action on charcoal, but destroying the adhering matter of the leaves of the rolls of papyri, it occurred that these substances might be used to separate the leaves without obliterating the letters, or even injuring them: but from the products of the distillation of fragments of papyri, viz. water, acetous acid, ammonia, carbonic acid, and inflammable gas, it was inferred that the papyri must contain much undecompounded vegetable matter, and could not be purely carbonaceous.

With regard to the MSS. discovered at Herculaneum, they were originally 1696 in number, but 431 have been submitted to experiment, or sent to foreign governments; and of these remaining specimens not 100 were in a state likely to afford the information desired from the process before pursued, the rolls having been objects of examination for 70 years, and being mutilated and defective. In general, the writing was only on one side, and they were rolled on a stick which had been turned into dense charcoal. It is an erroneous idea to suppose the different appearances of the rolls to have been occasioned by the fire of lava which covered a part of Herculaneum, the portion of this city in which the MSS. were found being under a bed of tufa formed of sand, volcanic ashes, stones, and dust, cemented by the operation of water perhaps in a boiling state. Fire is not necessary to produce such a carbonization as that of the MSS.

Among the general observations at the close of this paper, we find some few of great curiosity and importance.

'I looked,' says the author, 'in vain among the MSS. and on the animal charcoal surrounding them, for vestiges of letters in oxide of iron; and it would seem from these circumstances, as well as from the omission of any mention of such a substance by Pliny, that the Romans, up to this period, never used the *ink of galls and iron for writing*; and it is very probable that the adoption of this ink and the use of parchment took place at the same time. For the ink composed of charcoal and solution of glue can scarcely be made to adhere to skin; whereas the free acid of the chemical ink partly dissolves the gelatine of the MSS., and the whole substance adheres as a mordant.—

'The earliest MSS. probably in existence on parchment are those *codices rescripti*, discovered by Monsignore Mai, in the libraries of Milan and Rome. Through his politeness I have examined these MSS., particularly that containing some of the books of Cicero *de Republica*, and which he refers to the second or third century. From the form of the columns, it is very probable that they were copied from a papyrus. The vegetable matter which

which rendered the oxide of iron black is entirely destroyed, but the peroxide of iron remains; and when it is not covered by the modern MSS. the form of the letter is sufficiently distinct. Monsignore Mai uses solution of galls for reviving the blackness.'

Sir Humphrey found the triple prussiate of potash, used in the manner recommended by Sir C. Blagden, with the alternation of acid, successful in restoring color to the letters in antient MSS.: but, by making a weak solution of it in a small quantity of muriatic acid, and by applying them to the letters in their state of mixture with a camel's hair pencil, the results were still better. — We read with concern that engraved columns from unrolled papyri under the direction of Mr. Hayter, at the expence of his present Majesty, 'owing to the characters of the persons charged with their publication,' are not likely to be soon offered to the world.

Eight plates are subjoined, representing the papyri both in their rolled and their folded states.

Observations on Naphthaline, a peculiar Substance resembling a Concrete Essential Oil, which is apparently produced during the Decomposition of Coal Tar, by exposure to a Red Heat. By J. Kidd, M.D. Professor of Chemistry, Oxford. — On passing the vapor of coal-tar through an ignited iron tube, a dark-colored liquid was obtained, of an aromatic odor, together with the smell of ammonia, soluble in æther, and nearly in alcohol; with other properties here described. A pint of this dark-coloured liquid was submitted to very slow distillation, and among other products was a concrete substance as white as snow, in distinct flocculi; with an aqueous product, an oily fluid, and a yellow farina. The white substance is pungent and aromatic, and is particularly characterized by its odor, which is not unlike that of the Narcissus and some other fragrant flowers: its specific gravity is rather greater than that of water; and various other properties are described, such as its fusibility at 180°, and its inflammability. The author observes that the most remarkable character of this substance is its 'ready disposition to crystallize.' The *yellow farina* product was in too small a quantity for satisfactory examination. Dr. Kidd proposes the name *Naphthaline* for the white concrete substance.

An Account of the Skeletons of the Dugong, two horned Rhinoceros, and Tapir of Sumatra, sent by Sir Thomas Raffles to England. By Sir Everard Home, Bart. — We have now for the first time a representation of the skeleton of the Dugong in the drawings of Mr. Clift. This is the only known animal that grazes at the bottom of the sea, where it feeds on weeds, and is not supported on four legs; so that a peculiar

mode of balancing its body over the weed is required. A more particular account of the Rhinoceros with two horns is also now given, by the assistance of the drawing of the skeleton. The horns of a Rhinoceros from the interior of Africa, lately brought home by Mr. Campbell, are those of the long-doubted Unicorn; yet in reality there are two horns, though one is very short. The larger is a yard in length, and two feet in circumference at the base. The smaller is close to it, but is only 12 inches long, though the circumference at the base is 24 inches. — The Tapir of Sumatra, as well as that of America, has a greater general resemblance to the Rhinoceros than to any other animal; and of their bones, which are similar to one another, a comparison is here made by the author.

On the Separation of Iron from other Metals. — By J. F. W. Herschel, Esq. — Mr. H. here proposes a method of separating iron which is 'mathematically rigorous, of general application, and possessing in the highest degree the advantages of facility, celerity, and cheapness.' The process consists in bringing iron to the maximum of oxidation by boiling it in nitric acid, and, while in a state of ebullition, neutralizing it with carbonate of ammonia. The whole of the iron to the last atom is thus precipitated, and all of the other metals present (which he supposes to be manganese, cerium, nickel, and cobalt,) remain in solution. Some precautions, however, are suggested. No inconvenience can arise from slightly surpassing the point of precise neutralization, as the newly precipitated carbonates of metals are readily soluble, to a certain extent, in the solution in which they are formed, though perfectly neutral. The iron is not separated in the state of a carbonate but of a sub-salt, or a simple peroxid, the whole of the carbonic acid escaping with effervescence at each addition of the alkali. The phænomenon turns on a peculiarity in the peroxid of this metal, in virtue of which it is incapable of existing in a neutral solution at the boiling temperature. Mr. Herschel observes that one grain of manganese in a thousand of iron may be detected by this method.

By inverting the process, the separation of iron from uranium may be effected. A mixed solution of iron and uranium being de-oxidized by a current of sulphuretted hydrogen, and then treated with an earthy carbonate, the iron passes in solution while the uranium separates. This example furnishes a kind of chemical dilemma, of one or the other of whose horns we may avail ourselves in any proposed case. Zirconia, too, might probably be freed from iron with equal facility by a similar inversion of the process. — We cannot close this article without expressing our respect for the really

really profound chemical learning of Mr. H. which is displayed in the paper just reported.

On the Re-establishment of a Canal in the Place of a Portion of the Urethra which had been destroyed. By Henry Earle, Esq. Surgeon to the Foundling, and Assistant Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. — We have here a remarkable case of the urethra being injured so as to produce retention of urine, and effusion into the cellular substance: mortification followed; and the integuments in the perinæum, with more than an inch of the canal of the urethra, sloughed away. The urethra could not be restored, but a cicatrix occupied its place. — Mr. Earle, confiding in the powers of the animal economy to regenerate defective parts, removed the cicatrix; pared away the callous edges of the ends of the urethra, by cutting through the integuments; and, by contrivances for which we must refer to the memoir, a new growth of parts was excited, restoring a considerable portion of the canal of the urethra, which performed all the functions of that organ. Such an operation, and such an example of regeneration, we believe to be without a parallel; and the future benefits, and farther improvements from the success of it, cannot be contemplated without emotions of the most pleasing kind.

On the Peculiarities that distinguish the Manatee of the West Indies from the Dugong of the East Indian Seas. By Sir Ev. Home, Bart. — The Manatee, which is a species of Dugong, is but little known with respect to internal structure. From its habits, it is placed between the Dugong and Hippopotamus, but it has no tusks. The skeleton resembles that of the Dugong. An important distinction made is that the teeth in these two species are totally different; a circumstance which shews that classification from the teeth is liable to be very erroneous.

On a New Compound of Chlorine and Carbon. By Richard Phillips, F. R. S. E., and Michael Faraday, Chemical Assistant in the Royal Institution. — This paper relates to the distillation of nitric acid from calcined sulphate of iron and crude nitre in iron retorts, with Woulfe's apparatus. The first tube was lined with sulphur, and the second with fine white feathery crystals; — in quantity, a few grains, on each distillation. This substance, on examination, appears to be a chloride of carbon, quite different from the per-chloride of carbon which has been already discovered, and reported in the Philosophical Transactions, Part I. for 1821. It was repeatedly sublimed, unaltered, but was at length decompounded. On passing a portion over rock-crystal, heated to bright redness in a green glass tube, it was decomposed, charcoal was de-

posited, and the gas passed into a solution of nitrate of silver, precipitated it, and proved to be chloride of carbon in addition to two other different chlorides already communicated. Three grains of this chloride were passed in vapour over pure peroxid of copper, heated to redness in a green glass tube, yielding 5·7 cubic inches of carbonic acid gas: a very small portion of the oxid of copper was reduced: but portions of a crystalline body appeared within the tube, which, on examination, was found to be chloride of copper. The composition of this proto-chloride of carbon is deduced to be nearly one portion of chlorine and two of carbon. This third kind, discovered so soon after the two former chlorides of carbon, is similar to them in its physical energies.

On the Nerves; giving an Account of some Experiments on their Structure and Functions, which lead to a new Arrangement of the System. By Charles Bell, Esq. — Mr. B. commences this long and valuable paper with holding out a most pleasing prospect that the intricacies of the nervous system are now unravelled, and the peculiar structure and functions of the individual nerves ascertained; so that the absolute confusion in which this department was involved has disappeared, and the natural and simple order has been discovered. His object is limited to all the nerves which serve to combine the muscles employed in the act of breathing and speaking. Quiet ordinary breathing is performed with the ribs only, or the muscles which raise and depress the chest: but, in the violent respiration of the horse, the flanks are in strong action; the neck as well as the chest is incited powerfully; and the nostrils and the throat keep time with the motion of the chest. In such a state in the human frame, if by exercise or passion the respiratory action be so much excited, the shoulders are raised, the muscles of the throat and neck are violently drawn up, and the lips and nostrils expand, moving in time with the general action of the chest. Hundreds of muscles are excited to action in breathing, singing, speaking, sneezing, &c., which require cords, or nerves, called by the author respiratory. For *one* function the organ has only *one* nerve; if there be more than one nerve, there is more than one function; and accordingly, if two nerves coming from different sources are directed to one part, this is the sign of a double function performed by it: or, if a part has many distinct nerves, we may be certain that, instead of having a mere accumulation of nervous power, it possesses distinct powers, or enters into different combinations, in proportion to the number of its nerves. In animals which do not breathe, the mouth having only one function, there is only *one* nerve, and the

the same law exists also in various parts. On the other hand, weeks are required to disentangle the nerves of the tongue, throat, and palate; branches being exhibited from five different trunks of nerves, on account of the mouth being the organ of the voice, speech, taste, and of exquisite feeling. Mr. B. has beautifully and satisfactorily discovered the simple and easy mode of displaying the numerous nerves which cross and entwine in the most complicated structures, by referring them to the two classes for sensation and motion in the simplest animals. He then traces the superadded nerves in the ascending series of more and more complicated, up to the *most* complicated in the human creature.

'The nerves of the spine, the tenth or sub-occipital nerve, and the fifth or trigeminus of Willis, constitute this original and symmetrical system. All these nerves agree in these essential circumstances: they have all double origins; they have all ganglia on one of their roots; they go out laterally to certain divisions of the body; they do not interfere to unite the divisions of the frame; they are all muscular nerves, ordering the voluntary motions of the frame; they are all exquisitely sensible, and the source of the common sensibility of the surfaces of the body: when accurately represented on paper, they are seen to pervade every part; no part is without them; and yet they are symmetrical and simple as the nerves of the lower animals.'

All these nerves are very sensible, while nerves not of this original class are comparatively so little sensible as not to be immediately distinguished. If the fifth nerve, and the *portio dura* of the seventh, be both exposed on the face of a living animal, not the slightest doubt will remain in the mind of the operator as to which of these nerves bestows sensibility; for the nerve of this original class being divided, the skin and common substance are deprived of sensibility: but a nerve *not* of this class being divided, it in no measure deprives the parts of their sensibility to external impression. On the division of the *portio dura* on one side of the head of an ass, he gave no sign of pain, there was no struggle or effort while cutting across this nerve, and the animal ate corn and hay as usual, immediately after the operation: — but on *touching* the superior *maxillary* branch of the fifth pair there was *acute pain*. When the fifth nerve, or nerve of mastication and sensation, was cut, the poor creature could no longer gather his food. The cutting of the fifth nerve gave pain in a degree corresponding with our notions of the sensibility of nerves: but in cutting the *portio dura* it was not evident that the animal suffered any pain. The slightest touch of the *portio dura*, or respiratory nerve, convulsed the muscles of the face, yet still he gave no

sign of pain. On the contrary, it was difficult to produce any degree of action in the muscles by means of the branches of the fifth pair, although touching the nerve caused great pain.— It must be useful, both to the physician and the surgeon, to know that the two sets of nerves distributed to the face have distinct functions; and the former will be better able to distinguish between that paralysis which proceeds from the brain, and that partial affection of the muscles of the face which exists when, from a less alarming cause, they have lost the controlling influence of the respiratory nerve. From these distinct affections of this nerve, we understand why the patient has a command over the muscles of the face, can close the lips, and keep the features duly balanced: but the slightest smile is immediately attended with distortion, and in laughing and crying the paralysis becomes quite distinct.

The author recommends the study of expression to the physician. Smiling is an expression of the nerve of respiration on the muscles of the face, and laughter is only an extended and more convulsive action of the muscles, produced by the same class of nerves. 'By thus distinguishing the nerves of respiration, and as it were separating them from the others, we reduce the remaining part of the nervous system to comparative simplicity.— By these observations, simplicity and arrangement are now the characters of our anatomical demonstrations, and a better foundation is afforded for discovering and comprehending the symptoms of disease.'

An engraving is subjoined, representing the nerves of the face, as illustrative of this most interesting and novel memoir. The plate especially exhibits the *respiratory nerve* of the face, or the *portio dura* of the seventh;— the large portion of the respiratory nerve, which goes to the muscles of the mouth, and to the integuments of the cheek, where they accompany the blood-vessels that suffuse the cheeks;— a superficial plexus of nerves formed on the neck by the respiratory nerve, or *portio dura;*— the branches of the cervical nerves, and the phrenic nerve;— various branches of the *trigeminus* or fifth pair;— the phrenic nerve, or internal respiratory nerve, &c. &c.

Further Researches on the Magnetic Phænomena produced by Electricity; with some new Experiments on the Properties of electrified Bodies, in their Relations to conducting Powers and Temperature. By Sir Humphrey Davy, Bart., P. R. S.— Some accession of knowlege, on the subject of Magnetism produced by electricity, has been gained by the experiments related in this paper. They are detailed in nine paragraphs, which are scarcely susceptible of an intelligible abridgment.

MATHEMATICS,

Mathematics, Astronomy, &c.

An Account of Experiments to determine the Times of Vibration of the Pendulum in different Latitudes. By Captain Edward Sabine, of the Royal Artillery, F.R.S.— Among the various scientific objects proposed to be effected during the recent voyages to the Arctic regions, that which had reference to the figure of the earth was by no means the least important. Immediately after the laws of gravitation had been fully established by Newton, it occurred to some philosopher, whose name is not stated, that a pendulum ought to vibrate quicker towards the poles than at the equator, in consequence of the diminution of gravity at the latter place, as occasioned by the greater centrifugal force; and, not long subsequently, a question arose whether this effect might not be still greater in consequence of the probable oblate figure of the earth. If the earth were originally in a fluid state, its figure must of mechanical necessity assume the form of an oblate sphere: but the ratio of the equatorial and polar diameters would be different, according to the actual internal state of the fluid mass; and consequently, as this was assumed to be of uniform density, or of different densities following certain determinate laws, the computations gave different degrees of compression. According to Huygens, the compression is denoted by the fraction $\frac{1}{578}$; Newton makes it $\frac{1}{230}$; and other theoretical results might be mentioned.

As, however, no dependence could be placed on any of these deductions, which were merely hypothetical, other means have been proposed; the principal of which are, the comparison of the measured lengths of degrees in different latitudes, the acceleration of pendulums, the occultation of the fixed stars, the precession of the equinoxes and the notation of the earth's axis, and the theory of the moon. Experience has shewn that, of these several methods, the one which has reference to the pendulum is most worthy of confidence; the results of different comparisons agreeing much nearer in these than in any other cases whatever. No opportunity having previously occurred for making the requisite observations in high northern or high southern latitudes, it became an important point, in fitting out the late Arctic expeditions, to provide the means of assuring the most perfect accuracy in the experiments that were to be directed to this inquiry. These experiments were placed under the superintendence of Captain Sabine, who had volunteered his services in both voyages, and whose education at the Royal Military Academy, natural talents, and known activity and perseverance, seemed to point him out as a proper person to be intrusted with so important a determination.

It

It is impossible for us to give such an analysis of the paper before us, as shall point out all the precautions that were adopted to insure the requisite precision. Two excellent clocks were provided by the Royal Society, the same which accompanied Captain Cook in his celebrated voyages. For each clock a pendulum was cast, in one piece of solid brass: this was furnished with a knife-edge of hard steel, perfectly straight, and finished by drawing the edge longitudinally two or three times on a soft hone, so as to take from its sharpness, and thus preclude any alteration from wear: the back of the knife-edge bore firmly against a stout cross piece; and the heads of the screws securing it were sunken below the surface, and concealed with brass pins, to prevent their being removed. These and other necessary precautions were arranged by Captain Kater, whose practice in this kind of experiments enabled him to provide against all probable sources of inaccuracy and impediment.

In the first voyage in 1818, only one of the clocks above described was sent with Captain Sabine; the other having been placed under the charge of Mr. Fisher, who accompanied Captain Buchan to Spitzbergen: but in the last voyage both clocks being disposable, they were sent with the Hecla, in order to obtain a double series of results; and, by shifting each pendulum into the other clock, these results were again doubled. During the first expedition, the first series of observation was made at Brassa, one of the Shetland islands, lat. 60° 09′ 42″ N.; again at Hare Island, on the western coast of Greenland, lat. 70° 26′ 17″ N.; and, lastly, on the return of the vessels, in London, at the house of Mr. Browne in Portland-place, lat. 51° 31′ 08·4″ N.

The results of these several observations, after the requisite correction for atmospherical buoyancy, the altitude above the level of the sea at each station, and the reductions for temperature, &c. are given in the following recapitulation:

Place of Observation.	Latitude.	Vibrations in a mean Solar Day.	Acceleration.
London	51.31.08,4 N.	86497,4	33,107 vibrations between London and Brassa.
Brassa	60.09.42 N.	86530,507	32,1316 between Brassa and Hare Island.
Hare Island	70.26.17 N.	86562,6386	and 65,2386 between London and Hare Island.

In

In the second voyage, when both clocks were employed, the rates of them were taken in London before the sailing of the expedition, and again on its return: but there was only one opportunity of repeating them during the voyage, viz. at Winter-harbour, Melville Island; lat. 74° 47′ 12·4″. We have, however, in both cases four series of results obtained as before stated, by an interchange of pendulums; viz.

Rates of the Clocks in London prior and subsequent to the Voyage.

	Vibrations in a mean Solar Day, Temperature 45°.		
Clock 1.	Table I. Dec. 1818.	86392,5673	86392,4513
	Table III. Dec. 1820.	86392,3353	
Clock 2.	Table II. March 1819.	86496,997	86496,9855
	Table IV. Dec. 1820.	86496,9741	

These were taken without the exchange of pendulums, but were afterward repeated with the pendulums changed: when it was found that the pendulum No. 1. vibrating in clock No. 2. would make 86388·0967 vibrations; and the pendulum No. 2. vibrating in clock No. 1. 86545·0623 vibrations, in a mean solar day, *in vacuo*, at the level of the sea, the temperature being 45°.

Rate of Clocks, Melville Island.

First Series.

By Transits of	Vibrations per Diem.	
	Clock 1.	Clock 2.
The Sun, S. of the Zen. mean of 18 days	86466,273	86571,683
The Sun, N. of the Zen. mean of 19 days	86466,336	86571,677
Capella, N. of the Zen. mean of 16 days	86466,346	86571,721
α Lyræ, S. of the Zen. mean of 9 days	86466,462	86571,783
α Aquilæ, S. of the Zen. mean of 5 days	86466,568	86571,953
Arcturus, S. of the Zen. mean of 18 days	86466,272	86571,651

Second

Second Series.

By Transits of	Vibrations per Diem.					
	Pendulum 1. in Clock 2.			Pendulum 2. in Clock 1.		
The Sun, S. of Zen. -	Mean of	7 days,	86462,583	Mean of	14 days,	86620,293
The Sun, N. of Zen. -		7	86462,236		7	86620,612
Arcturus -		7	86462,61		8	86620,672
α Lyræ -		7	86462,25		9	86620,578
α Aquilæ -		7	86462,259		9	86620,625

The general conclusion we give in the author's own words:

'*Results of the preceding Operations*:

'It remains to recapitulate the results which have been detailed, and to state the deductions thereupon.

'The acceleration of the pendulum between the stations visited in the first voyage has been already mentioned, viz.

33,107 vibrations between London and Brassa;

32,1316 vibrations between Brassa and Hare Island;

And 65,2386 vibrations between London and Hare Island.

'The following table presents in one view the results of the four series of observations, by which the acceleration between London and Melville Island has been determined:

		Vibrations.		Acceleration.		
		London.	Melville Island.			
Clock 1.	Pendulum 1.	86392,4513	86466,4793	74.028	74.8151	74,734
	Pendulum 2.	86545,0623	86620,6646	75.6023		
Clock 2	Pendulum 1.	86388,0967	86462,5289	74.4332	74,6529	
	Pendulum 2.	86496,9855	86571,858	74,8725		

'It should be remarked, that in the earliest trial which was made of the clocks, No. 2. was considered to be deserving of preference, from its greater precision of beat, occasioned probably in part by the crutch of No. 1. being rather larger than the diameter of the pendulum rods; the above results seem to justify the preference, as the acceleration produced by each of the pendulums vibrating in No. 2. corresponds better than their results when vibrating in No. 1. It will be seen, however, that a mean of the results of either clock separately coincides within a tenth of a vibration with the mean result in the foregoing table.

'Assuming

'Assuming then the length of the pendulum vibrating seconds in the latitude of London, viz. 51° 31′ 08,4″ at 39,13929 inches, which has been determined by Captain Kater, the following table presents its length at each of the stations at which the clocks have been set up, deduced from the observations which have been detailed:

Place of Observation.	Latitude.	Length of the Pendulum vibrating Seconds.
	° ′ ″	Inches.
London	51.31.08,4 N.	39.13929
Brassa	60.09.42	39.16929
Hare Island	70.26.17	39.1984
Melville Island	74.47.12,4	39.207

'*Deductions as to the Figure of the Earth.*

'The following table contains the diminution of gravity from the Pole to the Equator, and the resulting ellipticity of the earth deduced from the preceding observations.

'The method which has been followed in obtaining these deductions is the same which has been described by Captain Kater in the Philosophical Transactions for 1819, p. 420. and 421.

	Diminution of Gravity.	Ellipticity.
London and Brassa	·0055066	$\frac{1}{314,3}$
London and Hare Island	·0055082	$\frac{1}{314,2}$
Brassa and Hare Island	·0055139	$\frac{1}{313,6}$
London and Melville Island	·0055258	$\frac{1}{312,6}$

On the Aberrations of Compound Lenses and Object Glasses. By J. F. W. Herschel, Esq. — The author here observes that

'It has been made a subject of reproach to mathematicians, who have occupied themselves with the theory of the refracting telescope, that the practical benefit derived from their speculations has been by no means commensurate to the expenditure of analytical skill and labour they have called for, and that from all the abstruse researches of Clairaut, Euler, D'Alembert, and other celebrated geometers, nothing has hitherto resulted beyond a mass of complicated formulæ, which, though confessedly exact in theory, have never yet been made the basis of construction for a single good instrument, and remain therefore totally inapplicable, or at least unapplied, in practice.'

Mr. Herschel's

Mr. Herschel's object in the subsequent part of the paper is to remove these objections, or at least to lighten them, by presenting, under one uniform analysis, the whole theory of the aberrations of spherical surfaces; and, secondly, by furnishing practical results of easy computation to the artist, disentangled from algebraical complexity, applicable to all the ordinary variety of materials on which he has to work.—As far as numerical results are concerned, the author has undoubtedly effected much that he proposed: but as to what extent they will be useful in practice, this question must be left to the decision of experiments founded on them. The paper unquestionably displays great analytical skill and ingenuity; and we hope that its practical results may be found such as the writer seems so fully to anticipate.

On the mean Density of the Earth. By Dr. Charles Hutton, F.R.S.—If any philosophical problem has, *à priori*, an appearance of greater difficulty than another, it is that which forms the subject of the present article; namely, to determine the mean density of the earth, or to find its actual weight (if we may use the term), in comparison with water, or any other known terrestrial body. Newton was the first philosopher who ventured to offer any conjectures on this subject; and it is wonderful to see how satisfactorily even the mere guesses of this great geometer have been verified by modern experiments; for in the problem in question, his suppositious density approaches as nearly to the experimental results as those results approach to each other.—The attempt, however, to determine the earth's density by experiment originated with Dr. Maskelyne; and in the years 1774, 1775, 1776, numerous astronomical observations were made near the mountain Schehallien in Scotland, with a view to this determination; viz. by observing the altitudes of certain stars on the north and the south side of it, which, independently of the effect produced on the plumb-line by the mountain, ought to have had no other difference than that which is due to the terrestrial arc between them. These experiments were carried on by Mr. Reuben Burrow, under the superintendence of Dr. Maskelyne; and the mean results of nearly 400 observations shewed that the effect of the mountain had actually produced a deviation of the plumb-line of $11''\cdot6$, including the observations on both sides; or a mean deviation on each side of $5''\cdot8$.—By these proceedings the relative attraction of the earth and the mountain became known: but, before any determination could be founded on this ratio with regard to the density of the earth, it was requisite to ascertain, by actual measurement, the figure, dimensions, and specific gravity of Schehallien,

hallien, and the exact distance of the observatories on each side of the mountain from each other.

This very important and laborious task devolved on Dr. Hutton, who had thus a principal share in the solution of this celebrated problem; and in the paper before us he very justly complains of the pains which, for some years past, seem to have been taken to keep his name in the back ground, whenever any reference has been made to this solution. He suggests, also, that of late an undue partiality has been given to the results obtained by Mr. Henry Cavendish by means of two balls of lead, two inches in diameter, and two others of ten inches diameter. According to the first determination of Dr. Hutton, the mean density of the earth was to that of the mountain as 9 to 5; and therefore, assuming as the probable mean density of Schehallien $2\frac{1}{2}$, that of the earth will be $4\frac{1}{2}$, or four and a half times the density of water. The density of Schehallien, however, at this epoch, was a mere assumption: but, in the year 1811, Professor Playfair communicated to the Royal Society the result of his lithological survey of it; from which it appeared that, instead of 2·5 as assumed by Dr. Hutton, its mean specific gravity was 2·725, which changed Dr. Hutton's former terrestrial density to 5·0, instead of 4·5 as first determined.

The experiments of Mr. Cavendish made the mean density of the earth 5·48; which so far exceeded Dr. Hutton's greatest result, that he could not but suspect some error in the computations founded on the ball-experiments. Notwithstanding his very advanced age, (85 years,) this veteran philosopher has therefore undertaken the entire recalculation of Mr. Cavendish's tables, in the course of which he discovered several very serious errors. The principal object of the present communication (made 43 years after his former paper) is to point out those errors, and to shew that, when they are corrected, the results approximate nearer to the Schehallien numbers: so that the preference hitherto given to Mr. Cavendish's results has been greater than they in fact deserved.

We think that the Doctor has very clearly established his point: but we cannot attempt to give a more particular analysis of his memoir. We shall merely extract his concluding paragraph, which shews how highly interested he still feels on subjects connected with his early pursuits:

'I cannot conclude this paper of enquiry without expressing a hearty wish for the repetition of the large or mountain experiment, in some other favourable situation, and with improved means, if possible. For this purpose, I shall venture just to mention an idea which has sometimes occurred to my mind, namely, that one of the

the large pyramids in Egypt might profitably be employed, instead of a mountain, for this experiment. Such a body offers several advantages for the purpose. In the first place the mass is sufficiently large, standing on a base of about the size of the whole space of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and of a height almost double of that of St. Paul's steeple; then the station for the plummet, or zenith sector, could be taken much nearer the centre of the mass, than on a mountain, which would give a larger quantity of deviation of the plummet; then the regular figure and the known composition of the mass would yield great facilities in the calculation of its attraction; lastly, the deviation of the plummet might be observed on all the four sides. Should such a project take place, it will be best to take the stations at about one-fourth of its altitude above the base, that being the place where the deviation of the plummet would be the greatest. Finally, so favourable for such an experiment do those circumstances appear, and so anxious are my wishes for its completion and success, that, were it not for my great age and little health, I should be glad to make one in any party to undertake such an expedition.'

Calculation of some Observations of the Solar Eclipse, 7th September, 1820. By Mr. Charles Rumker. — An annular or a total eclipse furnishes such an excellent opportunity of correcting the lunar and solar tables, and is an event which so rarely occurs in any particular place or quarter of the world, that when either the one or the other does happen in any part of Europe it naturally excites a great interest; and in the present instance in particular a variety of accurate observations appear to have been made, in England, France, Germany, &c., which have been communicated to Mr. Rumker, a German astronomer, and by him computed, and the results transmitted to the Royal Society. We cannot, however, make any abstract of them which would be interesting, without far exceeding the proper limits of this article.

An Account of the Re-measurement of the Cube, Cylinder, and Sphere, used by the late Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn, in his Enquiries respecting a Standard of Weights and Measures. By Captain Henry Kater. — These experiments were made with a view to the long contemplated act for regulating the British weights and measures; an object which had engaged much of the time and attention of the late Sir G. Shuckburgh Evelyn. In the course of his inquiries, Mr. Troughton had made for him a very accurate cube, cylinder, and sphere of brass; and an excellent hydrostatic balance, sensible to the 100th part of a grain; by means of which he determined very accurately the weight of a cubic inch of distilled water, and found it equal to 252·422 parliamentary grains. If, however, we understand

stand Sir George's paper correctly, this is under a barometrical pressure of 29·74 inches, and at the temperature of 66° of the common thermometer. Captain Kater, in his re-measurements, reduces the pressure to zero; and consequently the deductions from the two measures are not exactly comparable. The following are the results of Captain K.'s experiments:

'It may now be useful to collect under one view the data furnished by Sir George Shuckburgh's experiments, and by the preceding measurements.

	Contents in Inches at 62°.	Weight in Air, Grains.	Temp. of the Air.	Barom. Inches.	Weight of an equal Bulk of Water, Grains.	Temperature when weighed in Water.
Cube	124,1969	32084,82	62°	29,00	31381,79	60°,2
Cylinder	75,2398	21560,05	62	29,00	19006,83	60,5
Sphere	113,5264	28722,64	67	29,74	28673,51	66,0

'From these data, the weight of a cubic inch of distilled water in a vacuum at 62°, deduced from the cube, appears to be

252,907 of Sir G. Shuckburgh's grains.
From the cylinder - 252,851
And from the sphere 252,907

The mean of which is 252,888

which is equal to 252,722 grains of the Parliamentary standard.'

We have seen that, according to Sir George Shuckburgh, the weight of the cubic inch was only 252·422 grains: but neither the temperature nor the pressure is the same in both cases.

An Account of Observations made with the Eight Feet Astronomical Circle, at the Observatory of Trinity College, Dublin, since the beginning of the Year 1818, *for investigating the Effects of Parallax and Aberration on the Places of certain fixed Stars; also the Comparison of these with former Observations for determining the Effects of Lunar Nutation.* By the Rev. John Brinkley, D. D., &c. — We have had several occasions to notice the communications of Dr. Brinkley and our astronomer-royal on the subject of the parallax of certain stars, the summary of which may thus be shortly stated. Dr. Brinkley, from certain observations made with a particular view, discovered anomalies in the places of particular stars, which seemed to indicate an annual parallax: but these cases being

examined by Mr. Pond, he could discover no such irregularities; and hence he concluded that the change of place noticed by Dr. Brinkley must have proceeded from some other cause. Farther correspondence and communication on this subject took place, the leading points of which will be found in several preceding volumes of our Review, where we have noticed those parts of the Philosophical Transactions in which they were published.

The present memoir is likewise composed principally with reference to this inquiry; and, from numerous other observations, Dr. B. still finds reason to assume a parallax in certain stars: — at least, he says that he can see no other way of accounting for the anomalies which he has perceived:

'All attempts to arrive at results inconsistent with parallax have failed; so that, as far as the new observations are concerned, my former conclusions have been strengthened instead of weakened. I do not mean, however, to assert, that the subject is yet divested of the difficulties attendant on it from other sources. Some of the results that I have found, although in themselves in no manner inconsistent with parallax, will, justly perhaps with many, add to the difficulty of admitting the explanation by parallax. They will be unwilling to admit that many of the smaller stars are nearer to us than many of the brighter; — that in a certain part of the heavens of considerable extent, many of the stars exhibit a sensible parallax. This however must be admitted, if my discordances result from parallax. If it be admitted, then several of the difficulties that have occurred by comparing my observations and those of Mr. Pond will be done away. But I shall defer a few remarks on this head, till I have given an account of my own observations, and of the results thereof.'

As the paper is too long for us to follow the author through the several arguments which he advances in favor of his hypothesis, we shall merely observe that we can see no reason for finding a difficulty in admitting a parallax in some stars of inferior magnitude, although no such effect may be discernible in more brilliant stars. We conceive that, judging from the planets in our system, we have no cause for assuming the brightest stars to be the nearest; and, though we are aware that this is generally supposed, there cannot, we think, be a more groundless assumption.

Some other results in this memoir cannot fail to engage the attention of astronomers. The most remarkable relates to aberration; which seems to indicate that a different *constant* may be requisite for different stars, or that the velocity of light issuing from different stars is not necessarily the same, though this has been generally supposed.

'The

'The investigation of the constant of aberration by direct observations of zenith distance has not, that I am aware of, been attempted since those of Bradley, by the zenith sector. A century has nearly elapsed since his excellent observations were made. The result of M. Delambre's investigations relative to the velocity of light, as deduced from the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, appeared to confirm in so strong a manner the mean of Bradley's results, that astronomers seem to have considered the point quite settled; but if I mistake not, one cause for this was the paucity of instruments adequate to so delicate an enquiry.'

It is unnecessary to observe on the importance of this determination, as connected with the theory of light. Should Dr. Brinkley's suspicions turn out to be well founded, it will be quite decisive against the undulatory system; and it will also shew that the corpuscules theory is insufficient, without the addition of principles as yet unknown, to explain all the phænomena of light.

On the Effects produced in the Rates of Chronometers by the Proximity of Masses of Iron. By Peter Barlow, Esq. of the Royal Military Academy. — In our notice of the last volume of these Transactions, Part II., will be found some particulars respecting certain observations made by Mr. Fisher during his Arctic voyage with Captain Buchan, on the rates of chronometers, as they were supposed to be affected by the iron of the ship. That paper seems to have furnished Mr. Barlow with the clue to the experiments detailed in the article before us; the object of which was to ascertain, first, whether iron has really the effect supposed by Mr. Fisher, and, if so, whether it could be reduced to any fixed and determinate laws. With this view, having procured six excellent chronometers, and ascertained their rates by transit-observations, he applied them at different distances, and in different situations, about an iron ball of 13 inches diameter; still taking their rates by transit-observations, as before. He also, while each chronometer retained its place as to distance and situation, changed its own position, by turning first one part towards the iron, and then another; and, by thus continuing his experiments from the beginning of March to the latter end of May, a considerable number of results were obtained, from which the author has derived the following practical deductions:

'The first general conclusion which may be drawn from the foregoing experiments, is, that the rate of a chronometer is undoubtedly altered by its proximity to iron bodies.

'Secondly, it appears that it is by no means a general case that iron necessarily accelerates the rate of a chronometer, as would appear from Mr. Fisher's observations; for five out of the six chronometers which I have made use of, were obviously retarded

in every situation in which they were placed. In one instance only, viz. chronometer No. II., there is an indication of acceleration in one situation; but it is more doubtful than the retardation in all the other five.

'It is also very obvious from the experiments on Nos. IV. and V. that much depends on the direction of the balance with respect to the iron: thus No. IV. lost nearly 2″ per day when its 12 o'clock hour mark was turned to the south, and only seven-tenths when it was placed to the East; but as soon as the chronometer was returned to its old direction, the loss again became 2″·1 daily. The same occurred in the case of No. V., which lost 3″·6 per day in one direction, and gained 0″·5 in another at right angles to it; and on returning it again to its former direction, the losing rate became 4″·1 per day, viz. rather stronger than at first. It must be admitted, however, that the same striking difference in the rate, as depending upon direction, was not observed in another instance, when a similar experiment was repeated on the same chronometer. Speaking generally, it also appears, that the greatest effect is produced in those instances where the change in the magnetic intensity is the greatest; but there does not seem to be that uniformity of relation in these cases, that we should naturally have anticipated.

'As a practical conclusion, it is obvious, that on ship-board, great care ought to be taken to keep the chronometers out of the immediate vicinity of any considerable mass or surface of iron; on which account, they ought not to be kept in the cabins of the gun-room officers, which are on the sides of the vessel; and probably a strong iron knee, or even a gun, will be found at a very inconsiderable distance from the spot where the watch is most likely, in this case, to be deposited.

'In short, it appears from the preceding experiments, that a chronometer ought to be kept as carefully at a distance from any partial mass of iron, as the compass itself. And, as much of the iron of a ship is hidden, the best way of detecting it, and of ascertaining a proper situation for a chronometer, will be to set down a compass in any place designed for the former, and to observe and compare the direction of its needle with that of the azimuth compass on deck, while the vessel is on different tacks; and if the disagreement between the two be very considerable, another situation ought to be selected.

'When I made my experiments on local attraction, on board his Majesty's ship Leven, we placed several compasses in different parts of the vessel, some of which were very powerfully affected under different directions of the ship's head; in consequence, no doubt, of their being within the influence of partial action, arising from some near, but hidden, mass of iron.'

Besides the iron ball, Mr. Barlow employed a plate of iron of the kind which he has recommended for correcting the local attraction of a ship's iron on the compass; (see M. R. vol. xcii. p. 18.) from which it appears that, in this case, as in the

former, the power of the iron resides wholly on its surface. In consequence, however, of this plate having been unexpectedly sent away to be fitted on board the Fury, (Captain Parry,) for the purpose of correcting the local attraction during his present interesting voyage, the experiments on it were not completed.

Mr. Barlow concludes his paper by explaining the method of determining the *ship-rates* of chronometers, before they are taken on board; which, if it should be found successful, will be an important datum for nautical men.

The first part of these Transactions for the present year has just appeared.

ART. X. *Halidon Hill;* a Dramatic Sketch, from Scottish History. By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. 8vo. 6*s.* sewed. Hurst and Co. 1822.

IT is generally the case that much expectation ends in disappointment. The free delineation of character in some of the recent Scotish novels, and the admirable conversations interspersed throughout them, raised hopes that, when a regular drama should be attempted by the person who was considered as their author, the success would be eminent. Its announcement, too, in a solemn and formal manner, did not diminish the interest of the public. The drama, however, which was expected, turns out to be in fact, and not only in name, merely a dramatic sketch; which is entirely deficient in plot, and contains but three characters, Swinton, Gordon, and Edward, in whom any interest is endeavoured to be excited. With some exceptions, the dialogue also is flat and coarse: — and for all these defects one or two vigorous descriptions of battle-scenes will scarcely make sufficient atonement, except in the eyes of very enthusiastic friends.

We conceive it to be extremely probable that Sir Walter Scott had resolved to commemorate some of the events in the life of Wallace, and had already sketched that hero, and a Templar, and Edward the First, when his eye glanced over the description of the battle of Homildon Hill in Pinkerton's History of Scotland; that, being pleased with the characters of Swinton and Gordon, he transformed his Wallace into Swinton; and that, for the sake of retaining his portrait of Edward, as there happened to be a Gordon and a Douglas at the battle of Halidown in the time of Edward the Third, and there was much similarity in the circumstances of the contest, he preserved his Edward as Edward the Third, retaining also

his old Knight Templar, in defiance of the anachronism. The battle of Homildon is thus described by Pinkerton, as quoted by Sir Walter:

' " The Governor (anno 1402) dispatched a considerable force under Murdac, his eldest son; the Earls of Angus and Moray also joined Douglas, who entered England with an army of ten thousand men, carrying terror and devastation to the walls of Newcastle.

' " Henry IV. was now engaged in the Welch war against Owen Glendour; but the Earl of Northumberland, and his son, the Hotspur Percy, with the Earl of March, collected a numerous array, and awaited the return of the Scots, impeded with spoil, near Milfield, in the north part of Northumberland. Douglas had reached Wooler, in his return; and, perceiving the enemy, seized a strong post between the two armies, called Homildon-hill. In this method he rivalled his predecessor at the battle of Otterburn, but not with like success. The English advanced to the assault, and Henry Percy was about to lead them up the hill, when March caught his bridle, and advised him to advance no farther, but to pour the dreadful shower of English arrows into the enemy. This advice was followed with the usual fortune; for in all ages the bow was the English weapon of victory, and though the Scots, and perhaps the French, were superior in the use of the spear, yet this weapon was useless after the distant bow had decided the combat. Robert the Great, sensible of this at the battle of Banockburn, ordered a prepared detachment of cavalry to rush among the English archers at the commencement, totally to disperse them, and stop the deadly effusion. But Douglas now used no such precaution; and the consequence was, that his people, drawn up on the face of the hill, presented one general mark to the enemy, none of whose arrows descended in vain. The Scots fell without fight, and unrevenged, till a spirited knight, Swinton, exclaimed aloud, ' O my brave countrymen! what fascination has seized you to-day, that you stand like deer to be shot, instead of indulging your ancient courage, and meeting your enemies hand to hand? Let those who will descend with me, that we may gain victory, or life, or fall like men.' This being heard by Adam Gordon, between whom and Swinton there existed an ancient deadly feud, attended with the mutual slaughter of many followers, he instantly fell on his knees before Swinton, begged his pardon, and desired to be dubbed a knight by him whom he must now regard as the wisest and the boldest of that order in Britain. The ceremony performed, Swinton and Gordon descended the hill, accompanied only by one hundred men; and a desperate valour led the whole body to death. Had a similar spirit been shewn by the Scottish army, it is probable that the event of the day would have been different. Douglas, who was certainly deficient in the most important qualities of a general, seeing his army begin to disperse, at length attempted to descend the hill; but the English archers retiring a little, sent a flight of arrows so sharp and strong, that no armour could withstand; and the Scottish leader himself,

self, whose panoply was of remarkable temper, fell under five wounds, though not mortal. The English men-of-arms, knights, or squires, did not strike one blow, but remained spectators of the rout, which was now complete. Great numbers of Scots were slain, and near five hundred perished in the river Tweed upon their flight. Among the illustrious were Douglas, whose chief wound deprived him of an eye; Murdac, son of Albany; the Earls of Moray and Angus; and about four gentlemen of eminent rank and power. The chief slain were, Swinton, Gordon, Livingston of Calender, Ramsay of Dalhousie, Walter Sinclair, Roger Gordon, Walter Scott, and others. Such was the issue of the unfortunate battle of Homildon." '

This drama consists of only two acts; of which the first is occupied principally with the wrangling of the Scotch chieftains and the knighting of Gordon by Swinton. The manner in which Gordon is first struck with the air and deportment of Swinton is finely described:

' GORDON. That helmetless old Knight, his giant stature,
His awful accents of rebuke and wisdom,
Have caught my fancy strangely. He doth seem
Like to some vision'd form which I have dream'd of,
But never saw with waking eyes till now.
I will accost him.
' VIPONT. Pray you, do not so;
Anon I'll give you reason why you should not.
There's other work in hand ——
' GORDON. I will but ask his name. There's in his presence
Something that works upon me like a spell,
Or like the feeling made my childish ear
Doat upon tales of superstitious dread,
Attracting while they chill'd my heart with fear.
Now, born the Gordon, I do feel right well
I'm bound to fear nought earthly — and I fear nought.
I'll know who this man is —— [*Accosts* SWINTON.
Sir Knight, I pray you, of your gentle courtesy,
To tell your honour'd name. I am ashamed,
Being unknown in arms, to say that mine
Is Adam Gordon.
' SWINTON (*shews emotion, but instantly subdues it*).
It is a name that soundeth in my ear
Like to a death-knell — ay, and like the call
Of the shrill trumpet to the mortal lists;
Yet 'tis a name which ne'er hath been dishonour'd,
And never will, I trust — most surely never
By such a youth as thou.
' GORDON. There's a mysterious courtesy in this,
And yet it yields no answer to my question.
I trust, you hold the Gordon not unworthy
To know the name he asks?

'SWINTON. Worthy of all that openness and honour
May shew to friend or foe — but, for my name,
Vipont will shew it you; and, if it sound
Harsh in your ear, remember that it knells there
But at your own request. This day, at least,
Though seldom wont to keep it in concealment,
As there's no cause I should, *you* had not heard it.
'GORDON. This strange ——
'VIPONT. The mystery is needful. Follow me.
[*They retire behind the side scene.*
'SWINTON (*looking after them*).
'Tis a brave youth. How blush'd his noble cheek,
While youthful modesty, and the embarrassment
Of curiosity, combined with wonder,
And half suspicion of some slight intended,
All mingled in the flush; but soon 'twill deepen
Into revenge's glow. How slow is Vipont! —
I wait the issue, as I've seen spectators
Suspend the motion even of the eye-lids,
When the slow gunner, with his lighted match,
Approach'd the charged cannon, in the act
To waken its dread slumbers. — Now 'tis out;
He draws his sword, and rushes towards me,
Who will nor seek nor shun him.'

Vipont, the Templar, interferes at this moment to prevent the deadly issue, and Gordon's enmity gradually gives way to admiration and reverence towards the destroyer of his father. Swinton's advice in council, though his contradiction of the simple Regent is somewhat abrupt, is on the whole written in a masterly manner: but very little is made of the ceremony of knighthood.

In the second act, after the English nobles have amused themselves in some trifling conversation with the Abbot of Walthamstow, Edward is introduced; and his proud courageous temper and short manner are very admirably delineated: though, if our historical recollections do not fail us, it is more completely the picture of Long-shanks than of the third Edward.

'KING EDWARD. Answer, proud Abbot; is my chaplain's soul,
If thou knowest aught on't, in the evil place?
'CHANDOS. My Liege, the Yorkshire men have gain'd the meadow.
I see the pennon green of merry Sherwood.
'KING EDWARD. Then give the signal instant! We have lost
But too much time already.
'ABBOT. My Liege, your holy chaplain's blessed soul ——
'KING EDWARD. To hell with it, and thee! Is this a time
To speak of monks and chaplains?
[*Flourish of trumpets, answered by a distant sound of bugles.*
See,

See, Chandos, Percy — Ha, Saint George! Saint Edward!
See it descending now, the fatal hail-shower,
The storm of England's wrath — sure, swift, resistless,
Which no mail-coat can brook. — Brave English hearts!
How close they shoot together! — as one eye
Had aim'd five thousand shafts — as if one hand
Had loosed five thousand bow-strings!
'PERCY. The thick volley
Darkens the air, and hides the sun from us.
'KING EDWARD. It falls on those shall see the sun no more.
The winged, the resistless plague is with them.
How their vex'd host is reeling to and fro,
Like the chafed whale with fifty lances in him!
They do not see, and cannot shun the wound.
The storm is viewless as death's sable wing,
Unerring as his scythe.
'PERCY. Horses and riders are going down together.
'Tis almost pity to see nobles fall,
And by a peasant's arrow.
'BALIOL. I could weep them,
Although they are my rebels.
'CHANDOS (*aside to* PERCY.)
His conquerors, he means, who cast him out
From his usurp'd kingdom. — (*Aloud.*) 'Tis the worst of it,
That knights can claim small honour in the field
Which archers win, unaided by our lances.
'KING EDWARD. The battle is not ended.
[*Looks towards the field.*
Not ended? — scarce begun! What horse are these,
Rush from the thicket underneath the hill?
'PERCY. They're Hainaulters, the followers of Queen Isabel.
'KING EDWARD (*hastily*).
Hainaulters! — thou art blind — wear Hainaulters
Saint Andrew's silver cross? — or would they charge
Full on our archers, and make havoc of them? —
Bruce is alive again — ho, rescue! rescue! —
Who was't surveyed the ground?
'RIBAUMONT. Most royal Liege —
'KING EDWARD. A rose hath fallen from thy chaplet, Ribaumont.
'RIBAUMONT. I'll win it back, or lay my head beside it. [*Exit.*
'KING EDWARD. Saint George! Saint Edward! Gentlemen, to horse,
And to the rescue! — Percy, lead the bill-men;
Chandos, do thou bring up the men-at-arms. —
If yonder numerous host should now bear down
Bold as their vanguard (*to the Abbot*), thou mayst pray for us,
We may need good men's prayers. — To the rescue,
Lords, to the rescue! Ha, Saint George! Saint Edward!'

The subsequent rout of the Scotish army, and the death of Gordon and Swinton, close the piece. Amid the confusion

sion and din of the battle, the reader is unexpectedly greeted with the following dialogue, which breathes indeed the soft sounds of the lute in the clang of trumpets. Young Gordon unconsciously drops the Christian name of his fair favourite, and then proceeds:

'GORDON. I have betray'd myself.
'SWINTON. Do not believe it. —
Vipont, do thou look out from yonder height,
And see what motion in the Scottish host,
And in King Edward's. — [*Exit* VIPONT.
Now will I counsel thee;
The Templar's ear is for no tale of love,
Being wedded to his Order. But I tell thee,
The brave young knight that hath no lady-love
Is like a lamp unlighted; his brave deeds,
And its rich painting, do seem then most glorious,
When the pure ray gleams through them. —
Hath thy Elizabeth no other name?
'GORDON. Must I then speak of her to you, Sir Alan?
The thought of thee, and of thy matchless strength,
Hath conjured phantoms up amongst her dreams.
The name of Swinton hath been spell sufficient
To chase the rich blood from her lovely cheek,
And would'st thou now know her's?
'SWINTON. I would, nay must.
Thy father in the paths of chivalry,
Should know the load-star thou dost rule thy course by.
'GORDON. Nay, then, her name is — hark —— [*Whispers.*
'SWINTON. I know it well, that ancient northern house.
'GORDON. O, thou shalt see its fairest grace and honour
In my Elizabeth. And if music touch thee ——
'SWINTON. It did, before disasters had untuned me.
'GORDON. O, her notes
Shall hush each sad remembrance to oblivion,
Or melt them to such gentleness of feeling,
That grief shall have its sweetness. Who, but she,
Knows the wild harpings of our native land?
Whether they lull the shepherd on his hill,
Or wake the knight to battle; rouse to merriment,
Or sooth to sadness; she can touch each mood.
Princes and statesmen, chiefs renown'd in arms,
And grey-hair'd bards, contend which shall the first
And choicest homage render to the enchantress.
'SWINTON. You speak her talent bravely.
'GORDON. Though you smile,
I do not speak it half. Her gift creative,
New measures adds to every air she wakes;
Varying and gracing it with liquid sweetness,
Like the wild modulation of the lark,
Now leaving, now returning to the strain!

To

To listen to her, is to seem to wander
In some enchanted labyrinth of romance,
Whence nothing but the lovely fairy's will,
Who wove the spell, can extricate the wanderer.
Methinks, I hear her now! —
'SWINTON. Bless'd privilege
Of youth! There's scarce three minutes to decide
'Twixt death and life, 'twixt triumph and defeat,
Yet all his thoughts are in his lady's bower,
List'ning her harping! ——

'*Enter* VIPONT.

Where are thine, De Vipont?
'VIPONT. On death — on judgment — on eternity!
For time is over with us.'

After these extracts, our readers cannot doubt that many individual passages in the piece are written with the full spirit and ease of the author's best style: but, as a whole, we are bound to say that it is only an apology for a drama; and we should pay a poor compliment to Sir Walter Scott's genius, if we did not add that we expected so much more at his hands than the present production, that we have been grievously disappointed. One person in the present sketch, Hob Hattely, 'a false thief but yet most faithful Scotsman,' is much in the *novelist*'s manner.

With the character of Swinton we think that every reader must be highly pleased, for it is uniformly grand, and is pictured in the boldest and most vivid manner. Gordon is in many parts much too tame and submissive, and has that sort of *wavering* and weakness about him which is observed to prevail in the *Waverley* heroes. The Regent is imbecility and absurdity personified, rendered contemptible to a degree which we should have imagined to be unnecessary, and destitute of dignity or feeling. Even his language, so far from being in any respect accommodated to his station, is more vulgar than that of the quarrelsome nobles around him; and the reader gladly relieves himself by incredulity from such an offensive picture of meanness and coarseness.

ART. XI. *Memoirs of the Secret Societies of the South of Italy*, particularly the Carbonari. Translated from the original MS. 8vo. pp. 235. With Engravings. 12*s*. Boards. Murray.

WE are not informed who is the author of the MS. mentioned in the title-page of this volume; nor are we solicitous to know, for a more indifferent composition seldom issues from the British press. It begins with an historical essay on the

the origin of Carbonarism, which is only curious inasmuch as it is one of the documents of this singular association, and bears strong testimony to the system of imposture and delusion to which that body owes its influence over the minds of the ignorant and illiterate. The purport of it is that, in the reign of Queen Isabella of Scotland, many refugees from civil and religious persecution betook themselves to the woods, and employed themselves in making charcoal, the only commercial produce of Scotland. Calling themselves *Carbonari* from their functions, they established signs and conventional words by which they recognized each other, and erected a government, issued laws, and passed their days comfortably and happily; not unlike Shakspeare's exiles in the forest of Arden.

'It happened,' says this precious record, 'that Francis I., King of France, hunting on *the frontiers of his kingdom, next to Scotland*, in following a wild beast, parted from his courtiers. Night came on, and he lost himself in the forest. He stumbled upon one of the tents of these people, and asked for shelter; it was granted, and the good Cousins unanimously ministered to him all that he was in need of. Francis I. admired the happiness of these Carbonari, and their mystic discipline. He thought he saw something mysterious and singular in it, and discovered himself to them as King of France. He earnestly requested to be made acquainted with their secret, and with the object of their association. They gratified him, and he was struck with admiration, and expressed a wish to be initiated into their order, promising to be their protector. The favour was granted, and next morning he was restored to the hunters, who, having missed him, were seeking him in great anxiety. On his return to France, he scrupulously fulfilled his oath. He declared himself the protector of the Carbonari, and increased their number. The society afterwards spread itself successively over Germany and England.'

The whole book is made up of documents of equal value; and they who expect to acquire any useful information from it, relative to the subject on which it professedly treats, will be equally disgusted and disappointed. All however that is really known, or worth knowing, concerning this extraordinary sect, may be derived from better sources, and stated in a much shorter compass. — It is certain that through the Neapolitan provinces, at the period of the late Revolution, the Carbonari, which was a society framed in obvious imitation of the Free-masons, but avowedly in pursuit of some plan of political innovation, comprized a very large portion of the population. Yet they do not, as some persons have erroneously supposed, appear to have imbibed the spirit or principles of French politics; for it is notorious that they were alike adverse to the French government of Joseph Bonaparte and to that

that of Murat. Their existence, however, for several years, has been a matter of much notoriety; and, though they affected great secrecy, their proceedings were very far from being concealed: but no sooner did the Revolution of 1820 burst forth than they threw off the mask, published their proceedings, and even issued their proclamations.

We do not entirely agree with those who affect to despise the Carbonari as obscure and insignificant, and unworthy of the solicitude and alarm which they have excited; because societies whose compact is secrecy, and whose principles are change, must at all times be objects of anxious vigilance to governments. Besides, if they are not precisely a numerical majority in Naples, they include in their numbers that part of the population which has the most decisive influence in political movements. In the two extremes of society, the higher nobility and the lowest of the populace, few or no Carbonari are to be found: it is chiefly in the intermediate classes that their strength resides; and among these are the *Possidenti*, or small landed proprietors, who, in an agricultural country like Naples, have considerable weight in all projects to which they contribute their influence. In addition to these, the rapid fluctuations of property and transitions of government for the last twenty-five years had created a comparatively new class of middle men; — men who, having been agents of the great landed estates, have, by their own industry and knowlege of rural economy, so profited by the vicissitudes of the times and the improvidence of their employers, as to have obtained actual possession of the domains which they once superintended. They bear the general designation of *Galantuomini*, or gentlemen. From this class, official situations are supplied in the provinces; and these people, almost to a man, are enlisted among the Carbonari. It was therefore a perplexing problem to the Neapolitan government, to determine what precautions could have been taken against a sect which embodied so large a portion of the most efficient functionaries of the state; for whole districts and provinces were thus in the hands of persons who, while they discharged their duties with the most scrupulous fidelity, were carrying on their occult and mysterious projects. A majority of Carbonari in the *Decurionato*, or public assembly of the province, would ensure the election of the Syndics, the Gabielleri, (excise-men,) and a variety of subordinate officers.

It seems that, in this sect, proselytism is incredibly rapid, and the recommendation of an initiated man is in most cases a sufficient passport for new candidates. At the same time, every member is unwearied in his canvass for fresh recruits,

and

and an admission is not without its private advantages. It is a new and artificial bond of fellowship and benevolence: labourers are supplied with tools and implements, and frequently with money; and every *Cousin* is sure of sympathy and aid in sickness, and consolation in death. Such are among the most efficient causes of the rapid diffusion of the sect.

In no class had the principles of this association struck a deeper root than among the numerous provincial militia, the *legionarii*, the *civici*, the *militi*; and this was the class that had the principal share in the late Revolution. As every individual of this body must be assessed ten ducats to the land-tax, it is plain that, exclusively of an armed power, they must have had great influence as proprietors of the soil; and in Capitanata, the most extensive and populous of the Neapolitan provinces, 40,000 of these persons, each with forty cartridges and four ducats in his pocket, were for several months completely equipped for action. It cannot therefore excite much surprize that the late commotion, dignified with the name of Revolution, broke out: but why its duration was so short, and why a more heroic resistance was not made against the Austrians, it is more difficult to explain. Perhaps, however, the Neapolitan people themselves are the best solution of this problem. Like their own Vesuvius, they are liable to sudden and short-lived ebullitions: their zeal had begun to cool; and they had already regarded its objects as scarcely adequate in value to intense or perilous efforts. Still it is clear that a political society, which had sufficient influence to stir up a people to revolt,—though not, as it should seem, to encourage them to fight,—must be a continued source of alarm to the government of Naples; and it is a perplexing question to decide how to deal with such bodies. The opposition which is ordinarily called persecution would, by a principle inherent in human nature, only inflame their zeal and increase their proselytes. Rome could indeed in a single day, and by one decree of her senate, put down the mischievous sect of the Bacchanalians, which, according to Livy, threatened instant destruction to the republic: but the full-grown, gigantic, and adult mischief of a conspiracy, which contains in its bosom the numerical majority of a nation, will not admit of so instantaneous a remedy.

There are, however, in the Carbonari of Naples, some peculiarities which distinguish them favorably from the societies of the same name in other parts of Italy. That body, for instance, which was detected in the papal dominions about the end of 1817, seems to have been in pursuit of the most bloody and vindictive projects. On the trial of these wretches at

Rome, the following triplet was declared to have been read in a *baracca* at Ascoli:

"*Figli di Bruto, ill brandi omai scuoteti,*
Poiche spanta nel ciel, di sangue tinta,
Stella, che batte il rio tiranno il prete."

They were intercepted on the eve of a plot which in a few hours was to have deluged the streets with blood, and placed national and individual property at the mercy of ruffians and assassins.

The Neapolitan Carbonari are chiefly formidable from their numbers: a circumstance which, if we may trust history and experience, diminishes their dangerousness, and assuages their mischief; for an association consisting of a million of members cannot be secret. In such a multitude, also, the spirit of the confederacy is not long in evaporating, and the control of the leaders must become every day less vigorous and authoritative. There is also some reason to believe that the solemn puerilities of their ceremonies, and their farcical solemnities, are sufficient to engross and absorb the faculties of the greater part of them. They produced, it is true, a revolution: but what became of that revolution? "It vanished at the crowing of the cock," and it is not likely that so inauspicious an experiment will be soon repeated. A few lean and sallow Cassiuses are a more portentous evil in any state than a whole people composed of Neapolitan Carbonari.—Moreover, the mere number, of which this association consisted, do not furnish any inference whatsoever of that collective, physical, or intellectual might, by which durable revolutions are effected. It is a hot-bed, and of forced growth: but moral vegetation is never healthy, unless it is slow and gradual; and the aim of the Carbonari seems to have been that of making an imposing and terrific effect by mere numbers.

We have taken some pains in thus collecting the chief features of a sect, which has of late occupied a considerable space in political speculation; and we think that our views of the subject will be found accordant with the observations of the best-informed travellers who have lately visited the southern peninsula of Italy, and who have studied the regular influential principles of human nature. Reform must, sooner or later, alleviate the distresses of the people, and mitigate the pressure of governments, in all the old states of the world:—but it is not by such instruments as the Carbonari that the great and beneficial designs of Providence, to ameliorate the civil by improving the intellectual condition of men, will be carried into effect.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE,

For JULY, 1822.

POLITICS.

Art. 12. *Tracts on Political Economy:* viz. "Britain independent of Commerce:" "Agriculture the Source of Wealth:" "The Objections against the Corn-Bill refuted:" "Speech on the East-India Trade." With prefatory Remarks on the Causes and Cure of our present Distresses, *as originating from Neglect of Principles laid down in these Works.* By W. Spence, Esq. F.L.S. 8vo. pp. 264. Longman and Co. 1822.

If, as Mr. Spence asserts with a degree of self-complacency that is more often felt by authors than expressed, the distresses of the country 'originate from neglect of principles laid down in his works,' we must in some degree be implicated as accessaries to the ruin around us: for it has happened, unfortunately, that the principles laid down in most of his political publications have been controverted in our pages. His "Britain independent of Commerce" was examined in the Monthly Review, vol. lv. p. 80., and his "Objections against the Corn-Bill refuted" were noticed in vol. lxxvi. p. 329. The present republication of his tracts is introduced by a few prefatory remarks, declaring his conviction that the present state of the country is an irrefragable proof of the soundness of his principles.

'If I were asked,' he says, 'to state in one word the cause of our wealth and prosperity during the war, I should answer, *the high price of agricultural produce*, gradually influencing and encreasing the price of all other commodities; and by the vast stimulus which it gave in every shape to the productive powers of the soil, augmenting far beyond parallel in any age or country our surplus disposeable produce.' Of what advantage, it may be rejoined, is this surplus disposeable produce to a country "independent of Commerce?" If a surplus produce be created by the stimulus of high prices artificially conferred on agriculture, it is not disposeable without loss. No country will buy at a dear rate from us which can buy more cheaply elsewhere, or can manufacture more cheaply at home. At whatever high price we produce, our sales must be accommodated to the low prices of production in other countries, or we shall not dispose of our 'disposeable surplus.' In all foreign commerce, a mutual displacement of labor takes place in the shape of commodities; and the difference between the value of the labor displaced, and of that which displaces it, is the measure of advantage which either country derives from the intercourse. Let us suppose that Poland can grow corn at one third less amount of labor and capital than Great Britain; and, on the other hand, that Great Britain can manufacture broad cloth, cotton-goods, hardware, &c. at one third less amount of labor and capital than Poland: surely it would strike most people that an interchange of these commodities would be more advantageous

tageous to both countries, than if Poland persevered in expensively manufacturing at home what she could more cheaply purchase from us; and Great Britain, in expensively growing on unproductive soils corn which she could more cheaply purchase from Poland.

Mr. Spence, however, cannot see any advantage from such an intercourse. Our wealth and prosperity during the war are, according to him, entirely attributable to the high price of agricultural produce; and the true causes of this high price, with the happy assistance of occasional bad seasons, were, *first*, the national debt, or, in other words, taxation. This invariably enhances the price of the necessaries and luxuries of life, where the prudent precaution is observed of excluding the commodities of untaxed foreign countries from entering into competition with our own. *Secondly*, the monopoly which the agriculturists enjoyed; this latter being by far the most efficient source of our wealth, because, without the monopoly of the home-market, taxation could not have had the blessed effect of raising prices; for Polish wheat might have been imported during the whole of the war at 40*s.* a quarter. Having shewn that the high price of agricultural produce was the cause of our prosperity, the conclusion is irresistible that its low price is the grand source of our poverty and misery since the peace; and, as the monopoly of the home-market occasioned high prices, so the unrestrained importation of corn in 1814 and 1815 occasioned low prices, and 'was the real death-blow of our prosperity, bringing in its train a fall in wages, and in the price of all other commodities, and a consequent diminution of profit and income to every class of the community.' We may, however, ask how it happens that the price of agricultural produce still keeps falling, when it is notorious that the British grower has had the monopoly of the home-market for several years? Whatever the cause may be, the fact proves that this monopoly, even with the aid of a wet harvest, does not secure to the farmer those high prices which are so very desirable, it seems, to the rest of the community. The produce of the last year was abundant, but bad, owing to a general mildew *before* harvest, and almost an universal deluge of rain *during* the harvest:

> "*Concipit Iris aquas, alimentaque nubibus adfert.*
> *Sternuntur segetes, et deplorata coloni*
> *Vota jacent; longique labor perit irritus anni.*
> *Nec cœlo contenta suo Jovis ira; sed illum*
> *Cæruleus frater juvat auxiliaribus undis,*" &c.
>
> OV. METAM. i. 271.

Still, all does not raise the price of corn, or save the agriculturist from perdition. Does not this fact convince Mr. Spence that something else than monopoly, bad seasons, and a thumping national debt, is wanted? Cannot he imagine the advantage of lowering the cost of production, so that in years of abundance we might dispose of our surplus-produce with advantage?

It is confessed on all hands, as we have seen by the recent debates on Mr. Western's motion for a Committee to consider the

effect of the resumption of cash-payments on our agriculture and commerce, that the operation of what is commonly called Mr. Peel's Bill has been very much greater than it was anticipated to be when that Bill passed. Equal mischief arises from the too sudden subduction of a violent stimulus and the too sudden application of it: a limb benumbed by frost must not immediately be placed before the fire; and it is now seen that the measure of obliging the Bank of England to pay in specie was accompanied by such a contraction in its issues, and by such an advance in the price of gold occasioned by the millions which it brought up to meet the expected demand, as to have diminished our circulating medium with a ruinous rapidity, to have altered the relative situation of all classes of society, and particularly to have wrought such an effect on all money-contracts as almost to have made the debtor and creditor change places with each other. Sufficient precautions were not taken at the time to avert these evils: but is it credible that Mr. Spence should deem the recurrence to cash-payments *at all*, and at *any* time, as absurd a measure as it would be in France and Germany to revert to barter? Surely he forgets the memorable, the immortal resolution of Mr. Vansittart in 1811, that the notes of the Bank of England "had always been and were at that time held in public estimation to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm;" and this at the very moment when guineas were greedily purchased at 27*s.*, and when it was necessary to enact a law *compelling* the acceptance of the Bank of England notes in payment. An over-issue of their notes by country-bankers was perhaps impracticable, as long they were obliged to give Bank of England paper for them: but what was there to check the over-issue of Bank of England notes when government made them legal tender, and screened the Company from paying them in gold? "*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*" Mr. Spence has his remedy against the recurrence of this evil, and a most amusing one it is: Submit the Bank's operations to a Board of Control, composed of members of the House of Commons, half-ministerial, half-opposition; to whom it should be given in charge, whenever the exchanges and the price of bullion indicate any redundancy of paper-money, to institute the necessary inquiries and limitations. The Prime Minister and the Governor of the Bank of England would certainly desire nothing more!

At the close of his prefatory remarks, (to which alone we need now refer,) Mr. Spence suggests the following as the most feasible remedies for our distress. *First*, a temporary loan of three or four millions to relieve the pressing difficulties of the agricultural class. This boon has been offered, and wisely rejected by the agriculturists themselves because it was fraught with mischief.—*Secondly*, the clearing the country of its redundant population by facilitating emigration. This was tried three or four years ago, when it was the fashion to fancy that our population was redundant, though the experiment was not carried to the extent which Mr. Spence would advise; for, instead of paltry grants of 50,000*l.* or 60,000*l.*, he would annually devote to this object one or two millions,

millions, to be taken from the sinking fund. But how is this? a redundant population and a superabundant produce existing at the same time, in the same country! What a paradox! — *Thirdly*, to take the maintenance and employment of the poor entirely into the hands of government, or rather of a public board, under checks which might easily be devised to prevent undue influence and jobs. Mr. S. is very partial to *Boards*; and, although Government has hitherto "neglected the principles laid down in his works," and brought the nation to its present state of distress by that neglect, he is yet inclined to repose unlimited confidence in its wisdom, and transfer the management of about six millions sterling from the hands of parishes to the hands of Ministers and their retainers. — *Fourthly*, a revision of the corn laws, 'including a more equitable plan of taking the averages so as to secure the maximum price to the inland districts; the abolition of the present injurious system of allowing foreign grain to be warehoused here; a great abbreviation of the period of the ports being open when prices rise; and the imposition of high protecting duties on *all* agricultural products that can be raised at home.' — *Fifthly*, the immediate re-enactment of the Bank-Restriction Act: the transactions of the Bank being subject to Parliamentary control, and being made to pay annually to the public a sum equal to one-half or two-thirds of what can be shewn *it is likely to gain* by being released from the obligation to pay in cash.

Art. 13. *The Cause of the present distressful State of the Country investigated*; and the supposed easiest, speediest, and most effectual Remedies, submitted with all due Respect to the Members of both Houses of Parliament. By J. Symmons, Esq. F.R.S. F.A.S. 8vo. 3*s*. Rodwell and Martin.

Mr. Symmons takes precisely the same line of argument in this pamphlet, which Mr. Spence pursued in the volume mentioned in the preceding article. He begins by reprobating the adoption of any change in the currency of a great commercial country, (unless urged by absolute state-necessity,) as one of the most weak and wicked of measures; because it sets afloat all existing contracts, and deranges the entire monied system of the kingdom: yet in the same page (10.) he expatiates in terms of high satisfaction on the advantages which this country derived from the substitution of paper for cash-payments. Now what was the result of this substitution, but the 'setting afloat of all existing contracts,' and the derangement of all the monied system of the kingdom? Yet, now that we have gone back to a sound and solid currency, we are advised once again to disturb all the contracts, public and private, which have been effected under the restored circulating medium. — A *bon-vivant*, who had long indulged with unmeasured freedom in the pleasures of the table, began at last to feel the effect of these potations in a disordered stomach, feverish pulse, and debilitated frame. His medical attendant recommended plain diet, and the recurrence to sober habits: but so revolting was this salutary regimen, that he resolved to dismiss his family-physician, and go to some quack who

was in the practice of attending rather to the dispositions of his patients than to their complaints. The advice of the latter was, that, whenever the patient found his stomach peculiarly weakened by the excess of the preceding day, he should excite its languid powers to action by the application of a double stimulus on the following. Fortunately, good sense enough remained in this inebriate to see the fatal folly of such advice: he summoned fortitude to follow that which he had before rejected; and, distressing as it was, for a time, to adhere to a system of temperance, he was amply rewarded for it by a perfect recovery. — Twice has this country been thrown into confusion by dabbling with the currency; first by the restriction from cash-payments, then by the return to them; and now we find gentlemen "who would make confusion worse confounded," by adding such complexity to every account as to render it absolutely impossible to be unravelled. — The division, however, in the House of Commons, June 12th, after an adjourned debate, sanctioning Mr. Huskisson's amendment "that this House will not alter the standard of gold or silver in fineness, weight, or denomination," will probably tranquillize the public mind, by an assurance that no farther attempt will be made to fix again on Great Britain the last mark of a nation's weakness and degradation, the depreciation of its currency. Mr. Spence and Mr. Symmons are of opinion that a depreciated currency is the source of public prosperity; forgetting that, inasmuch as we augment the quantity of the currency, we depreciate its value. If money or its representative, *paper*, were wealth, there would be some truth in the opinion: but wealth consists not in abundance of money, but in abundance of commodities, accessible to those who stand in need of them. We have indeed the abundance of commodities, — but they are not accessible; and the great cause of our present distress, as it appears to us, was, not the passing of Mr. Peel's Bill, but the neglect to accompany that measure with a reduction of the national expenditure, equal to the difference between the depreciated and the restored value of the currency. In consequence of this neglect, the national debt, and, in course, all taxes press with a much heavier weight on the industry of the people in this the eighth year of peace, than in the hottest of the war. Mr. Symmons says, truly enough, that low prices and high taxes are incompatible: but he would raise prices by means of a fictitious and depreciated currency; and we would lower taxation so as to render the actual abundance of commodities *accessible*, retaining inviolate "the standard of gold and silver in fineness, weight, and denomination."

One measure suggested by Mr. Symmons we have as yet omitted to notice; namely, his recommendation to Government to take off the stamp-duties on all notes and bills issuable by private bankers. If the amount of these notes has been contracted from twelve millions to two millions and a half, the revenue would make only a trifling sacrifice: but we entertain very great doubts whether such a relief to country-bankers would induce them to accommodate farmers, as formerly, with loans on the security of their

their crops, or landlords with loans on the security of their rents, or even of their estates.

Art. 14. *A Letter to his Majesty George the Fourth*, King of the United Empire of Great Britain, &c. &c. Paris, printed. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* Chapple. 1822.

We have here the declamatory production of some foreigner, who is as little acquainted with the constitution of this country as with the language; or of some travelling Englishman who seems to have forgotten or corrupted both. The following extract will be considered by most of our readers as a sufficient specimen of its merits.

'Lord North's administration was a season of storms and tempests, incessantly boisterous and conflictive, fierce outcry and commotion; — the House of Commons seemed an arena of gladiators; — neither the most placid temper and plausible reasoning of the Minister, nor his facetious repartees, could appease or allay the raging combatants. Under Pitt, though the son of the renowned Chatham, the audacity of the faction reached its zenith; all the Continent was in agitation; — fascinated by the rhapsodical effusions of the bombastic praters of France, disaffection discomposed all the surrounding governments; the contagion had reached England, and taken its deepest root in that fecund land; societies were formed to cultivate the illegitimate philosophy; rostrums mounted, homilies spouted in taverns, and fields rung with the reforming jargon of Thelwall, Binns, and other members of the Corresponding Federation;' &c. &c.

Art. 15. *An Essay on the National Debt*, shewing the Use and Abuse of the funding System. By John Rooke, Esq. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.* Richardson. 1822.

Mr. Rooke, who dates his preface from Akehead, near Carlisle, sends forth this little tract as the precursor of a larger work, in which he has been some time engaged, on the subject of political economy. The pamphlet before us is written in a direct and perspicuous manner, and the author has shewn himself desirous of discussing a mysterious matter with the least possible mysticism.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Art. 16. *Elements of Conchology*, including the Fossil Genera and the Animals. By T. Edward Bowdich, Esq., Conductor of the Mission to Ashantee. Part I. *Univalves.* With upwards of 500 Figures. 8vo. pp. 95. 1*l.* sewed. Printed by J. Smith, Paris; and sold by Treuttel and Würtz, London.

In the regular prosecution of his plan, Mr. Bowdich intended to have compiled abbreviated expositions of the reptiles and fishes before he undertook the arrangement of the *Mollusca:* but the consideration that the study of shells may now be regarded as appertaining alike to the province of the zoologist, and to that of the geologist, has weighed with him to give a preference to its elements in the order of publication. His classification proceeds on the principle of laying down the leading characters of the

families, as deduced from the shells; so that these interesting productions may be duly recognized, without waiting for an opportunity of examining their living inhabitants, at the same time that the place occupied by the latter in the natural system is annexed to the characters. Some curious exemplifications of the importance of conchology, in speculations connected with fossil appearances, are given in the Introduction; and merits of a higher cast than those of mere accuracy and neatness have influenced the selection and treatment of the materials. The author, in fact, has brought to his task an acute and vigorous intellect, combined with aids and opportunities afforded during his residence at Paris which fall to the lot of few individuals.

'These Elements are principally compiled from Cuvier's "*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire et à l'Anatomie des Mollusques*," and the second volume of the "*Règne Animal*" of the same author; M. Lamarck's "*Mémoires sur les Fossiles des Environs des Paris;*" M. Brongniart's "*Mémoires sur des Terrains qui paroissent avoir été formés sous l'eau Douce*," and others on the same subjects, scattered through the 22 quarto volumes of the "*Annales du Muséum;*" M. Blainville's and M. Defranie's articles in the "*Dictionnaire des Sciences Naturelles;*" M. de Ferussac's "*Histoire Naturelle, générale et particulière, des Mollusques Terrestres et Fluviatiles;*" and many other rare and costly works, collected in the splendid library of Baron Cuvier, to which I have had access at all hours, with the liberty of taking home whatever I pleased for the last two years.

'The figures which illustrate the system of M. de Ferussac have been copied from those which accompany his work, with the exception of such as were to be found in the Museum. Almost all the other figures of the recent, and some few of the fossil-shells, have been drawn from the objects themselves; which I have invariably been permitted to take home from the Museum for that purpose, without being limited either to time or number. I have occasionally been favoured with such specimens as were not to be found there, from the cabinets of MM. Lamarck and Dufresne.

'The remaining part will contain the *Bivalves*, *Multivalves*, and the *Sub-Coronalia* and *Vermicularia* of Lamarck, (the *Brachiopoda* and *Tubicolæ* of Cuvier): a figure of the entire shell, of each valve, and of the hinges and teeth, when at all complicated, will be given. The Animals and Fossil Genera will also be included.'

From these data, some idea may be formed of the nature and value of the present text-book: but we should add that the irksomeness of technical definition is frequently relieved by some collateral circumstance; that the structure and mode of growth of shells, in general, are not overlooked; and that the lithographic plates, executed by Mr. B. himself, are excellently suited to the illustration of the characters. Without them, indeed, the book would be of very little service as a practical manual; or, if their numbers were reduced, the usefulness of the performance would be proportionally curtailed. Mr. Bowdich has, accordingly, with a becoming spirit, rejected the illiberal requisition of the booksellers to cancel a con-

a considerable portion of the figures, and has consequently taken on himself the entire risk of the publication.

In the event of a fresh impression being required, Mr. B. will no doubt avail himself of the second part of the sixth volume of Lamarck's *Animaux sans Vertèbres*, which appeared at Paris in the course of April last; and which we would fondly hail as an earnest of the final completion of that elaborate and classical performance.

POETRY.

Art. 17. *The Modern Church*; a Satirical Poem: comprising Sketches of some Popular and Unpopular Preachers. By John Laurens Bicknell, F.A.S. 8vo. pp. 63. Cadell.

At page 48. of this little poem the author informs us as follows:

> 'So many sects such different creeds profess,
> (To me scarce known their names, their tenets less;)
> I dare not tread the complicated maze,
> Enough for me, an *uninspired*, to gaze.'

It is impossible to help asking the poet, if this be the case, how he came to write on 'The Modern Church?' If there be a topic which requires comprehensive knowlege of all its bearings, it must be the description of the state of religion in any country; and to attempt the portraiture of the 'Modern Church' while professing ignorance of its constituent parts, is assuredly no ordinary instance of a mistaken subject. The confession, however, made in the lines here quoted, is apparently most true; for no information whatever is conveyed in this poetical pamphlet respecting the Church or its members: excepting some well-deserved praise of one or two individuals, a very imperfect account of the merits of Dr. Rennell, *and a blank line or two*, which are to be filled up by the reader *ad libitum*, and may be called *Satirical Inuendos to be let*.

A Presbyterian and a Churchman are introduced *conversing* (for the style is more that of *conversation* than of *poetry*) on the subject of dancing; and some matters equally profound and characteristic are touched, but not adorned *, in the progress of their discourse. In truth, the major part of this sketch must have been very hastily and carelessly composed; for, with the rare exception of some *breaks* of genius, of a superior cast to the general tone, it is as common-place a production as we are often called to examine. The following lines will give the reader no unfair idea of the execution of the author's design; and we may add that we cordially agree in the justice of the Churchman's panegyric at the opening of the passage:

> 'See Bristol's prelate, virtue's fondest child;
> Of manners gentle, unassuming, mild,
> But with a princely heart, and vigorous mind,
> Enriched with knowledge, and by taste refined.

* See Johnson's epitaph on Goldsmith.

Where shall the Church a purer priest display,
Or learning seek a nobler boast than KAYE?
'Ere his companions wakened from the dream
Of heated youth, he won the world's esteem.
One even course, one fixed unerring plan,
Ripened the boy's perfections into man;
And, 'midst the good acknowledged as the best,
He bears the prize unenvied by the rest.
Proud of my country, Britain, while I see
Such men preferred, I'll love, I'll boast of thee.

'Land of my birth, dear England, on thy foes,
The foes of virtue, and the world's repose,
A recreant herd, who, by thy bounties fed,
Still scandalize the land which yields them bread;
And grovelling o'er some microsopic speck,
Would blot it forth by one wide general wreck,
Confound distinctions, sink all ranks alike;
May justice on their heads, like lightning, strike.

'Hark, how the organ's pealing thunders roll,
And wake the finer feelings of the soul;
While the rich swell of the cathedral quire,
May Hope beyond the present scenes inspire.
The mellow'd light in varied colours falls
Through the rich glass, on monumental walls,
And flung in gleams o'er the uneven ground,
Displays the half-worn epitaphs around.
Enter the porch, approach the sacred fane,
And join the services which yet remain.
Father of Heaven, my soul, immortal, free,
Would burst its bonds, and wing its flight to Thee.

'*Presbyterian.*

'I feel not these enthusiastic fires
For tinted lights, deep shades, and swelling quires.
The mimic temple *christened* from the Goth,
And sing-song service, Sir, I hate them both.
These studied forms what sober mind can please,
Devotion needs not ornaments like these.

'The singing boys, in gowns which once were white,
(As if, by chance, they wore their shirts in sight,)
In notes, alternate, of the grunt and squeak,
Snuffle the Psalms of David through the week.
One youngster, if my ears deceived me not,
Sang, "Granny put the pudding in the pot."
Indignant at the urchin's want of shame,
I shook my head, and whispered, "Boy, your name."

'Unwilling to disturb the sacred place,
I checked my choler, blushed, and turned my face.
The monkey added, "Hide your ugly phiz,"
And his companions whispered round, "A quiz."

The

The organ ceased, his canting task was o'er,
He made his exit by the nearest door.'

The oddest instance of the ἀπροσδοκητον, or the Unexpected, occurs at p. 29., that we at present remember, even in the abrupt annals of modern description:

'The bell has chimed; assembled at the sound,
The village hinds are seen the porch around,
At early hour in little groups they meet,
Their pastor's smile with reverend bow to greet.

'Perched on a sculptured stone, whose letters show
That some superior dust is laid below,
('Tis well the mould'ring tenant may not learn
To what base use the hallowed mound may turn,)
A truant urchin sits and notes the bush,
Whence issue forth the warblings of the thrush;
Already in his hope the prize possest,
He drags the unfledged younglings from their nest.
Tired with the thrillings of the victim's song,
He lolls upon the tomb his length along;
Watches the lark in distant ether float,
Points to the speck, and mocks the dying note.

'The bell has ceased.'

In the name of the sudden and unaccountable, what has the cruel bird-catcher to do with a picture of Sabbath tranquillity, in the very church-yard where the villagers are assembling? It is out of all *keeping* and probability.

Some interesting observations are made in the notes; particularly relating to the 'Desatir,' or Collection of the Works of Antient Persian Prophets. — Of the authenticity of that work we have, at this moment, no means of judging: but, when the Marquis of Hastings asserts (as quoted by the present author) that "it is unquestionably the *only* relique which exists of the literature" of Persia, while connected with Greece, we cannot but smile at so general a negation.

Art. 18. *The Widow's Tale;* and other Poems. By the Author of Ellen Fitzarthur. 12mo. pp. 222. 6*s.* 6*d.* Boards. Longman and Co. 1822.

We are inclined by internal evidence, and by rumour, to attribute this little work to the pen of a lady, whose productions have already acquired for her a degree of reputation which appears to be well deserved. Though her subjects are lowly, the qualities of her poetry are neither feeble nor trifling. It breathes throughout an earnestness and simplicity of feeling, not without touches of real passion, expressed in natural and easy language, such as we might suppose to spring *from* the heart of any human being similarly situated, and at once to find its way *to* the heart of the reader. Its strict truth and fidelity to nature in her outward forms, or in absorbing human passions in their most minute and delicate operation,

operation, is here, indeed, the sole but powerful appeal to that reader's attention. This, of itself, gives indication of strong poetic powers, and of a mind capable of becoming fully and deeply absorbed in its subject. However easy of acquirement this last quality may appear, it is of rarer occurrence than persons may at first suppose; and the want of it gives rise to much of the idle and superficial rant that disgraces the literature of the day. Were it more frequent, it would check some of that egotism and affectation, which now leads our imaginary geniuses to reflect more on themselves than on the themes which professedly employ their pens. Ample genius and spirit, we are happy to say, are displayed in the poems before us, to save them from such an imputation, and from any danger of being confounded with the strains of so spurious and despicable a race.

It is not conferring meagre praise to admit that the author manifests some originality of thought and vividness of feelings; with a power of directing them to kind and useful purposes, and drawing out of the incidents and events opinions and maxims of a moral nature: at once succeeding in touching the heart and playing with the imagination. We could quote several examples, in which a portion of real fancy, eloquent appeals of passion, and earnestness of heart, are expressed in no unpoetical manner. The same kind of peculiarity is manifested in this lady's writings as in those of the poet Crabbe, which gives a sort of novelty and dramatic interest to the scenes and passions that they describe, and to the truths that they would enforce. We do not compare these authors in extent of genius, but mean to say that the power of their writings to please the reader is derived from the same source; viz. a deep feeling and participation in the individual character, and in the joys and sorrows of lowly domestic life.

'The Widow's Tale' is the simplest possible story, and constructed out of the slightest materials, but very naturally and beautifully told. A degree of interest is awakened, which gradually absorbs the reader's attention in the progress and result of the story; though it displays no more incident or adventure than many old soldiers or sailors could furnish, with natural eloquence, if not quite grammatical, nor dressed "in a wardrobe of rich words." Two or three characters taken from humble life, and destined to encounter the common lot and common casualties that give interest to "the short and simple annals of the poor," and sufficiently probable, (especially in an *agricultural point of view*,) with the help of a few marriages and deaths, form the whole of the materials employed. The moral views and tendency of the story are equally simple, and perfectly unexceptionable and true. To shew the value and almost indispensable necessity of religious hopes and consolation among all classes, but particularly among those who are often destitute of every thing except resignation and confidence in the will of God, — and to exhibit the healing power of religion over the keenest and most lasting wounds of the heart, in the wreck of this world's fondest treasures, the ornament and the supports of existence, as they drop one by one away,

away, — is the single and beautiful truth to which the whole of this story, and the whole of the little volume, has been devoted.

The pieces that follow, though of an inferior character, are not destitute of poetical merit; particularly one or two of the dramatic scenes, borrowed, also, from some of the commonest but touching incidents of private life. We must beg leave to select the conclusion of one which strikes us as very beautiful and pathetic in its way; — a dramatic sketch, intitled 'Editha,' simply founded on a few circumstances and feelings connected with the affections, decline, and death of a young lady, at the moment of the return of her lover, after an absence of six years.

'SCENE V. *Editha's dressing-room. Evening. Edmund laying down a book he had been reading to her.*

'*Edm.* Shall I leave off, my Editha, — you're tired; —
The book has wearied your attention, love?
'*Edi.* No, Edmund, but my mind had wandered from it
To you, and to myself — to many things.
I heard the words you uttered — not their sense —
Dear Edmund! I'm too happy for attention —
My heart's too full, — full of the past and present.
'*Edm.* And of the future, love! the happier future! —
Is there no room for that, Editha?
'*Edi.* Oh, yes — there has been and will be again;
And now, I'm almost sick with happiness;
I feel as if I could not bear the weight
Of half another grain. — *And you are here!*
And have been here, since yesterday at noon!
Have slept again under this very roof!
Have sat at meals in your old place again!
Have walked in our own garden — yours and mine —
And brought me flowers thence — this very rose!
Your old accustomed tribute. — You are here,
And will be here to-morrow, and to-morrow,
And all this happiness is *not* a dream!
'*Edm.* A blest reality, beloved creature!
That time will stamp with still increasing bliss.
Oh, Editha! how much I have to tell you!
How much to hear when you are well enough
To stroll once more in our old fav'rite haunts,
Arm within arm, and heart in heart, my love!
——————— Is the old tree,
The oak-tree, standing yet, whose hollow trunk
We used to call our house, when we were children?
'*Edi.* Standing and well; — but the wild honey-suckle
You taught to climb its branches is quite dead;
Yet not for want of care, — but we believed
The lightning struck it. Do you remember, Edmund,
That little mountain-ash you planted for me,
The day of your departure?
'*Edm.* Oh, yes, yes! —
I set it by the meadow-brook, and bade you,

If

If the tree grew and prospered, look upon it
As a good omen of the wanderer's fate.
' *Edi.* And it has grown and prospered; it is now
A stately tree, casting its chequered shadow
To the opposite margin of the meadow-brook;
Hung every autumn with such beautiful tassels
Of scarlet berries! — I grudged them to the birds.
' *Edm.* Not to *our* robin? — but he must be dead!
' *Edi.* I found him dead last winter in the green-house,
In the hard frost. Look, Edmund! Oh, look there!
The moon's at full to-night, and she is rising! —
Help me to reach the sofa by the window,
That I may gaze on the full-moon once more.
' *Edm.* " Once more," my life! — shall not we often thus
Together look upon the lovely moon?
' *Edi.* Oh, often, often, I believe — I hope —
I've heard 'tis wrong to be afraid of death.
I know we should not love this world too much,
And yet I feel that I *do* love the world —
This beautiful world! with all its fruits and flowers,
Its dews and sunshine. And with those about me,
In whom I live — you and my father, Edmund, —
Is not this Paradise! I feel, I fear, —
I could not bear to die and leave it all!
* * * * * * * * *
Yet surely, surely, in a future state
There may be pleasures perfected from those
That constitute our best enjoyments here.
The innocent affections of the heart —
Edmund! —
' *Edm.* My dearest! you exhaust yourself; —
I must not let you talk so much. Come, come;
Martha has charged me to take absolute rule,
As in old times, over my little cousin.
' *Edi.* And so you shall; but if I'm tired to-night,
I shall but sleep the sounder. What's the hour?
' *Edm.* The church-clock answers you. 'Tis striking nine.
' *Edi.* See! the bright moon is just withdrawing there,
Behind the steeple. Now — how dark it is!
' *Edm.* Still light as day, love; though the moon is hid.
' *Edi.* No — very dark, pitch dark. Where are you, Edmund?
Come to me — don't let me go — don't leave me,
Edmund! —— [*Dies.*'

MISCELLANEOUS.

Art. 19. *Original Miscellanies*, in Prose and Verse, by John Laurens Bicknell, F. A. S. 8vo. pp. 470. Cadell.

An interesting part of the present olio is the short introductory biographical sketch of the late Dr. Charles Burney, of whom Mr. Bicknell, it appears, was one of the pupils. That very eminent scholar must for ever claim the respectful remembrance of the

the learned; and all his friends will be pleased with the warm and grateful tribute which is here paid to him, though it does not pretend to be any thing like an adequate memoir of his career in life. At some period, no doubt, we shall be more amply supplied with such a document.

The first composition in this volume is 'A Burlesque Novel,'—a species of writing of which the success depends, among other essential qualities, on its brevity. The present tale is too long, both as a whole and in many of its parts. The butterflies are thirteen times racked on the same wheel; and the drivelling idiotism of modern novels is too fully, and too repeatedly, exposed. Yet it is a good contrast to the mismanagement and extravagant incidents of the multitudinous "spawn of the Minerva press;" and the sentiments and manners justly ridicule the affectation and the vice of the contemporary Pathetic and Sublime.

This story of Miss Sarah Lloyd is followed by an 'Analysis of the Play of Hamlet,' in which considerable talent is indicated, but a due portion also of prolixity. Next comes 'The Siege of Troy;' and here we really grieve to see the poor spirit of humour, which dictated the travesties of Homer and Virgil, again revived in a dramatic form, and with still feebler effect. — Among the miscellanies of a shorter description, we meet with some little pieces which are happy enough, and others (as is usual) which are not so successful. We give an example, or two.

'*Lines on seeing the London Museum.*

'Whilst, with a reverential awe, I trace
Thy hand, O God, in each created race;
My busy thought, from passion's fetters free,
Flies from myself, and centers all in Thee.

'Thou, whose almighty word gave nature birth,
Fix'd yon bright orbs, and fram'd this solid earth,
Mak'st the minutest seed, the leaf, the flow'r,
E'en life's last speck to vindicate thy pow'r.

'What then, shall man, with vain presumption fraught,
Unknowing whence his motion, life, or thought,
Shall man alone, proud, fleeting, foolish man,
Still dare to cavil at thy mighty plan,
Disown thy laws, neglect thy sacred word,
And scorn the solace which thy truths afford?
Here let the mind thy wondrous works explore,
And, as it wondering contemplates, adore;
Burst to the realms of light as yet untrod,
And humbly seek its parent and its God.'

'*Lines written at Dover, August* 8. 1816.

'The sun, upon the broad expanse
Has flung the morning ray,
And gaily do the vessels dance,
In Dover's circling bay;

And

And bursting through the dashing spray,
As if impatient of delay,
On rides our bark, and ev'ry sail
Is set to catch the swelling gale,
And waft us o'er to France.

'To France! Good Heaven, and is at last
The cause of separation past,
Which shut us from the social land,
And arm'd with steel each hostile band,
And bade the jealous Briton know
A Frenchman only as a foe;
Has peace, at length, a chaplet wove
Of friendship, harmony, and love?

'Not few the melancholy years
Nor few, alas, the widow's tears,
Nor check'd the parent's sigh,
Since first, upon thy native ground,
We heard the voice of mourning sound,
We saw the soldier die. —
When constant to the ear would come
The measur'd beat of muffled drum.

'But thou, most welcome, white-robed peace,
Shall bid these sad reflections cease,
And bind our union stronger;
Henceforth we'll pledge our friends of France,
We'll join her daughters in the dance,
But fight her sons no longer. —
For foes and strangers now no more,
We seek again thy hospitable shore.'

If the former quotation be censured by the fastidious as *commonplace*, will not the latter be confessed by the candid to be quite *stale*? Besides, as to the expression!

'And gaily do the vessels dance.'

'To France! Good Heaven!'

'— Friendship, harmony, and love.'

No hackneyed transparency at an illumination can be more clear and tedious than this.

We come now to Mr. Bicknell's classical imitations; and here, while we do justice to his knowlege of the originals, we cannot admire the manner of his representing them in English. Let us take the little complaint of Catullus, properly altered in its *direction* by the imitator, — but how *delivered!*

'" *Male est* ——— *tuo Catullo,*
Male est meherculè et laboriosè," *&c.*

'IMITATION.

'Severe, false girl, 's thy poet's lot:
Oh! are thy vows so soon forgot,

And

And is thy soul's affection o'er,
And can thy kindness charm no more?
Where are the pleasures, which belong
To the soft influence of song?
E'en verse, as Cowper's numbers smooth,
No longer now my pangs can sooth.'

The '*smoothness*' of Cowper's verse is, to our apprehension, rather a doubtful subject of praise; and, we presume, it was imitated in the *first* line of this little imitation from the melodious Catullus!

Of all extraordinary vagaries, however, which we recollect to have been practised by the modern imitators of the classic Muse, the following appears to us the most unaccountable. The author, (who, by the way, fills up one of his pages with the concise Latin, and another with the prolix English,) as if to shew the greater *flow of words* which his native tongue possesses, thus *translates*, as he calls it, the *six* lines of Catullus beginning

' " *Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus.*"

' TRANSLATION.

' My Lesbia, let us live and love,
While live and love as yet we may;
Thy fears let no vain fancies move,
Nor heed what prattling age may say.

' When night has fled, the beaming day
Its light from yonder sun shall borrow;
But human life flits swift away,
And, when once spent, has no to-morrow.

' The snow-drop shows its tender form
And sheds its fragrance in the blast;
To-morrow brings a sweeping storm,
Its beauty's o'er, its day is past.

' Then, Lesbia, let us live and love,
While live and love as yet we may;
Thy fears let no vain fancies move,
Nor heed what prattling age may say.'

' *The Snowdrop*' our classical readers must consider as peculiarly fortunate in its introduction.

' A Passing Hour, a *Comedy*,' concludes the volume; and here, we venture to say, lies the real talent of the author. Not that the title of *Comedy* is really deserved by this effusion: but, although we trace little indeed of Menander (as far as we can judge of this lost hierophant of common sense) in ' A Passing Hour,' it discovers occasionally *some* spice of Aristophanes; especially where the old soldier and the old sailor are severally astonished at the other's ignorance of military and nautical phrases. * *As a whole*, however, we cannot largely praise this composition; being, at the

* We may add that every sailor will be astonished by the author's ignorance of sea-phrases. He does, indeed, make sad landlubber's work with them.

same

same time, desirous of affording our best encouragement to the author to cultivate and refine his talent for the *burlesque*, and to apply it to the production of some happy *farce*.

Another publication by Mr. Bicknell will be found in our poetical class, p. 327.

Art. 20. *Elements of Thought;* or, First Lessons in the Knowledge of the Mind: including familiar Explanations of the Terms employed on Subjects relating to the intellectual Powers. By Isaac Taylor, jun. 12mo. pp. 208. 4s. 6d. Boards. Holdsworth. 1822.

The definitions contained in this tract are remarkable for their correctness and precision; and, considering how necessary it is towards right thinking to acquire habits of correct expression, we very strongly recommend this little manual to the attention of young students. As an elementary work, it is truly valuable; and the variety of information, which is laid before the reader, ought not to be deemed the less valuable on account of the very unassuming title under which it is ushered to his notice.

Art. 21. *Hours of Contemplation;* or, Essays Philosophical, Literary, and Descriptive, &c. &c. By E. Phillips, jun. 12mo. 6*s*. Boards. Longman and Co. 1822.

We have in this little volume 'an essay towards a philosophical inquiry into the revival of letters in Europe:' a paper 'on the pleasures which are wont to accompany the moral study of man;' and 'hints on the first principles of education.' With the exception of some affected phrases, they are written in an easy and pleasing manner; and though they do not contain much novelty, their mediocrity is redeemed by the general justness of the remarks. Considering the fashion of the day, it is some commendation if we say that an author is exempt from all fondness for ambitious writing and paradox.

CORRESPONDENCE.

We most devoutly believe that all the "lilies and roses," which this charming season produces, are displayed with killing effect on the cheeks of our fair remonstrant *Lindamira;* and, if she had made her appeal to us in person, we will not answer for the effects of it. As the case is, however, we really cannot alter our decree, nor add to the lilies and roses a *laurel-wreath* to bind around her brow: for which purpose we cannot spare a sprig from our grove, though it is at present luxuriant even to superabundance. — We are truly sorry, — and would do almost any thing else to please the lady, and obtain our pardon.

Nestor is intitled to our consideration, and our thanks.

P. B. is referred to the present Number.

The letter of *R. C.* is received, but requires no farther notice.

In the Review for June, p. 154. l. 7., for 'Grossulareæ,' read *Grossulariæ*. — P. 187. l. 1., for 'densiti,' read *destinies*. — P. 223. l. 26., for 'freightened,' read *frightened*.

THE

MONTHLY REVIEW,

For AUGUST, 1822.

ART. I. *A Description of the Shetland Islands*, comprising an Account of their Geology, Scenery, Antiquities, and Superstitions. By Samuel Hibbert, M.D. F.R.S. E., &c. With a Geological Map, Plates, &c. 4to. pp. 636. 3*l*. 3*s*. Boards. Edinburgh, Constable and Co.; London, Hurst and Co. 1822.

AMONG the benefits which accrue to society from the impulse that has been lately communicated to geological pursuits in this country, we may reckon the deliberate survey of the more insulated and remote portions of the empire, by men of education and discernment. We have seen, for example, that Dr. Macculloch, stimulated by the excitements of his favorite study, and waiving considerations of personal comfort and safety, has been enabled to present to the public, as the result of his labors, an interesting analysis of the structure and statistics of the Hebrides; and had the learned author of the volume before us never directed his attention to the contemplation of the mineral kingdom, he might, perhaps, never have set foot on the islands which he has described. We learn, indeed, from himself, that his original object was merely to publish the substance of his geological researches in Shetland, accompanied by an illustrative Essay on Stratification; and that the more popular notices of scenery, manners, and antiquities, were subsequently suggested and adopted. These collateral details, however, are kept distinct from those of a scientific complexion, and are printed on a larger type. We cannot impute blame to Dr. Hibbert for endeavoring to give to his observations the most attractive form: but he would not, in our apprehension, have been more remote from the accomplishment of his aim, had he extended them to the meteorology, botany, and zoology of the region which he undertook to delineate; and had he moulded his disjointed materials into a more regular and consecutive series. Among the other difficulties attendant on his survey, was the total want of any thing like an accurate chart of the islands; a deficiency which compelled him to climb almost every high land in the country, and, with the aid only of a pocket-compass, to ob-

tain a new draft, suited to his purpose. Accordingly, his map differs from those of his predecessors; and, though not free, as he conceives, from many imperfections, it is sufficiently accurate in a geological point of view. He mentions in respectful terms the encouragement and assistance which he derived from Professor Jameson and Dr. Brewster; and, after some general references to authorities, he concludes his preliminary notice with this very unnecessary apology:

'I may also be permitted to observe, that while this work was in the press, a new novel by the "Great Unknown" was announced, with the notice that the scene was laid in Shetland. Among the many reasons that I have had for regretting the present publication, in its enlarged plan, it is assuredly not the least of them, that this volume must appear contemporaneous with The Pirate; for, in adverting to the scenery and manners of this country, I am sensible that I cannot fail to provoke a comparison which must be highly to my disadvantage. Still, we owe so many obligations to the author of Waverley, for the pleasure he has afforded us in perusing his works, that an author ought not to complain if he has incautiously brought himself into such a dilemma as to stand as a mere foil to the greatest of all modern masters of description.'

We must really beg leave to demur to the relevancy of this modest plea, in as much as the cool recorder of existing facts and usages is no fair object of comparison with the novelist; who, even when he adopts history as the basis of his narrative, is accustomed to draw freely on his resources of taste and imagination.

Prefixed to the journal, (or, to use the Doctor's technical phraseology, to the *Iters*,) is a somewhat voluminous Essay on Stratification; the object of which is to convey, at least as far as it regards the geology of Shetland, more precise and accurate notions of the term than are commonly entertained. With this view, he treats first of the molecules of the compact structure of rocks; secondly, of granular particles; thirdly, of concretions; fourthly, of massive portions; fifthly, of veins; and, sixthly, of mountain-masses. His proposed limitation of the expression *granular particles*, to such minute portions of mineral matter as do not exceed the average magnitude of grains of sea-sand, may probably conduce to greater exactness than has been hitherto attempted, but will in most instances imply a restriction of the original import of the epithet *granular*, and still leave the line of demarcation between *grains* and *concretions* somewhat vague and ambiguous. The *granular* structure is here farther distinguished into the *crystalline*, *semi-crystalline*, and *arenaceous*; as the *concretionary* is into the *crystalline*, *semi-crystalline*, *concentrically*

cally laminar, *amygdaloidal*, *irregular*, *fragmentary*, and *organic*: examples of which will readily occur to the geological reader. It is observed that the speculative reasonings, which may be applied to the history of these respective modes of structure, are now freed from the trammels of either the Huttonian or the Wernerian theory; Laplace's more comprehensive doctrine of a condensation of gaseous matter equally embracing the agency of fire and water; or the principles of chemical affinity accounting for the production of crystalline and spheroidal concretions, during the fluidity of the base in which they are contained. The internal arrangement of the particles, however, does not necessarily imply a reciprocal and equal degree of attraction for one another, subsisting at all their points of mutual contact; the state of cohesion seeming, on the contrary, to vary at different points. The author proposes 'that the simple term *Structure* should be limited to the expression of the mere circumstance of cohesion subsisting among the component particles of a rock. When, however, an order or arrangement under which such particles coalesce is implied, such, for instance, as is generally denoted by the terms Tabular, Foliated, Laminated, or Schistose, the expression of INTERNAL ARRANGEMENT of STRUCTURE is in every respect distinctive and precise.'

The leading views of stratification, with which we are here presented, do not materially differ from those of De Saussure and D'Aubuisson: but an important circumstance is superadded, namely, that of 'a linear direction of particles in each laminated or foliated plane.' Considerable perplexity and obscurity may, it is surmised, be avoided by applying the epithet *definite* to that stratification the layers of which are parallel, or nearly so, to one another; or which may be uniformly referred to some determinate point of the compass;—the term *promiscuous*, when no such determinate reference can be made;—and *partial*, when the strata occur in patches, or include small insulated areas. The polyedrous internal arrangement of structure is characterized by a resemblance to the disposition of crystalline lamina meeting under determinate angles;—but the tendency of cross seams or fissures to form, with the seams of stratification, massive portions, more or less symmetrical, is not easily explained.

After having rejected the Wernerian and the Huttonian theories of the formation of mineral veins, Dr. Hibbert inclines to the more recent opinion of Professor Jameson that they are chemical secretions from the rocks which they traverse, and, consequently, contemporaneous with them. This hypothesis is attended with fewer difficulties than any that

have been proposed: but it is scarcely reconcileable with the received doctrine of the priority of one vein that is crossed by another. The Doctor presumes that the elements of both the primary and secondary rocks were deposited from water, but that the former were consolidated by the powerful aid of chemical affinities, and the latter by slower deposition, a more reduced state of chemical agency, and mechanical pressure: yet still the ambiguous nature of basalt, and some of the trapp-rocks and porphyries, remain as stumbling blocks, unless the combined operations of terrestrial and submarine volcanos be supposed adequate to explain the phænomena. From an approximative estimate of the nature and proportions of the chemical ingredients of rocks, in the order of their super-position, he is induced to assign, out of twelve parts, about seven of silex, two and a half carbonate of lime, one and a half alum, one-fourth carbonate of magnesia, one-fourth potass, and one-half adventitious and inappreciable matters. In his cursory remarks on the variations of density in the different portions of the crust of the earth, and on the intervals which appear to have taken place between the respective deposits of which it is composed, we discern nothing that has not been already advanced more in detail. Having demonstrated the insufficiency of the Wernerian assumptions of universal formations and distributions, he proceeds to consider the partial ranges of different descriptions of rock, and the want of uniformity which has been observed in the order of their super-position. By supposing, with Professor Jameson, that granite is neither the oldest nor the newest of the primary rocks, but contemporaneous with the strata in which it is imbedded, or with which it is associated, we may get rid of some of the perplexities in which this department of geology is involved: but various enigmatical appearances would still remain to be explained, and particularly that of patches of strata included in widely extended unstratified masses.

The remainder of the Essay contains several pertinent but obvious remarks, which do not require to be specifically stated. We proceed, therefore, to accompany Dr. Hibbert on his first *Iter*, which includes his progress from Leith to Dunrossness, in Shetland, or *Hialtlandia*, as he more than once denominates that assemblage of islands. An orator, in his exordium, generally contrives to exaggerate the importance of the theme of his declamation: but this learned tourist has perhaps erred in the opposite extreme, and needlessly under-rated the principal object of his mission: at least we feel inclined to place above the rank of a *drudge* the faithful observer

observer of geological phænomena, who prosecutes his inquiries without reference to theory; and we presume that the *petromanians*, as he terms them, will not readily concur in the persuasion that a long journey, purely *geognostical*, and when enlivened by the seductive charms of hypothesis, is a service of *insufferable tædium*. He informs us that the passage from Leith to Shetland is accomplished, with a fair wind, in fifty hours: but vessels are often compelled by adverse winds to take shelter in some harbour on the coast of Scotland. The numerous small towns, which diversify the shores of Fife, are pleasing additions to the landscape, when viewed from the sea: but they are contemplated to most advantage at a respectful distance.

Fair Island, the largest of the Shetland group, and that which the author first approached, is associated with some interesting traditions relative to the adventures of the Duke de Medina, who commanded the Spanish armada; and who, with two hundred of his men, having escaped from the perils of shipwreck, effected a landing on this island. From the unarmed natives, they might have obtained by force the provisions for which they liberally paid: but this generous conduct was met by the inhabitants with various acts of perfidy and murder. The prospect of immediate famine induced the illustrious stranger to apply for subsistence and protection to Andrew Umphrey, of Berry, who lost no time in repairing to the relief of the unfortunate Spaniards.

'The vessel appears to have touched at Quendal Bay, the nearest point in the Mainland of Shetland. This was with a view to the superior accommodation due to the illustrious rank of the Duke, which the house of a worthy Scottish gentleman afforded, of the name of Malcolm Sinclair.

'The Duke de Medina landed in the complete costume of a Spanish nobleman, with a view to impress on the simple islanders some notion of the rank which he held in his own country. On being introduced to his host, he was received with the unfeigned welcome that was due to an illustrious and an unfortunate stranger. This feeling was not, however, wholly unmixed with Malcolm's conscientious disapproval of the cause which led eventually to the Duke's disaster, though he wished, at the same time, that emotions of this nature should intrude themselves as little as possible, so as to interfere with the rites of hospitality. An intention so laudable was soon put to a trial, — particularly when the Duke, in order to satisfy himself of the imposing effect which his appearance might have caused in the country, bade his interpreter inquire, if his host had seen before a person of his rank and mien. Malcolm Sinclair, who, in estimating the consequence of his guest, had ever considered him as the redoubted champion of Great Babylon, bluntly replied in broad Scots, "Farcie in that

face! I have seen many prettier men hanging on the Burrow-Muir." * It was well for the feelings of the Spanish commander, that his interpreter's knowledge of the English tongue had not yet extended to its provincialities, and that it was impossible to translate this coarse reply.'

A vessel was at length equipped, to convey the Duke and his reduced party to the Continent; and, in the course of a few days, they were landed at the port of Dunkirk, when the Spanish commander rewarded his deliverer with 3000 marks.

On approaching the shores of Dunrossness, the *Mainland*, one of the principal islands, gradually unfolds in perspective, and the nakedness and desolation of the scene are poorly relieved by the number and moderate elevation of the hills. In good weather, however, groups of fishing boats impart an appearance of animation to the waters, while the leathern jerkins and boots of the fishermen remind the spectator of the antient garb of the Scandinavians. The first question usually put to a stranger, on landing, is the price of meal at Leith; an important article of information to the poor natives, whose scanty and precarious crops are seldom adequate to their subsistence. — In their ordinary discourse, their prevailing accent is more assimilated to that of the English, or the Irish, than to that of the Scots.

The sand-drifts about Sumburgh Head recall the suggestions of former travellers relative to fixing the moving surface by the binding roots of plants: but the author, as if freshly imported from Erin's green isle, observes that the *seeds* which grew among the sands were, for the laudable purpose of *making besoms, still dug up by the roots.*'

On the mention of a copper medal of Vespasian found in the parish of Dunrossness, Dr. H. introduces some remarks on the dark and early period of the history of Shetland and Orkney. These northern islands were but imperfectly known to the Romans till the year 84 of the Christian æra, when Agricola reduced the Orkneys, and descried *Foula*, or *Thule*, — *dispecta est et Thule.* The subdued Orcadians are supposed to have been of Celtic origin, and to have deserted their settlement about a century and a half after Agricola's expedition. In a subsequent period, Orkney, and probably Shetland, suffered under a Gothic tribe of Saxon rovers, who were discomfited by Theodosius in the year 368: to whom

* Sir Robert Sibbald's Account of Shetland. — "*Farcie* in that face," i. e. "*unsightliness* is in that face, or it is an *ill-favoured* face," — an uncouth term of opprobrium, very properly obsolete. — "*Burrow-Muir*," the ancient Tyburn of Edinburgh.'

succeeded,

succeeded, in or before the sixth century, a Scandinavian horde, the progenitors of the present inhabitants. Although some of these historical topics are little susceptible of clear and satisfactory elucidation, they are treated by Dr. Hibbert with no mean display of antiquarian research. — From the records of the olden time, his progress to Quendal again summons us to the ravages of sand-showers, and to the contrast of a spot of gay fertility and verdure, enlivened by numerous cottages and a white house, occupied by the intelligent and hospitable Mr. Ogilvie, who has the merit of having introduced an improved style of agriculture. Most of the Shetland cottages are covered with turf and straw, and have the fire-place in the middle of the floor, with a large opening for the egress of the smoke and the admission of light: but windows begin to be more generally used than in former years, and some of the houses were very early provided with chimneys. The cow-house frequently adjoins and leads to the dwelling place, while a turf-partition sometimes distinguishes the latter from the dormitory: but a few coarse blankets or straw, for bedding, are occasionally placed in any convenient corner. A cumbrous wooden chair, or two, designed for the heads of the family, and a few bare benches, form the heavy furniture. — The natives, especially the males, are middle-sized, light, nimble, and well proportioned, with small smooth features, a florid complexion, brown, white, or auburn hair, indicative of their Scandinavian origin, and blue, black, or hazel, but by no means *sea-green* eyes; though, according to the grave testimony of the late Principal Gordon, such were prevalent in Orkney, but which other observers have not been able to discover. The men manifest activity in few pursuits but fishing, devolving most occupations of drudgery on the women; who, accordingly, bear impressed on their features the symptoms of this rude treatment. In the fine evenings of summer, the old men and youths are chiefly busied in catching *sillocks*, (the fry of the coal-fish,) which swarm all round the shores, and which they allure either with limpets or an artificial fly, coarsely prepared.

Iter II. commences with a sketch of the prevailing rocks, from the most southerly shores of Dunrossness to Lunna Ness. This district includes a considerable portion of syenite, in which mica is very sparingly diffused, and which is characterized by the presence of epidote, that supplies the place of hornblend, and in some cases graduates into it; thus affording confirmation of the intimate connection which subsists between these substances, if they are not specifically identical. At Little Holm, in Quendal Bay, this epidotic

syenite is found in junction with sand-stone and conglomerate rocks. Other primitive members of the range comprized in this section are quartzose gneiss, mica-slate, and clay-slate, variously modified; with interposed layers of hornblend, a bed of iron pyrites, a thin mass of lime-stone, and a vein of micaceous iron ore, about twelve feet thick, and consequently intitled to attention, since it may possibly yield from 70 to 80 *per cent.* of metal. Mention occurs of an uncommon variety of lime-stone, 'which appears to have received, from a contiguous mass of hornblende, such a slight, yet equal diffusion of its ingredients, as to have acquired the same dark-bottle-green colour that distinguishes the character of the rock with which it is associated.' — The rocks decidedly secondary are sand-stones of a loose texture, containing attrited fragments of other rocks and masses of conglomerate, composed of fragments of granite, quartz, and felspar. These very cursory statements, however, can convey to our readers no adequate idea of the extent and minuteness of the local details; our sole aim being to notice, in passing, some of the more prominent or unusual circumstances.

As the principles of the decomposition of rocky masses are but imperfectly understood, and the tendency to disintegration has been often observed to alter very considerably in different parts of the same mass, we may, without much violation of the rules of logic, suppose that solitary and detached blocks owe their more protracted existence to some intimate chemical affinity, or combination, which has afforded it more permanent protection against the wasting influence of ages.

We have now to advert to the history of Udal tenures in Shetland, which the author rather tediously deduces from the days of Harold Harfagre. To secure the allegiance of the islands which he had subdued, Harold is supposed to have partitioned the vanquished territory among his military and civil servants, according to their rank, or deserts; regulating the allotments by the familiar standard of the price of *wadmel*, a sort of coarse woollen cloth then in general use, and eight pieces of which, each measuring six ells, were reckoned equivalent to a mark. The *merk-stones*, or *meithes*, many of which still exist, originally indicated the boundaries of the respective shares; which varied in dimensions according to the quality of the soil, extent of surface compensating for poverty of production. Smaller subdivisions were subsequently adjusted by the *ure*, or eighth part of a mark. When the *scat*, or land-tax, was imposed on the several quotas of property, it was levied only on the grazing portions; while the arable patches, being of comparative insignificance, were exempted,

exempted, and held as *udal*, or *free*. It has been computed that, at the period when Shetland was separated from Norway, the number of marks of land amounted, as at present, to between thirteen and fourteen thousand. As the assessment was made in a sort of rude coin, called *pennings*, or *pennies*, and as no mark was rated under four or above twelve of those coins, the designation of four-penny, six-penny, eight-penny land, &c. is recognized at this day. In consequence of the introduction of Christianity early in the eleventh century, the tithes of the pope, of the bishop, and of the vicar, were levied from the udal fields: but the early state of the udal tenures was unconnected with the feodal system which so long obtained in Europe; and, in consequence of a law said to have been enacted by King Olaus, the inclosed ground, or *scatthald*, became the free property of the cultivator, and descended to his children, male and female, in equal shares. When Orkney and Shetland devolved to the Scotish crown, feus, grassums, (fines,) and various modifications of the original tenures were gradually adopted; and the iniquitous encroachments of Earls Robert and Patrick Stewart, and of the Earl of Morton, have consigned their names to all the infamy with which the present author has so repeatedly associated them. About the year 1669, nearly all the lands were feudalized, and annexed to the crown.

A few of the domestic, or rather half-domesticated animals of these islands are incidentally noticed in the course of this perambulation. The sheep are of a diminutive size, but fleet and hardy, though not a few of them are seriously injured by the inhuman practice of tearing off the fleece. The native breed of swine is also small; and the boars are but partially reclaimed, destroying the nests of birds, and making war on lambkins. The dwarfish ponies, or *shelties*, are exposed to the open air throughout the winter, when they are fenced with a coat of shaggy hair.

The most perfect specimen remaining in these isles of an antient Scandinavian fortress is thus described:

'The Burgh of Mousa occupies a circular site of ground, somewhat more than fifty feet in diameter, being constructed of middle sized schistose stones of a tolerable uniform magnitude, well laid together, without the intervention of any cement. This very simple round edifice attains the elevation of 42 feet; it swells out, or bulges from its foundation, and draws smaller as it approaches the top, when it is again cast out from its lesser diameter; which singularity of construction is intended to obviate the possibility of scaling the walls. The door-that leads to the open area contained within the structure is a small narrow passage, so low that an entrance is only to be accomplished by crawling upon the hands and knees;

knees; and in creeping through it, the wall appears of the great thickness of 15 feet, naturally leading to the suspicion of a vacuity within. On arriving at the open circular area included within this mural shell, I found the diameter of the space to be about 21 feet. On that part of the wall within the court, which is nearly opposite to the entrance, the attention is excited by a number of small apertures resembling the holes of a pigeon-house. There are three or four vertical rows of them, having each an equal proportion of openings, varying from eight to eighteen in number. It was now evident that the mural shell of the structure was hollow, and that it contained chambers, to which these holes imparted a feeble supply of light and air. Beneath the whole, at a little distance from the ground, there is a door that leads to a winding flight of stone steps, of the width of three feet, which communicates with all these apartments; I then discovered that the shell of the Burgh was composed of two concentric walls, each of about four and a half to five feet in breadth, and that a space of nearly a similar dimension was devoted to the construction of the inner apartments. In ascending these steps, which wound gradually to the top of the wall, I observed that they communicated at regular intervals with many chambers or galleries, one above another, that went round the building. These were severally of such a height, that it was possible to walk within them nearly upright. The roof of the lowest chamber was the floor of the second, and after this manner seven tiers were raised. On reaching the highest step of the flight of stairs, there appeared no reason for supposing that any roof had ever protected the summit of the building, so that the Burgh of Mousa must have been originally nothing more than a circular mural shell, open to the top. The height of the inside wall was thirty-five feet, being seven feet less than that of the outside; this difference was partly owing to the accumulation of stones and earth, which had filled the inner court.

'The mode was now evident in which this Burgh had been intended to give security to the persons and property of the ancient inhabitants of Shetland against the sudden landing of predatory adventurers. The tiers of apartments contained within the thick walls would afford a shelter to women and children from the missile weapons of assaulters, besides being repositaries for grain and other kinds of property, as well as for the stores whereby a long siege might be sustained. The low narrow door within the court, which admits of no entrance but in a creeping posture, might be easily secured at a short notice by large blocks of stone. It has been remarked of the rude forts similar to these which occur on the shores of Scandinavia, that they were seldom taken by an enemy, unless by surprise, or after a long blockade: that frequently terraces and artificial banks were raised near that side of the wall which was the lowest, and that the besieged were then annoyed with arrows, stones, boiling water, or melted pitch, being thrown into the fort; — offensive weapons which they did not neglect to return. The history of the Burgh of Mousa confirms the correctness of this observation; its high walls bulging

out

out from their foundation, defied any attempt to scale them; for, when they were encompassed by one of the earls of Orkney, he had no hopes of inducing the fortress to surrender, but by cutting off all supplies of food, and then waiting the event of a long siege. Altogether the building was well adapted for resisting the attacks of the ancient piratical hordes of these seas, who from the short summers of northern latitudes, and from the incapability of their vessels to sustain a winter's navigation, durst not allow themselves to be detained on the coast by any tedious operations of assault.'

More ruinous remnants of similar buildings occur in different parts of the islands: but, even in this instance, the chambers, owing to the decayed state of the floors, could not be explored with safety. With its history is connected the melancholy tale of Dame Margareta, the widowed mother of one of the earls of Orkney, and her paramour, Erlend.

In the vale of Tingwall, the combined effects of a bed of lime-stone, and of the exertions of an intelligent parish-minister, are visible in the fertility and improved culture of the soil. Here, too, the public law-court was formerly convened in the open air, agreeably to the rude institutions of the Scandinavians; and from this circumstance the author takes occasion to present us with a sketch of the jurisdictions and internal government of Shetland, before it formed an appendage of the British dominions.

Lerwick, the principal town, is surrounded by formal inclosures of a stony and ungrateful soil, intended for gardens, and the houses are placed in defiance of all ideas of regularity; yet it forms a striking and picturesque object, and exhibits even a gay and bustling appearance from the number of its shops, and the confluence of mariners and fishermen. Its resident inhabitants amount to about 1300; and they are chiefly indebted for their support to the vessels which trade at their harbour, on their way to and from the northern seas. Provisions are about one half cheaper than in the market-towns of Scotland: various garden-esculents, particularly artichokes, are successfully cultivated; and the natives are remarkable for their hospitality to strangers.

At no great distance is situated the famous *Holm of Noss*;

'It is bounded by precipitous cliffs, and divided by a narrow channel from the equally steep rocks on which I was then standing. The traveller is now struck with the appearance of a tremendous gulf, over which ropes are passed, from which is slung a sort of wooden trough named a cradle, large enough for the conveyance across of one man and a sheep. How such a device was first contrived, is naturally one of the first objects of inquiry. The holm, which is little more than 500 feet in length, and 170 in breadth, rises abruptly from the sea in the form of a perpendicular cliff

cliff 160 feet in height. The chasm which intervenes between it and the no less precipitous banks of Noss is sixty-five feet across. The original temptation to reach this holm was on account of the visit paid to it during the season of incubation by innumerable sea-birds, such as black and white gulls, scarfs, sea-pies, and kittywakes, when the grass became whitened with their eggs. It was therefore about two centuries ago, that an adventurous fowler was induced, by the tempting offer of a cow, to scale the cliff of the holm. This hardy and almost incredible undertaking he accomplished, bearing with him two stakes, with the intent of fixing them into that part of the bank which was nearest to the opposite rock. The object of the undertaking was now fulfilled, and the fowler was entreated to avail himself of the communication across the gulf: this he refused to do, determined to descend the way that he had climbed, and in so fool-hardy an attempt he fell and perished. When the islanders first availed themselves of this ill-fated hero's success, a stone was fastened to the double of a light cord, and while one man kept in his hands the extremities of the rope, the other threw the part to which the stone was attached across to the holm. By the assistance of a long pole or fishing-rod, the cord was so elevated as to be easily drawn round the stakes; a thicker rope was then attached to the thin cord, and upon the latter being drawn in, the former was in its turn brought round the post. This operation was repeated until a firm cordage formed the medium of transport from bank to bank. In the next place, an oblong box, named a cradle, was contrived, through the extremities of which two holes were made that allowed ropes to pass along each of its sides, by which means the machine was properly slung. The first visitor of the holm then seated himself in the cradle, and since there was a slight descent towards it, he easily moved forward, and by means of the lateral cords, regulated the celerity of his conveyance. In returning, however, he was assisted by persons stationed on the opposite bank, who were employed in drawing him up by means of a rope that had been for this purpose attached to the cradle.

'At the present day, the holm is converted into a pasture for twelve sheep. The cradle is slung twice each summer, in a manner differing little from that which was practised two centuries ago. The box is made large enough for the admission into it of one man and a sheep. When Mr. Low of Orkney visited Noss, nearly fifty years ago, it was customary to fasten the double of a thin piece of packthread to a fishing-rod, and to allow a favourable breeze to blow it over the stakes; it then proved the medium by which a thicker cordage could be made to supply its place.'

The third excursion comprizes a large extent of country, stretching from the neighbourhood of Fitfiel Head to the northernmost extremity of Shetland, in the island of Unst. The epidotic syenite, which is supposed to be prolonged under the bed of the sea, appears again among the islands of the Bay of Scalloway; and, as it proceeds northward, it gradually

gradually diminishes in width, until it terminates on the west shore of Aith Voe, in a thin veinous mass, only a few yards in breadth. On its re-appearance, it is less prone to decomposition than at Dunrossness, and it is characterized by large crystals of felspar, which are occasionally an inch or an inch and a half in length; while, in the island of Burna, it contains much hornblend. At several places it may be observed graduating into gneiss, and disturbing the strata at the points of junction; and, at Bigseter Voe, it comes in contact with thin strata of lime-stone. In the parish of Sandsting, a granite mass extends about ten miles in length, and four in breadth, remarkable for its great deficiency in mica, and for its excess of very red felspar. As hornblend and epidote likewise enter into portions of its composition, it may be termed, indifferently, either granite or syenite. Modifications of similar rocks are traceable at Olnasfirth Voe, Bardister Ness, &c.

Large tracts of gneiss are next described, with a degree of minuteness which we should in vain attempt to follow. On some occasions, they include hornblend and grenatite, or interstratified primitive lime-stone: or they are traversed by granitic veins, or verge on genuine granite. In the gneiss of Lelaness, is found a singular vein of felspar, six feet in width, and consisting of spheroidal concretions, which measure not less than six or eight inches over. On the shore of Kirkaness, Dr. Hibbert encountered beautiful specimens of that rare mineral termed *rose-quartz:* but he mistakes when he asserts that its recorded localities are restricted to particular spots in Bavaria, Bohemia, the Hartzberg Forest, and America; for it has been found at Arendal, in Norway, in Finland, abundantly in the Kolyvan mountains, and at Tigerateky, in the Altaic chain, at Bigloe, in the neighbourhood of Glen Tilt, in Scotland, and in the island of Coll, one of the Hebrides. In France, it is confidently stated to have been discovered at Chateauneuf, in Auvergne; and, in blocks of considerable dimensions, in the granitic plain which separates Marmejols and Saint Chely, in the department of the Lozère; particularly near Plane and Chabanols, in the same department.

In the serpentine of Unst, which forms a very interesting tract to the mineralogist, Dr. Hibbert first ascertained the presence of hydrate of magnesia, which had formerly passed for white talc, but the true nature of which was distinctly established by Dr. Brewster, in a valuable paper inserted in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, for 1821. Another important mineralogical discovery

is

is that of considerable quantities of chromate of iron, imbedded in or detached from the serpentine. Allied to the latter are some strata of talcose and micaceous slate, which graduate into one another, and are so strongly impregnated with magnetic iron as to affect the compass in a remarkable degree. We have also to notice the *euphotide* or *diallage-rock*, of which the basis is a hard, compact, white felspar; and the diallage, Labrador spar, or hyperstene, appears to be hornblend, modified by magnesian earth.

We transcribe the ensuing paragraph, because it records an extraordinary fact, and because it may help to explain, by the agency of the electrical fluid, one or two very problematical transpositions of large blocks of stone, related on testimony which we cannot conscientiously impugn:

'At a small distance from Funzie, a remarkable instance of the effect of thunder took place about the middle of the last century. A rock 105 feet long, ten feet broad, and in some places more than four feet thick, was in an instant torn from its bed, and broken into three large and several lesser fragments. One of these, twenty-six feet long, ten feet broad, and four feet thick, was simply turned over. The second, which was twenty-eight feet long, seventeen broad, and five feet in thickness, was hurled across a high point of a rock to the distance of fifty yards. Another broken mass, about forty feet long, was thrown still farther, but in the same direction, quite into the sea. There were also many lesser fragments scattered up and down.'

Dr. H. adverts to specimens of pumice, which are occasionally found on the shores of Shetland, and, we believe, even on those of Caithness; wafted, possibly, by the currents of the sea from Iceland. At the same time, symptoms of a submarine eruption, in the vicinity of Fetlar, were perceived in the year 1768, when the water in the bays was black and muddy for eight days together, and quantities of dead fish were cast on the shore.

Before he quitted the island of Fetlar, the Doctor visited a lad who was born deaf and blind, and whose deplorable case, as detailed by a gentleman of the faculty, will be found not undeserving of attention. Instead, however, of quoting the passage, which occupies several pages, we shall introduce our readers to a Sunday-scene in Unst:

'A walk through the valley near Woodwick leads to a large open lawn at the head of the Loch of Cliff, which seemed very populous and well cultivated. I arrived there on the Sabbath morning: the natives of the vale were all in motion in their way to the Kirk of Baliasta. The peasant had returned home from the bleak scathold, where he had ensnared the unshod poney that was destined to convey him to the parish kirk. No currycomb

was

was applied to the animal's mane, which, left to nature's care, "ruffled at speed, and danc'd in every wind." The nag was graced with a modern saddle and bridle, while on his neck was hung a hair-cord, several yards in length, well bundled up; from the extremity of which dangled a wooden short pointed stake. The Shetlander then mounted his tiny courser, his suspended heels scarcely spurning the ground. But among the goodly company journeying to the kirk, females and boys graced the back of the shelty with much more effect than long-legged adults of the male sex, whose toes were often obliged to be suddenly raised, for the purpose of escaping the contact of an accidental boulder that was strewed in the way. A bevy of fair ladies next made their appearance, seated in like manner on the dwarfish steeds of the country, who swept over the plain with admirable fleetness, and "witch'd the world with noble horsemanship." The parishioners at length arrived near the kirk, when each rider in succession, whether of high or low degree, looked out for as green a site of ground as could be selected, and, after dismounting, carefully unravelled the tether which had been tied to the neck of the animal. The stake at the end of the cord was then fixed into the ground, and the steed appeared to be as satisfactorily provided for during divine service, as in any less aboriginal district of Britain, where it would be necessary to ride up to an inn, and to commit the care of the horse to some saucy lordling of the stables.

'The kirk was remarkably crowded, since there was a sermon to be preached incidental to the administration of the sacrament; on which occasion I had an opportunity of seeing the convulsion fits to which the religious congregations of Shetland are subject. The introduction of this malady into the country is referred to a date of nearly a century ago, and is attributed to a woman who had been subject to regular paroxysms of epilepsy, one of which occurred during divine service. Among adult females, and children of the male sex, at the tender age of six, fits then became sympathetic. The patient complained, for a considerable time, of a palpitation of the heart; fainting ensued, and a motionless state lasted for more than an hour. But, in the course of time, this malady is said to have undergone a modification such as it exhibits at the present day. The female, whom it had attacked, would suddenly fall down, toss her arms about, writhe her body into various shapes, move her head suddenly from side to side, and, with eyes fixed and staring, send forth the most dismal cries. —

'An intelligent and pious minister of Shetland informed me, that being considerably annoyed on his first introduction into the country by these paroxysms, whereby the devotions of the church were much impeded, he obviated their repetition, by assuring his parishioners, that no treatment was more effectual than immersion in cold water, and as his kirk was fortunately contiguous to a fresh-water lake, he gave notice that attendants should be at hand, during divine service, to ensure the proper means of cure. The sequel need scarcely be told. The fear of being carried out of the church, and into the water, acted like a charm; not a single Naiad

was

was made, and the worthy minister has, for many years, had reason to boast of one of the best regulated congregations in Shetland.

'When I attended the kirk of Baliasta, a female shriek, the indication of a convulsion-fit, was heard; the minister (Mr. Ingram of Fetlar) very properly stopped his discourse, until the disturber was removed; and after advising all those who thought they might be similarly affected to leave the church, he gave out in the mean time a psalm. The congregation was thus preserved from farther interruption; for, on leaving the kirk, I saw several females writhing and tossing about their arms on the green grass, who durst not, for fear of a censure from the pulpit, exhibit themselves after this manner within the sacred walls of the kirk.'

A long description ensues of circular ranges of stones at Crucifield, which some of the learned have supposed to be druidical, and others have regarded as a Scandinavian temple: but there is reason to believe that they were intended for popular judicial assemblies. The *skeos*, or more homely square buildings, of which some still exist, were destined for preserving butcher's meat and fish, which formerly was hung up, and allowed to dry in the air, without salt. The fish, however, was not cured without acquiring a certain degree of taint, not unpalatable to the Shetlander. Want of room compels us to omit mention of the chase, capture, and slaughter of a drove of the *Delphinus deductor*, and of various rude and slovenly proceedings in the department of rural economy. The management of the sheep is in various respects objectionable; yet the fleece, which is remarkably soft, has been wrought into stockings so fine as to sell at 40 shilling a-pair, although the coarsest are not worth more than sixpence.

A visit to *Trolhowland*, or the *Hill of Trows*, or *Demons*, introduces some interesting remarks on the superstitions of the Shetlanders; particularly on their belief in a race of dwarfs, or subterraneous beings, remarkable for their riches, their activity, and their malevolence, and whose history may be traced in the Gothic mythology of the north, while the popular creed still retains a strong impress of the grossness and absurdity which characterized the ages of heathen darkness. The practical morality of the lower orders does not afford very convincing evidence of permanent amelioration; for they are extortionate in their charges for boat-fare, which, with *wrecks*, and a drove of whales, they regard as *God-sends*.

The fourth and concluding journey embraces a western district of Shetland, included in the parishes of Aithsting, Walls, Sandness, and Northmavine. The central or fundamental rock is granite, like that which has been previously described, but containing hardly any mica, and very little hornblend. Syenitic greenstone forms a mass, twelve miles in

in length, and from one to three in breadth, and, at its junctions with the granite, penetrates and is penetrated by that rock.

'But one of the most curious appearances is presented in the granite to the north of Roeness Hill, by the invasion or inclusion of a dike of sienitic greenstone, which, in some places, is two or three hundred yards in breadth. The line of its course may be easily seen in taking a direction of north-west from a point of land on the north-west of Colafirth Voe, between the foot of Colafirth Hill, and the commencement of the Biergs: the disorder that has taken place by the invasion is evinced in the irregular surface of the hill for a distance of five miles. Small eminences, of various and confused shapes, start abruptly from the surface of the plain, while their recesses are filled with a continued chain of hollows, that form the beds of several lakes. On the west of the granitic mass, the dike has nearly reached its termination, since it is exposed along the precipices of the coast in the form of much smaller veins, branching out in numerous directions, and presenting every variety of form.'

A remarkable separation has taken place between the granite and the greenstone at Hillswickness: so that strata, occupying an area of a mile and a half in length, and three quarters of a mile in breadth, are completely environed by two unstratified granitic rocks. The clay-stone, quartz-rock, &c. of the same range need not to detain us: but the Doctor properly remarks that the appellation of the former is apt to induce an erroneous idea of its composition, and that it is more properly a secondary felspar.

In the course of this part of the work, an account is inserted of the Dutch herring-fishery, as it was prosecuted on the coast of Shetland; and of that of ling, as it is at present conducted by the islanders themselves: from which some valuable hints may be derived relative to an important branch of our national economy. In the mean time, the author places in a strong point of view the impolicy and abuse of the Shetland fisheries, arising out of the complicated tenures of the country, and other causes which are more easily perceived than removed. He likewise adverts to the recent discovery of a cod-bank, called the Regent's Fishing Bank, which promises to yield a profitable return to the prudent and skilful adventurer.

The prevailing diseases in these islands are reckoned *phthisis pulmonalis*, *pneumonia*, croup, scrofula, dyspepsy, and liver-complaints. Cutaneous affections, especially *tinea capitis*, are also frequent: but various instances are on record of protracted old age. Scurvy-grass is much in vogue for disorders of the skin, butter-milk for dropsy, calcined and pounded

whelk-shells for dyspepsy, and a variety of steatite for excoriations. The *doctors* let blood by cupping, with the upper part of a ram's horn perforated at the top.

For a lively and entertaining account of the sword-dance, of other rude and popular festivities, and of the superstitions of the Shetlanders, among which witchcraft holds a distinguished place, we must now beg leave to refer to the work itself. Before, however, we dismiss the latter from our table, it behoves us to mention that it includes much varied and authentic information, the obvious result of personal observation and discriminate reading; and that the plates, though executed on a small scale, and not adorned with any luxury of engraving, are sufficiently distinct for ordinary illustration. As the execution of the writer's design must have subjected him to much inconvenience, and even hazard, we have to regret that it has not, in all respects, fulfilled our reasonable anticipations. Besides the want of orderly arrangement at which we have already hinted, some matters of fact have been needlessly repeated; others of trivial import are treated with diffuseness; and an air of formal pedantry and studied allusion infects different portions of the narrative. The composition, too, is occasionally careless and incorrect. Thus, at p. 59., we meet with, 'from which *was* deposited the materials;' p. 122. 'the lavish abundance *afford*.' P. 167. 'The elevation *are* inconsiderable.' P. 210. 'The oppressions, &c. *was*.' P. 354. '*this* strata.' P. 470. 'The sources *is*.' P. 491. 'The irregularity and the unevenness *is*,' &c. At p. 355. we are told that 'considerable plates of mica, *the dimensions of which are several miles*, may be found imbedded in the granite veins.' The structure of this sentence would lead us to infer that the plates of mica actually measure several miles in extent: but the meaning, we presume, is that they occur throughout that extent of stratification; otherwise, the boasted Siberian panes of the same substance may well hide their diminished heads. In like manner, at p. 530., we read that 'others were erected by foreign seamen, in fulfilment of their vows to some tutelar saint, who had been miraculously preserved on these dreaded shores from shipwreck or from death;' as if the preservation applied to the person of the saint, and not to those of his votaries. Again, p. 590. 'this want of comfort, however, will be at any time preferred, *rather than be reduced* to the necessity of seeking for gratuitous *comfort* in more commodious habitations; yet, as I have often experienced, too frequently is *this reluctance* subdued, by the generous invitation that has met on this lonesome way the unintroduced and weary stranger.' Such an unhinged and dragging portion

tion of a period was, we may charitably presume, indited on the lonesome way, by the weary stranger. We cannot *approve* of *approven*; for how would *improven* or *reproven* sound even to Caledonian ears? *Crescent* being both a substantive and an adjective, *crescentic* might be spared, as alike harsh and unnecessary; and we should prefer *fibrousness* to *fibrosity*. — The alleged derivation of *bite*, in a nautical sense, may to some appear quite natural and ingenious: but, as the correct orthography is *bight*, this attempt at etymology is really a *bite* on the simple reader. These and other minor blemishes, however, cannot materially detract from the essential merits of the publication; which may, we trust, contribute to draw the attention of those who are concerned to the melioration of the condition of the humble Shetlanders.

ART. II. *An Examination of the Primary Argument of the Iliad.* By Granville Penn, Esq. 8vo. pp. 366. 12*s*. Boards. Ogle and Duncan. 1821.

SOME years have elapsed since we examined a critical work by Mr. Penn, of the same general class and character as the present *; and we can with truth assert that, in the interval, nothing of this kind has fallen under our examination, which can in any degree challenge a comparison with the labors of this author. Both the publications in question display merit of a very peculiar sort; — a comprehensive as well as a minute view of the subject; — scholarship very distinguished; — fullness and accuracy of detail; — and, above all, *a poetical mind:* which, added to the above qualities, and supported throughout by severe judgment, nearly completes the requisites for excellence in the highest department of liberal and classical investigation.

This unusual strain of praise we consider as amply warranted by the performance before us; and if the learned reader's curiosity be excited in any measure equal to our own when we first opened this volume, he will be obliged to us for being brief in our introductory matter, and for communicating as much of Mr. Penn's very original observations as our limits will allow.

It certainly is a very curious fact in the annals of *poetical criticism*, that the first of all poems, in every sense, has given rise to such a variety of conjectures as to its principal and pervading subject; or, as Mr. Penn designates the point in

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* We mean the "Observations upon the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil, published anonymously." See M. R. vol. lxix. p. 412.

dispute, its 'Primary Argument.' That Aristotle praised this argument, and attributed to it the specific merit of a beginning, a middle, and an end, — without either defining what the *whole* was or marking the division of its *parts*, — is a puzzling circumstance; unless we have recourse to one of the following hypotheses, to solve the difficulty. The work of Aristotle, then, or that passage of the work, is lost, in which he proved the justice of his own panegyric on the Iliad; or we must adopt the highly probable notion of Mr. Penn that Aristotle, speaking of what was matter of common notoriety, drew his inferences without laying down his premises, and reasoned on the subject of the Iliad without any statement of that subject itself. In this case, we may say of the critic as Horace says of the poet,

—— "*in medias res*
Non secus ac notas auditorem rapit."

'The judgment of Horace,' (as Mr. P. observes) 'which is entirely conformable to that of Aristotle, and which was delivered three hundred years after him, ought in all reason to have checked such overweening confidence' as that of the modern critics who adopt neither of the above theories, but, 'like Lucian's Alexander in the Shades,' seem to exclaim, contemptuously, concerning Aristotle — "*He* wise! who is the most impudent of all cozeners!" — "Allow *us* alone to know any thing about Aristotle." It is hardly necessary to add that it is to the German school especially, and to Wolfe at their head, that Mr. Penn here alludes; and really we must think that the *altior critice* (as they modestly call it) of those daring scholars does deserve some such reprehension. — With regard to the French critics, they had previously taken an entirely different course: but, as Mr. Penn equally proves, a course as distant as that of the Germans from Aristotle and Homer. While the followers of Madame Dacier extol the unities in the Iliad, and by assuming a wrong *subject* for the poem contradict their own praises, Wolfe and his disciples, with much more sagacity, but with a boldness far from enviable, deny the existence of any such unity; *taking it for granted* that they also have discovered the right argument, but being in truth as egregiously deceived as their French predecessors.

The reason given by Wolfe for 'holding in undisguised contempt those who do not perceive the Iliad to be faulty *by a great excess*,' if it be tried by Aristotle's text, is the following: "That it exceeds the measure of Achilles's anger towards Agamemnon." — "The first seven lines," he asserts, "promise nothing beyond the *eighteenth* book. The remainder do

do not contain the anger of Achilles towards Agamemnon and the Greeks, but a very different anger," &c. &c. The aspiring critic then proceeds to suggest a new proëm for the Iliad, relating to the *glory* of Achilles:

ΚΥΔΟΣ, ἀειδε Θεα — κ. τ. λ.

of which, on a proper occasion, we could say something farther; and he concludes (in Mr. Penn's extract) by this profound remark: — "But, whoever he was that *subjoined those latter books*, he was without doubt a very antient poet!"

Heyne entirely agrees with Wolfe on the general question, but differs from him considerably on some particular points. Among others, it is with the death of Hector that he would conclude the proper subject of the Iliad; for this extraordinary reason, "that the death of Hector appeased the *anger* of Achilles." What *anger?* Not the *anger* against the Greeks; and therefore not the *anger* mentioned by Homer in his Proëm. The critic complacently winds up his argument by observing; — "so that the *two* last books are the work of another author;" — or, at all events, *this* is Heyne's conclusion, that the mind of him who composed the poem, or of him who enlarged its bulk, was not imbued with so subtile a notion of the Epopea as *some persons* would maintain." Poor Aristotle, and mistaken Horace!

The acquiescent and unreasoning admiration of the French school forms a striking contrast to the inventive but unsound logic of the German. While Wolfe is cutting away *six* and Heyne *two* books from Homer, Madame Dacier is placidly propounding her little periods of Aristotelian criticism. "The poem has all its proper parts. It has, as Aristotle teaches us in his Poetics, a beginning, a middle, and an end." Surely it is impossible to forget our inimitable contemporary in his exhibition of a French Lecture on English Literature, when we are summoned to the above *declaration ex cathedrâ*, by Madame Dacier, and then read the reasons that support it. "The beginning," she says, "is Achilles; who, incensed against Agamemnon, passes from a state of *tranquillity* to a state of *anger*; the middle is the effects of that *anger*, and all the evils which it produces; and the end is the return of Achilles into a state of tranquillity, by the death of Hector, who had slain Patroclus." Two brief questions of Mr. Penn set this *solemn nothing* in its proper light: — 'How can the beginning of *one* thing find its end in the end of *another?* How can the end of Achilles's anger towards Hector constitute the end of his anger towards Agamemnon?'

We are sorry to be obliged to subjoin to this insufficient sketch of German excentricities, and French misapprehensions, on the subject of the Iliad, some account of the aberrations of our own countrymen in the same track. If we refer to Pope, we shall find nothing but the *anger of Achilles;* with vain and unfortunate attempts to defend Homer from the mistaken imputation of violating the rules of art, by alleging, with a common-place feeling and a shallow character of criticism more worthy of the present day than of himself, that "Homer's Poem is a *wild* Paradise," &c. &c.; and other empty topics of declamation, wholly unfit to defend (as Mr. Penn expresses it) 'the *regulated excellences* of the Iliad.' Lord Kaimes, Dr. Blair, and the late Poet Laureat, are successively shewn to have failed in the same attempt to reconcile the (supposed) conduct of the Iliad with the encomium of the Stagyrite; or to defend the poet at the expence of the critic. The remarks, with which Mr. Penn enforces this portion of his subject, are so good an introduction to his own view of the '*Primary Argument*' of the Iliad; and at the same time furnish so much matter for reflection to each of those three great classes of modern literary men, the poet, the critic by profession, and the wholesale admirer; that we feel bound to extract them.

'It is surprising, that men of tutored minds should be so ready to regard *rule*, as something opposed to *nature;* for, where do we see rule so admirably marked and observed, as in the operations of what we denominate *nature*? We see this to be the case in the material world, and we are conscious of it in the intellectual. The fact is, that we are too apt to consider nothing as *nature* in poetry, but the unregulated sallies of the imagination. Whereas, to render every mental operation perfect in its kind, the presiding power of *reason* must exercise a perpetual government over the motions of the mind, and regulate them by principles of truth and propriety, which, in effect, are *rules*. This it did in Homer; and those principles, detected and declared, constitute the rules of Aristotle. These rules, and Homer's practice, will never be found to be at variance, if they are duly investigated; and, therefore, the contradiction which Pye thought he discovered between the place where Homer has ended the Iliad, and the place where Aristotle's rules would require that it should have ended, is only a proof of his own failure of apprehending the primary argument that Aristotle contemplated in the poem; not any, of a discordancy between the genuine argument of the poem, and Aristotle's critical rules.'

Let us now announce Mr. Penn's original vindication of Homer and Aristotle, from the confusion and the audacity of a whole host of modern critics and interpreters. Nothing can

can be more modest, or more ingenuous, than the manner in which he introduces his own acute and convincing train of reasoning; and we owe it to him to state that, although his observations on the above-mentioned critics of every nation have formed the basis of our own remarks, yet the *decided* reproof, which we have deemed it incumbent on us to bestow on such presumptuous or shallow theories, is to be attributed to ourselves.

We conceive that the fairest and best way of opening this argument, now that it is cleared from the rubbish of preceding commentators by the satisfactory labours of the present author *, is to quote the first seven lines of the Iliad, according to the punctuation of Mr. Penn:

' ΜΗΝΙΝ *αειδε, θεα,* ΠΗΛΗΪΑΔΕΩ ΑΧΙΑΗΟΣ
ουλομενην, ἡ μυρι' Αχαιοις αλγεα θηκε,
πολλους δ' ιφθιμους ψυχας αϊδι προιαψεν
ἡρωων, αυτους δε ἑλωρια τευχε κυνεσσιν
οιωνοισι τε πασι· ΔΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΕΛΕΙΕΤΟ ΒΟΥΛΗ,
ΕΞ 'ΟΤ ΔΗ *τα πρωτα διαστητην ερισαντε*
*Ατρειδης τε αναξ ανδρων και Διος Αχιλλευς.'

To this quotation we must subjoin Mr. P.'s remarks:

' This punctuation will demand a corresponding alteration in the translation of Pope, which may, perhaps, be thus supplied:

' ACHILLES' WRATH, to Greece the direful spring
Of woes unnumbered, heavenly goddess, sing!
That wrath, which hurl'd to Pluto's gloomy reign
The souls of mighty chiefs untimely slain,
Whose limbs unburied on the naked shore
Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore:
YET, *wrought* TH' ALMIGHTY FATHER *to fulfil*
The sure decrees of HIS RESISTLESS WILL,
EV'N FROM THE DAY *when, rous'd to strife, as foes*
Atrides and Achilles first arose!

' I know not what sort of dignity Blair supposed that *a modern* would require in the opening of a great epic poem, that can rise above the elevation of this. The *proëm* thus directs us to expect, generally, *the perpetual accomplishment of the divine will throughout the poem*, whatever opposition it might find in the angered will of Achilles; while the *narrative* lays open to us all the particulars, in which that divine will was so accomplished.'

After four preliminary chapters, in which Mr. Penn has fully discussed the matters so briefly introduced in this article, and after a thorough examination of the constituent parts of the poem, which we are unable to insert and will not injure by mutilation, he thus advances to his main subject:

* We can only refer to the work for the means of justly appreciating one of the closest and most candid pieces of reasoning.

'In taking thus a comprehensive view of the entire Iliad, we plainly perceive, that the poem distributes itself into two principal parts or divisions; of which, the former division is distinguished by *the inaction* of Achilles, and the effects of that inaction; and the latter, by *the action* of Achilles, and the effects of that action; and that they unite in an intermediate point of articulation, in which the former division finds its termination, and the latter division its commencement.

'We find, that in each of those parts the determination of *the will of Achilles* is strongly declared, yet in both parts he acts in direct opposition to the determination of his own will; while, at the same time, he acts in exact conformity to the contrary declared *will of Jupiter*.

'We find, that in both cases, that conformity is produced through the intervention of the supreme power of Jupiter, and by the means employed by him *for that end;* that his power is directed in the first division of the poem, to restore the inaction of Achilles to action; and, in the second division, to cause that action to accomplish the particular purpose for which it was restored; so that the end ultimately attained by the action, was the same for which the inaction was originally to be overcome.

'We find, therefore, that *the will of Jupiter* prescribes the rule of the action of Achilles, and is *the efficient agency* of the main action of the poem; and that *the will of Achilles* is totally subordinate to that supreme will, and is rendered its chief *instrumental agent* in accomplishing that main action. For, Achilles is made *to act* — and to act *by the rule of that will* — when he had most resolutely determined *not to act;* and *to do*, in substance and circumstance — *by the same rule* — what he had with equal resolution determined *not to do*.

'It is not difficult, therefore, now to perceive that THE PRIMARY AND GOVERNING ARGUMENT OF THE ILIAD, co-extensive with its extent, running through all its length and reaching to its extreme termination, is — *the sure and irresistible power of the divine will, over the most resolute and determined will of man — exemplified in the death and burial of Hector, by the instrumentality of Achilles — as the immediate preliminary to the destruction of Troy.*

'It is this eminent office of Achilles in the Iliad, that supplies the true cause of the phænomenon which Clarke has repeatedly pointed out for observation, but to which he has assigned no cause: "It ought to be remarked," says he, "with what great artifice (in order that the poem may be *one*, from its beginning to its end), Achilles is seen, or mentioned, in every event that is related, and in every speech that is spoken."* He makes the same remark, and almost in the same words, four several times.

'* *Notandum, quanto cum artificio, (ut poëma* unum *sit a capite ad calcem), quicquid rerum narretur, quisquis hominum loquatur,* nusquam non spectetur et inseratur Achilles. Not. ad Il. xiii. 324. conf. nott. ad Il. ii. 673. v. 788. vii. 228.'

'This

'This great governing argument is so plain and obvious, and lies so superficially exposed upon the poem, that nothing can have prevented the attention of learned critics from recognising it, but the vast accumulations of multifarious learning with which their views have been crowded and encumbered. It required, especially in these times of minute criticism, a mind *levis armaturæ;* unfurnished with so massive and various a panoply of critical warfare, and therefore better equipped for a speedy movement; to take a rapid and general survey of the whole subject. Such must have been the manner, in which the poem unfolded its great argument to its first auditors; who listened to its narrative with a continuous attention rivetted upon the tale, and uninterrupted by any distractions of curious research; much less, of that meteoric subtilty, which Wolfe entitles the *altior critice.* But our learned critics could never descend to use Homer so popularly and so unlearnedly. Their attention to the story was therefore arrested, or called aside, at every step they took, by the innumerable interests which they met with on the way; which so impeded and retarded their progress, that they lost every opportunity of grasping an entire view of the whole. In this they unfortunately copied the example of the Alexandrian critics; and this is the true cause of the fact remarked by Heyne, that "after the days of Aristotle, many, and especially the more modern, no longer trod in his footsteps."* The delay, thus occasioned, caused them to dwell so long upon subordinate arguments; "which," as Aristotle has observed, "have each their own separate magnitude†;" that some of the chief of these increased in importance to their view, until at length they usurped the place of that which was really the primary argument. Such are, *the anger of Achilles,* and *the prayer of Thetis.*

'Whereas, to seize that argument, it required that the mind should be entirely free to impress itself with the continued story; and to contemplate its progress, without any consideration bestowed upon the harvest of philological, prosodiacal, mythological, and critical produce, which crowded the path.'

We are obliged to leave off here; omitting a most ingenious continuation of arguments and illustrations, all closely bearing on the author's object; and, in the space which yet remains to us for observation on this interesting work, we must rather endeavour to confine ourselves to particular points, than expatiate on the general argument: which, indeed, we would fain hope, is *opened* by the above extract to our learned readers sufficiently to excite an irrepressible curiosity to become well acquainted with the whole volume.

'* *Post Aristotelem, multos, et multo magis recentiores,* in ejus vestigiis non substitisse. Hom. T. viii. p. 800.'

'† ὡσπερ ἡ Ιλιας εχει πολλα τοιαυτα μερη, και ἡ Οδυσσεια, ἁ και καθ' ἑαυτα εχει μεγεθος. Poet. c. ult. in fine.'

After

After an allusion to the remark of Heyne, or rather to the well-known fact, that "grammarians have raised many questions on the subject of the exordium," Mr. Penn continues:

'What has chiefly caused that obscurity, is, that the clause, Διος δε τελειετο βουλη, which pertains to, and introduces the *second paragraph*, has been cut off from it, and thrown into a parenthesis appended to the *first*. This we find to have been the case as early as Dio Chrysostom, who closes the proëm with that clause. A problematical question has been created by this confusion, with respect to the intention of εξ ου, which begins the following line; and with respect to *the verb*, to which it is to be understood to refer. To resolve which artificial difficulty, criticism has put itself upon a disproportionate research, and has overstepped its object. According to the common phraseology of Homer, εξ ου relates to τελειετο. Aristarchus, the most ancient authority to which we can appeal, and who lived in the second century before the Christian era, so referred it. And although Heyne would condemn his judgment by an arbitrary and summary sentence of, "*parum commode*," and would throw it back, (with the generality of those who preceded him,) to πρωταρξαν and τευχειν; yet it is certain, that in *every instance* in which Homer uses εξ ου, as a reference of *time*, he employs it, both in his Iliad and Odyssey, in the manner in which Aristarchus would understand it here; and as the simplicity of the sense distinctly requires. Διος τελειετο βουλη, (εκ του χρονου) εξ ου τα πρωτα διαστητην ερισαντε Ατρειδης τε και Αχιλλευς. — *The will of Jove was accomplished, from* the time *when Atrides and Achilles were first divided by contention.* The unknown author of the *Epitome Iliados* discovers the same just apprehension of that relation, in his version of the passage:

'*Iram pande mihi Pelidæ, diva, superbi,*
Tristia quæ miseris injecit funera Græcis,
Atque animos fortes heroum tradidit orco;
Latrantumque dedit rostris volucrumque trahendos
Illorum exangues inhumatis ossibus artus:
Confiebat *enim Summi sententia Regis,*
Ex quo *contulerant discordi pectore pugnas*
Sceptiger Atrides et bello clarus Achilles.

'Thus, the proëm proposes, *the perpetual superiority of the divine will;* and it consequently admonishes us, to look forward always for that superiority, whatever contrary appearances might intervene. So that any apparent success in opposition to it amounts in effect to a notice, that we shall presently see it vindicate itself, and finally overcome its opponent. To make good this proposition, it is evident that Homer could not have concluded his poem with the death of Hector, and the triumphing threat of Achilles which accompanied it; because, it would then have left Achilles in the unrestrained indulgence of his own will, and exulting in the accomplishment of his own determination, in direct contradiction of that proposition. The situation and circumstances

of

of Achilles at the end of the twenty-second book were, therefore, of themselves, a sufficient warrant, that the poet had not yet fulfilled his promise; and, that if the poem had ended there, it would have been deficient of its promised length. Not, as is contrarily assumed, that it is luxuriant in the two following books; an error, resulting necessarily from a misapprehension of the true primary argument. The poem therefore, restored to its original integrity, directs us to expect, and to require, that Achilles should be again reduced from his apparent state of mastery, and be finally subjected to the rule of the supreme will; as he had before been reduced and subjected, in the great incident which forms *the middle* of the poem. That second and final coercion of his will, and the demonstration of it to the entire satisfaction of the auditor, constitute the proper *eventus* — τελος, or *end* of the poem; according to the principles of rule and of art, no less than of feeling and of taste.'

We must forcibly separate ourselves from this fascinating *connection* of argument, and fulfil our design of DETACHED reference and remark.

In answer to the common interpretation of the success of the prayer of Thetis, and of Jupiter's subsequent speech to Juno, Mr. Penn adduces a most consistent argument respecting the gradual revelation of the supreme will: but we must refer to the volume for the details. The use that is made of the passage in the 15th Iliad, which the Alexandrian and German critics would either expunge or mutilate, is admirable; and, as the principal point established by the author is very briefly stated, we shall extract it.

'Jupiter assures Juno, that she shall know his secret design, *before every other deity.* Now, Thetis is also to know it during the poem, as is likewise the auditor or reader; but, Thetis is only to know it *from the event;* Juno, therefore, is to know it *before the event.* When Jupiter says, ὁν (μυθον) επιειχες ακουεμεν, *what is fit to hear,* we are to supply θεους και ανθρωπους, *for gods and men;* and not σε, *for thee,* according to the unauthorised and unskilful limitation of the scholiast. Fitness depends on time and season, as much as upon any other circumstance. The declaration of Jupiter therefore imports: "*I cannot tell thee now; but, when it is fit and proper, thou shalt be the first of all to be informed;*" and the line of Pope, instead of,

"What suits *Thy* knowledge, Thou *the first* shalt know;"

should stand,

"What *may be known,* Thyself *the first* shalt know."

This promise, Heyne entirely overlooked; and he who is not aware of the existence of a cause, certainly cannot assign the reason of its effect. The *promise,* however, perfectly accounts for the

the *communication;* and not only accounts for it, but renders its introduction indispensably necessary, as its proper fulfilment.'

The chapter on 'the Nature of the Efficient Agent' in the Iliad is a very noble display of learning, philosophy, and piety; and the remarks on the absence of such a notion as that of *Personified Chance*, or Τυχη, from the pages of Homer, lend fresh interest to this pregnant subject. The instances of similarity in expression and idea, in the Bible and in Homer, might be largely multiplied, but are sufficient for the author's purpose.

The character of Achilles, or 'the Nature of the Instrumental Agent' in the Iliad, has certainly received much additional light from this essay: but we are unable to offer a just estimate of this addition to our stores of Homeric knowlege, without making one other extract from the volume; and the excellent moral reflections, which it involves, will assist (if assistance be necessary) in justifying us from any charge of prolixity.

'Homer has exhibited, in these two instances of Achilles' anger, two of the greatest provocations to fury and resentment that the imagination can contemplate. First, an illustrious prince, and unrivalled warrior, conscious of his own high value in a confederacy, insulted and injured in the presence of his compeers, by the chief of that confederacy; and under shelter of the supreme authority, pledged to him by the injured party himself. Secondly, the slaughter of a friend beloved above all mankind, accompanied with vaunting defiance and barbarous insult; and with an avowed design of depriving him of the consolation of sepulture, and of casting his body to be torn and devoured. Nothing can be conceived by the fancy, more calculated to rouse those passions to their highest degree of excitement; especially, in a mind naturally and sorely irritable and irascible. Those provocations wrought their utmost effect upon the naturally irascible temper of Achilles' mind; nevertheless, he extricated himself from their dominion, on the instant that a positive evidence of the divine will made itself sensible in his soul. Well therefore might Homer bear that testimony, by the mouth of Jupiter, to his true and genuine nature when undisturbed by outward causes:

> 'ουτε γαρ εστ' αφρων, ουτ' ασκοπος, ουτ' αλιτημων·
> αλλα μαλ' ενδυκεως ικετεω περιδησεται ανδρος.'
>
> 'He is not senseless, thoughtless, deaf to pray'r;
> But, kindly form'd a supplicant to spare.'

'Perhaps there is no character among men, compounded of excellent qualities and grievous defects, that more strongly inspires interest, than that in which we witness a good, generous, and affectionate heart, combined with a quick and inflammatory temper; where the rectitude of the native disposition is sure, sooner or later,

later, to restore the accidental perversion of the will. Nor is there any evidence of moral integrity less equivocal, or more engaging, than the immediate relinquishment of the most favourite and determined resolutions made in anger, on the first reflective and conscious sense of the excess to which they are proceeding. The subject of all morality is *the will;* wherever the will exercises the most entire and absolute self-coercion, there the morality is the most perfect. The difficulty of exercising that self-coercion, must always be in exact proportion to the violence of the previous action of the will in an opposite direction. In the case of Achilles; where its previous action had, through the most violent excitement of the passions, been intense; the promptness of his coercion of that intensity, at the sense of religious duty which he eventually displayed, proved that the morality of his nature was entitled to the encomium which Homer places in the mouth of Jupiter.'

This just and (as we think) unanswerable description of the mind of Achilles will for ever preclude the false and dangerous pretences of some incorrect modern writers, that they have the example of Homer for a *vicious hero,* who is the slave of his passions, and has little but the attribute of courage to recommend him to esteem. Let them remember that Achilles has here been shewn to have *a strong sense of religion* interwoven throughout his character, and acting effectually on it: In like manner, the exposure of the futile arguments in favour of the *wildness* and irregularity of Homer's genius, with which the whole work silently abounds, is calculated to laugh to scorn the arrogant assumption of exclusive talent for a licentious imagination.—We are sincerely desirous of seeing this accomplished author again before the public.

ART. III. *The Garden of Florence;* and other Poems. By John Hamilton. Crown 8vo. pp. 175. 7*s.* Boards. Warren. 1821.

As we advance in the 19th century, we certainly are not more disposed to view with an eye of favour the poetry of our contemporaries: but, whether there be any use in attempting to stem the torrent of *indulgence in criticism,* which has contributed so largely to sweep away every barrier of common-sense in versification, we cannot, as positively decide. We are aware that the unreflecting reader will be ready to doubt the *indulgence* to which we allude: but it is a fact that may be ascertained by reference to any of our periodical works. While severity enough prevails in politics, and perhaps too much in religion, in literature a most dangerous laxness of principle is manifested; and, provided that a ray of genius, or very early youth, or an unfortunate want of education,

or

or distress, or good intention, or piety above every other claim, can be pleaded in favour of the writer, it matters not how bounded may be the reach of his powers, how scanty his stores of knowlege, how faulty and even corrupt his taste. A list of English poems, even of the higher class alone, and of corresponding critiques, for the last twenty years, would prove this assertion, without an additional word of argument in corroboration of the fact. We therefore doubt the practical advantage of such unassisted endeavours, to cleanse the Augæan stable of *barbarism and affectation*; which, from different quarters, but meeting in one common centre of worthless because brief popularity, heap up the mass of our literary corruptions. The only remaining hope for the revival of sound sense, classical taste, and *comprehensive* genius, among us, rests on this consolatory truth, that the successive schools of error

" Come like shadows, so depart!" ;

that the *ruffian* of to-day is expelled by the *bandit* of to-morrow; and that the sickly sorrows of *Serena* are enlivened, as well as followed, by the wanton buffoonery of her younger sister, the muse of poetic farce, — *Momosa*, — (if our readers please) who is every day becoming a greater favourite with unthinking folly.

The writer before us, who has chosen to call himself Mr. Hamilton, but whose name we understand to be Hamilton Reynolds, is quite as respectable as his neighbours; and not, in our judgment, possessed of any superiority over the multitude of his contemporaries,

" The tuneful motes that throng Apollo's beam."

We have, however, too often told our readers the grounds on which we form our opinions, to make it necessary now to point out the gross aberrations from the *once-established* standard of taste, which characterize the present work in common with all its rivals. We shall therefore merely subjoin a passage or two; some of the better description, some of the worse: — but the difference is too slight to warrant any prolonged remarks in the way of either analysis or illustration; and we shall leave Mr. Hamilton with our readers, after a few short introductory observations.

In the 'Garden of Florence,' two lovers successively eat a piece of sage; they die, instantly; and a large serpent is found at the bottom of the inauspicious shrub. — In the 'Romance of Youth,' we have the 33d edition of Beattie's Minstrel filtered through the Wilfrid of Walter Scott; and in 'the Ladye of Provence,' the Ladye eats the heart of her

lover, offered to her acceptance as a dainty dish by her jealous husband. Some extracts, illustrative of these several characters and catastrophes, are subjoined.

'*Garden of Florence.*

'Could they not love so ever — ever stray?
Ah, no such thing as time before them lay!
They loved — and were together — and alone, —
The morn, with all its riches, was their own!
They laugh'd — and linger'd, — they sat down — they wander'd, —
Now spake — and now in gazing silence ponder'd! —
A bed of sage was near them as they walk'd,
(Fit plant to match with that of which they talk'd!)
Pasquino, stooping, pluck'd a leaf, and play'd
With a saying of Old Crones — for dames have said
The sage-leaf whitens teeth — he laughing bit
The idle leaf, loosing his playful wit,
And saying, — "Sweet girl, I taste this leaf, to be
More wise anon, than thus to worship thee!
Than thus to kiss thy pensive forehead, where,
Like beauty's tent falleth thy parted hair: —
Doth it not blanch me, love?" — he champ'd the plant —
Amid his heedless talk — and pallid — faint —
He whiten'd at the leaf, — and sigh'd! — His hand
Trembled in cold and fearful damp — A bland,
A dim expression of undying love
Went o'er his shiver'd cheek, — and then he strove
To kiss Simonida, and as he gave
That deathful kiss — that kiss cold as the grave!
He curl'd with shuddering throe and withering clutch,
Like that frail plant which shrinketh at a touch!
One shriek — no more — and lost Simonida
Feels at her feet a corpse — for there it whitening lay!'

The fate of Simonida occurs next, with a sadly pleasing similarity to that of Pasquino!

'She shudder'd — but arousing, as from death,
And gasping all convulsedly for breath,
She to the bed of sage, — recounting o'er
Their walks — their conference — and their love before —
Went placidly, — and gathering there a leaf,
Told, in a voice broken by tender grief,
How he had mock'd her fondness with the saying
Of crones and dames prophetic; — and delaying
A moment as in memory, — she applied
The sage-leaf to her teeth, champ'd it, and sigh'd
Over his treasured words of tenderness,
Repeating word for word in her distress, —
And pausing but his name most passionately to bless!

'The

'The impatient people anger'd at the tale
Simonida told. "What! shall this leaf prevail —
A leaf her only refuge! a poor leaf,
The source of all this death-work and wild grief!
The adder hath a poison fang, but here,
Here is the human adder — ah! — a tear! —
In pity for thy young deceit, weep — sigh,
Sigh o'er thy serpent-heart's fidelity!
Let her have eager death! — Let her be turn'd
Out to the ban-dogs! — or be slowly burn'd
Here in the Garden of Florence by the side
Of him who by her bitter hand hath died!"

'So raved the anger'd Florentines, — till they
Were awed and silenced by Simonida, —
Whose voice, now dallying with her lover's name
In a low childish fondness paused and came!
It weaken'd — and it weaken'd — and it stopp'd —
Her fluttering lips were voiceless — and down dropp'd
Her nerveless hands against her tremulous side —
She shriek'd — and, falling on Pasquino, died.'

We now come to *the Romantic Youth;* — and, if we live a few years longer, we do not despair of seeing some well-grown lad shewn about the country under this attractive denomination.

'Or he had been a creature of the air, —
A haunter of the cowslips, — and the caves
Of blue and breath-sweet flowers, — a lingerer where
That fairy spirit linger'd; in the waves,
If she were in them, making golden slaves
Of beauty-tinged fish, — or from the herd
Of lilies taking the whitest one that laves
Its snow-leaves, for a car; — and when grass stirr'd,
Hunting and yoking well the *spotted lady-bird.*'

This is pretty well: but we have something to make a still more *dreamy* impression on our readers. They surely must admire such aërial efforts of Lilliputian imagination.

'The leaves just rustled on the trees around,
And a *benighted bee* might murmur o'er the ground!' (P. 91.)

Charming!

We must insert the denouement of *the Ladye of Provence.*

'Many fair speeches Virgillisi used
At supper to his lady — and he press'd
Her appetite so well, that at the last
She banqueted most freely on the heart.
Virgillisi saw her feed, with eager eyes,
And, when the delicate was nigh devour'd,
He said — "How like you, love, this fragrant food?

How

How pleaseth it your taste?" — "Truly, my lord,
Never the better loved I any dish!"
He answer'd, "Trust me, madam, I believe
You love that dead, which gave you love in life."
She sank to silence — gazed upon the relics
With steady, pained eyes, — grew deathly pale —
And with a quiet voice at length did say,
"I pray you, sir, what meat is this you have given?
Upon what dish have I been feeding now?"
In bitter voice then Virgillisi said,
"I will resolve thee, thou disloyal lady,
I will resolve thee quickly to thy shame; —
'Tis Gardastagno's heart thou hast devour'd!
These hands did gather it — I knew 'twould pleasure
Thy most depraved fancy and false taste!
His heart's torn casket lieth in the wood, —
The heart itself thy body hath inurn'd!"

'Poor Idreana! what a dismal fate!'

Dismal indeed! Had we not once heard of something about Atreus and Thyestes, we should never have dreamed of such a business.

Mr. Hamilton, or Mr. Reynolds, if he must try again, should make the trial of improving, still farther, some such passages as that with which we conclude.

'Pasquino one autumnal day sat near
The loved Simonida, and with deep fear
Trusted his tremulous passion to her ear: —
She, unaffected, gentle, pallid — shrunk, —
Her heart with its first draught of rapture drunk, —
Scarce daring to give credence to the words
That melted round her like the songs of birds!
She droop'd an instant — gazed — perceived the truth
Bloom'd all at once through her confiding youth —
And all in tears confest her wishes blest —
And hid her face in blushes on his breast!
He press'd her to his heart — her tresses fell
Like shadows o'er his hands — and such the spell
Of this full tenderness — he dared not move,
Lest his breast lose her cheek — lest passion prove
A dream — and he should break the enchantment of his love!'

This reminds us of parts of Mr. Hunt's "Story of Rimini;" as indeed does much of the volume, both in its defects and its comparative merits.

ART. IV. *On Protection to Agriculture.* By David Ricardo, Esq. 8vo. pp. 94. 3*s*. Murray. 1822.

ART. V. *Practical Observations on Mr. Ricardo's Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.* By John Stuckey Reynolds, Esq. 8vo. pp. 99. 4*s*. Longman and Co.

ART. VI. *Considerations upon the Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures of the British Empire,* with Observations on Mr. Peel's Bill, &c. and on Mr. Ricardo's Pamphlet, entitled "Protection to Agriculture." By Samuel Turner, Esq. F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 111. 3*s*. 6*d*. Murray.

IT is mortifying to make the admission, but we are impelled to acknowlege that every day subtracts something from our confidence in the general positions of political economists; although their definitions, problems, *demonstrations*, (as they have been sometimes called in very unwarrantable language,) and their corollaries, are often so skilfully and ingeniously wrought together as to bear the similitude of truth, and to carry with them a persuasion which only a second and more subtle examination can efface. The doctrines, as Mr. Turner well observes, that agricultural distress proceeds not from excessive taxation but from superabundant produce, — that taxes are paid not by producers but by consumers, — that high rents are the consequence, not the cause, of high prices, — that taxes which affect the whole community, such as a property-tax, do no injury to any person, — and various other similar paradoxes, — are far too congenial with the interests of ministers and their adherents, to cause it to be a matter of wonder that they eagerly catch at any semblance of an argument to support such convenient speculations. Of this description, likewise, is the doctrine of a perfect identity of interests among all classes of the community; being an attempt to reconcile the simple-minded farmer to his own ruin, by directing his imagination to the prosperity of the fundholder and manufacturer when they are thriving at his expence, and sucking the very marrow from his bones;

"Ah! who can hold a fire in his hand
By *thinking* on the frosty Caucasus,
* * * * * *
Or wallow naked in December's snow
By *thinking* on fantastic summer's heat!"

Of this description, also, is the doctrine of the impossibility that two rates of profit can co-exist in a country, when every body knows that there are twenty, arising from the impracticability of transferring capital and the personal acquirements of skill from one business to another. Let us take the case of a farmer, again, who invested two or three thousand pounds

pounds six years ago in cultivating his landlord's estate: he sunk two-thirds of the money at first, in ditching, marling, draining, and stocking it with implements and horses: the other third, carefully laid by for contingencies, has gone for rent in the course of the last three years; the proceeds of his farm during the last three years having been entirely swallowed up by parochial rates, taxes, wages of labour, and the maintenance of his family. He is now insultingly told that, if farming be a speculation which does not answer, he may transfer his capital to something else! Where is his capital? annihilated. — Then as to the personal skill and knowlege of a farmer and his labourers, can *they* be transferred? — can a farmer be converted into a man-milliner, and employ the iron fingers of his ploughman in *filling bobbins* or stitching button-holes?

Mr. Reynolds takes Mr. Ricardo's work on the "Principles of Political Economy" as a text book, and comments with various success on different passages; sometimes, we think, without throwing much light either on his author or his subject. His notions respecting taxes and the national debt are not a little singular. Insensible to the varied charms of her daughters, he is deeply enamoured of the matron graces of the mother herself, whose portly bulk and lofty carriage are more attractive to his eyes than the restless, *raguish*, and tormenting antics of her innumerable progeny; he toys, however, now and then, with the latter, but so cautiously as not to excite the jealousy of his favorite mistress.

'It may be stated,' says Mr. Reynolds, 'as the general result of taxes, that, under ordinary circumstances, they take accumulated labour from individuals, or annual produce from productive labourers, whether employed in agriculture, manufactories, or otherwise, and transfer it to labourers who do not produce, and that they require from all the different classes of society either additional labour or diminished consumption.'

This is very well: let us go on:

'A government may, by taxation and loans, take from the people not only the net surplus of their revenue, but a portion of their accumulated labour, and even of their "active capital." A nation may in consequence be put to inconvenience or distress*, but it does not admit of argument, that by no means, except by

'* With reference to Mr. Ricardo's statement, p. 164., I am not quite sure that this was not the case in Great Britain during the latter part of 1814, and the beginning of 1815; if it were so, however, the deficiency was speedily made up by the diminished expenditure of the government in the months immediately ensuing.'

contracting debts in a foreign country, can a nation in one year anticipate the revenue of a future year.

'Whatever is raised by taxes, whatever is obtained by loans and expended within the year, must come either out of the revenue of that year, or from the accumulated labour pre-existing in the country. An individual may anticipate his next year's income and expend it, but thanks to the Almighty, with a nation this is impossible.

'A very slight knowledge of political economy will therefore be sufficient to carry conviction to the mind, that no loan negociated three or four years ago can have any effect on the existing state of this country.'

If a loan negotiated three or four years ago has no effect on the existing state of the country, *à fortiori*, neither can any loan which was negotiated thirty or forty years since; nor, consequently, all the accumulated loans which constitute the national debt. This must be a most convenient theory to all future Chancellors of Exchequer, not to say a word about the present.

When the expenditure of a nation continues year after year to exceed its revenue, it may, in plain unsophisticated language, be said to anticipate its future income; like the poor Irish *Redemptioners* who cross the Atlantic, it mortgages its future liberty and labor for an immediate maintenance. In separating the case of an individual from that of a nation, a fanciful distinction is drawn without any real difference. If we understand Mr. Reynolds, his meaning is this: an individual may anticipate his next year's income because he can borrow of his friend: but a nation, if it contracts no debts in a foreign country, can only borrow from itself. Its wealth, therefore, can never be exhausted; that which it pays with the right hand it receives with the left: there is a rapid circulation of wealth without any loss, since all that is raised from the people in one shape returns to them in another by means of the public expenditure; the dew which rises from the surface falls again in gentle showers to refresh the soil from which it rose. We should be sorry to mistake his meaning, and therefore let Mr. R. be his own commentator:

'The agriculturists, accustomed to speak against taxation during the war, when by its operation, their rents were increased, infinitely beyond the amount they paid in taxes, now feel the difference, and universally join in deprecating taxation, they call for a reduction in the "wasteful and extravagant expenditure" of government; or, in other words, a reduction of consumption, in order to remedy — what?

'An evil, arising from *excess of production* beyond *demand*.*

'* Surely the readers of Mrs. Marcet must be amused with this profound specimen of modern logic.'

If

'If the amount received for taxes were expended by government on luxuries only, to take off those taxes and discontinue the expenditure, would diminish the consumption of luxuries — the producers might be ruined — the accumulated labour, however, instead of being consumed, would remain with individuals — it would soon operate to raise wages, more than the discharge of those employed to produce luxuries could diminish them — it would therefore increase the consumption of agricultural produce.

'The very reverse however is the fact; the main bulk of the taxes is expended in agricultural produce, or in the payment of such moderate wages to individuals as enable them to consume few other things. The persons who now pay taxes, are in general enabled to command the necessaries of life; any diminution in those taxes, therefore, though it may, and as we see by the revenue does increase the demand for luxuries, cannot increase the demand for agricultural produce — whilst the direct and obvious tendency of all reductions in the army, navy, or in other departments of government, is to prevent the individuals reduced, from consuming the agricultural produce they have been accustomed to do — to increase the number of labourers in the market — to lower the wages of labour — and consequently to diminish the consumption of agricultural produce, and increase the existing distress of that important class of the community.

'If all existing taxes, and with them all the national debt were swept away, the only effect would be, to enable some individuals to consume more, and to require others to consume less, and in the existing state of society the direct effect of such a measure, would be to diminish and not increase the consumption of agricultural produce.*

'To put the case in another view:

'If the government of a nation take a part of its annual produce for many years, to maintain a portion of the people in idleness, and suddenly cease to take that annual produce, and to maintain the people; is it not evident, that such produce will remain in the hands of some of the individuals of that nation?

'If the government during the period in question, had given the people it maintained, sufficient to enable them to live well, to be well clothed, and well armed, and had taken the surplus pro-

'* It might be curious to trace how far the presence of, and contributions to the allies, assisted the agriculture of France, by withdrawing capital, &c., and enabling the supply to suit itself to the demand, delaying, if not entirely mitigating the evils the agriculturists of other nations are suffering. It might be equally curious to enquire how far the late discussions on the poor laws (thought to be so necessary for the farmers' relief), have operated to prevent the consumption of agricultural produce in this country, and thereby assisted to overload the market, and add to the existing evils under which the agriculturists are suffering.

'"A man's heart deviseth his way; but the Lord directeth his steps." — *Proverbs* xvi. v. 9.

duce of the nation in the shape of corn, cloth, &c. for that purpose, would not those be the commodities which would be left in the hands of the individuals until the direction of the capital employed in producing them, had been changed?'

A number of queries follow, having the same instructive tendency; namely, to prove that the country is benefited rather than injured by the expenditure of government. If the nation, says the writer (p. 81.), has annually borrowed forty millions, it has *saved twice that sum*; and, unless the evidence of every sense that we have means nothing, the nation is now richer in all that constitutes riches than it was before the first 100*l.* was borrowed. Here Mr. Reynolds betrays a little inconsistency. We had before been told that a loan negotiated three or four years ago 'had no effect on the existing state of the country;' now, it seems it has a very important effect, for the nation is actually become richer by the operation of its national debt; — 'during the whole period of its expenditure the national wealth or accumulation has continued to increase.' (P. 80.)

The payment of the interest on the debt is only a transfer of a part of the labor of the whole community to a select number, who, either by themselves or their ancestors, have chosen to lend the state their accumulated labor rather than expend it themselves. If they *had* so expended it, 'I may be allowed to doubt,' says Mr. R., 'whether, taking into the estimate, *the increased labor which has resulted from taxation*, the nation would have had greater riches than it has now.' Nothing can be more gross and preposterous, than the daring attempt to persuade the people of any country that its government can manage their property better than they who earned it; or that they who have labored to acquire wealth expend it with less regard to economy and reproduction, than others who receive it for doing nothing.

It was not a very uncommon notion, a few years ago, that, when money raised from the people in taxes is afterward expended among them, the sum total of national wealth is undiminished. Mr. Reynolds has enlightened our understanding on this subject, and assisted us in solving the problem: wealth, we find, consists in commodities, commodities are produced by labor, and *increased labor has resulted from taxation*. Yes it has, indeed; people labor, in the first instance, to obtain the means of paying taxes; and having paid them, they must labor as much again to get back a part of these taxes from those who receive them, in exchange for still more labor in the shape of commodities. Such is the solution of the problem that taxes spent at home find their

way back to the pockets of the people, and are consequently inoppressive. The fact is, they are taken from the community at large, and put into the pockets of a selected portion of it; or, resuming the former simile, (trite as it is,) the dew rises from the earth, and collects into clouds, which drop their fattening showers on some few *elevated* and favored spots, but leave the parched-up surface of the plains in hopeless sterility.

Overwhelming as we hold the national debt to be, and cruelly oppressive as are the taxes annually raised to discharge its interest, it is still more frightful when considered in a constitutional point of view than when regarded merely as a pecuniary incumbrance. The influence that has been added to the crown, by the disposal of those immense funds which the taxes of this country throw into the hands of government, is an evil of enormous magnitude; disturbing the equipoise of the constitutional powers at the expence of the popular interest, which is sacrificed to that of the monarchical and aristocratical branches. Within the last forty years, the interest of the debt has increased from six millions sterling to very nearly fifty millions: during five years of the war, from 1811 to 1815, both inclusive, the average annual expenditure of the united kingdom *exceeded* one hundred and twenty-two millions and a half; and, during the last three of those years, it *exceeded* one hundred and thirty-two millions per annum. Now the operation of this augmented debt, besides exhausting the resources of the country and overstraining its industry, was to place an increased number of persons in a situation of dependence on government, and to draw money more within the influence of its patronage. Such is the habit of profusion, also, which has grown out of the vast expenditure of the war, that in the eighth year of peace we have scarcely reduced its annual amount below the frightful sum of seventy millions. When government has only a moderate revenue, the people are not trained to look for their subsistence from the public purse. To adopt the language of Mr. Brougham in a recent debate, "they are more habituated to rely on the labor of their hands, and to seek in honest industry and skilful arts a creditable means of livelihood. But the vicious habit of dependence on the government is now sustained by that irresistible influence which operates on society through the channels of the army, navy, auditorships, writerships, cadetships, &c. containing employments of every size and every kind, not too insignificant to be below the pursuit of the greatest families, or too inaccessible not to corrupt the most moderate. Thus are men accustomed to a vicious and dependent habit, not known in poorer and more frugal governments:

ments; and particularly are the higher classes tainted with this vice of looking to the court and its interests for the means of support."

Political economists, however, merely as such, do not regard these questions in a constitutional point of view; all that concerns them is that unknown term, *National Wealth*. This is the philosopher's stone, of which they are in search: but we seek something else, and are concerned about something more; viz. *national character*, and feel an interest in clearing from it the sordid and degrading incrustments which have been traced by the fingers of corruption. Daily witnessing the prostitution of high birth and splendid talents at this shrine of Mammon,

"The least erected spirit that fell
From Heaven,"

we are tempted to exclaim, also in the words of Milton,

"Let none admire
That riches grow in Hell; that soil may best
Deserve the precious bane." *

We have frequently expressed dissent from a doctrine assiduously inculcated in certain quarters, and sanctioned, we are concerned to see, by Mr. Ricardo; namely, that the dis-

* An inimitable satire on this subject occurs in the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, who afforded in his own example a rare and excellent illustration of the sentiments expressed in his writings. The good people of Utopia had a wonderful contumely of gold, and adopted a very ingenious and effectual method of repressing an inclination to possess it. "To remedy all this," says Hythlodæus, "they have found out a means which, as it is agreeable to all their other laws and customs, so is it from ours, where gold is so much set by and so diligently kept, very far discrepant and repugnant: and therefore uncredible — but only to them that be wise. For whereas, they eat and drink in earthen and glass vessels — which, indeed, be curiously and properly made, and yet be of very small value — of gold and silver they make chamber-pots and other vessels that serve for most vile uses; not only in their common halls but in every man's private house. Furthermore, whosoever for any offence be infamed, by their ears hang rings of gold; upon their fingers they wear rings of gold; and about their neck chains of gold; and in conclusion, their heads be tied with gold. Thus, by all means possible they procure to have gold and silver among them in reproach and infamy. And these metals which other nations do as grievously and sorrowfully forego, as in a manner their own lives — if they should altogether at once be taken from the Utopians, no man there would think that he had lost the worth of one farthing." B. ii. ch. 6. *Ralph Robinson's Translation.*

tress

tress of the agriculturists arises from over-production; and that, notwithstanding an increase of our population from eleven to fourteen millions within ten years, there has been (in defiance of Mr. Malthus) an increase of production so far exceeding that amount, that mouths are not to be found in sufficient number to consume the excess. If we could feel disposed to mirth on so grave an occasion, abundant food for it could be found in recollecting that the self-same ministers of the Crown who now hold this language, and who, in conformity with it, proposed to Parliament, not three months ago, to supply a million sterling to buy up and granary the superabundant corn of the country, — that these identical personages within two short years were projecting, almost without a figure of speech, to drain the Pontine marshes and "bring Birnham wood to Dunsinane;" — that is, to cultivate the bare and forbidding Dartmoor, and actually voted money to export an imaginary redundancy of the labouring population to our colonies in North America and the Cape of Good Hope! — a population whose mouths are now wanted, it seems, at home, to consume an oppressive redundancy of produce! Mr. Ricardo seems a little startled at his own doctrine, but evades the difficulty thus:

"No one has said that abundance is injurious to a *country*, but that it frequently is so to the producers of the abundant commodity; if what they raised was all destined for their own consumption, abundance never could be hurtful to them: but if, in consequence of the plenty of corn, the quantity with which they go to market to furnish themselves with other things is very much reduced in value, they are deprived of the means of obtaining their usual enjoyments: they have, in fact, an abundance of a commodity of little exchangeable value."

We are not convinced by this explanation. In the first place, we doubt the fact of this superabundance; and next, admitting it for the sake of argument, we deny the consequence attributed to its existence. Agricultural distress arises from the disproportion between the price of the products of the soil and the cost of producing them; and this disproportion must be caused by excess of produce or insufficiency of consumption. The first is not the case, because it is an inevitable consequence of the superabundant supply of any commodity in universal demand, to encourage and extend its consumption by diminishing its price: the evil works its own cure, because this diminution of price is compensated by the excess of the commodity which creates it, and the increased consumption which follows it. The disproportion, then, arises from inadequate consumption occasioned by the want

of

of means, in an immense and dreadful proportion of the community who live by parochial assessment in England, and are dying of famine for the want of even this niggardly help in Ireland. Mr. Turner has replied to Mr. Ricardo's *explanation*, for we can call it nothing else, in another manner, but very satisfactorily:

'It is quite true, that if, with a given portion of labour, ten hats are produced, when only eight are required, the superabundance of hats may, and probably would, be injurious to the maker. But why would this be so? Because, for these ten hats he would not be able to obtain a similar portion of the labour of the agriculturist or any other producer. But if from improvement in the machinery he made ten hats, with the same portion of labour that he before made eight, then the consumption of hats would be increased; and though they were sold at a reduced price, he would still gain for the ten hats a proportion of the labour of others equal to his own labour expended in the making of them. In abundant harvests it is not the labour of man, but the bounty of Providence which gives the increase; the labour is the same, whether the return be ten or forty bushels per acre: and any political causes, which prevent this abundance being a blessing, and a great blessing to those to whom it is given, do convert the bounty of Providence into a curse.'

It is notorious, however, that the distress is general throughout the kingdom; and does it arise from a superabundance of all the products of human labor as well as of the earth? The fall in the price of iron, cotton, wool, beef, and butter, has been as great as in the price of corn, and consequently there must have been a simultaneous increase in the produce of all soils, and in the fruits of all the employments of labor and machinery. Is there, indeed, a ruinous repletion of food and raiment, when the unnatural and painful sight is daily before our eyes of laborers, hungry and in rags, loitering about with folded arms? and when the poor rates, in the country at least, are scarcely diminished, even nominally, and, with reference to the restored currency, are actually increased?

If we have before considered the doctrine as not only absurd and paradoxical but ungrateful and impious, which attributes our distress to the abundance that, in his unmerited mercy, it has pleased Providence to bestow, how much reason have we to be fortified in our dissent when we behold, in unhappy Ireland, the frightful reality of famine, with despair and pestilence in its train. Shall we again be derided with the doctrine of over-production, when human beings are daily sinking into death under positive starvation; when hundreds and thousands are protracting a miserable existence from day to

to day by the precarious supply of nettle-tops, limpets, and weeds gathered from the rocks and the sea-shore? * How is it, then, that the same newspapers which are daily renewing a pathetic appeal to the public for additional contributions of

* This is no exaggerated statement. From the late Report to the Dublin Mansion-house Committee by Messrs. H. Grattan and D. Latouche, it appears that not fewer than 92,800 persons were in June last suffering the most urgent distress in the county of Cork alone; and from the returns laid before the Central Committee (City of Cork) on the 11th of June, that the number of persons in actual want had amounted to 150,000. From Mayo, the accounts delivered by the Rev. H. Peaseley state that on June 15th there were 9,750 individuals in the three parishes; that, in addition to want of food, spotted fevers and dysenteries had broken out; and that several poor creatures lay all night in the church-yard, unable to move from pain and hunger, eating raw meal and potatoes. From Ennis, (Clare) the account states that a man, his wife, and nine children had all perished for want of food. Reports forwarded June 19th, from the parishes of Aughamore and Knock stated that the cresses, nettles, and wild herbs in the fields being consumed, the people were in a state of complete destitution. From Bingham Castle, June 21. the account transmitted to the Mansion-house was that "thousands have for weeks past subsisted upon sea-weed, wild vegetable substances, and *rotten fish*, which has brought on typhus and dysentery: if we have not speedy relief, the living will scarcely be able to bury the dead: two days ago, four men could not be collected to bury a poor creature that died of want of food; they are swelling and getting black in the face, and no medical assistance nearer than Ballina or Castlebar." From Galway, June 25. it was announced, "the melancholy state of our starving poor is daily encreasing — 14,000 weekly applicants." From Clifton, June 21. "fifteen persons have died in the parish of Ballynakill within these two days, and several in the parishes of Ballindoon and Moines, all for want of food: four times that number are afflicted with fever and are past recovery, and the rites of the church have been administered to them by their clergy." Similar accounts arrived from Sligo, Tipperary, and many other parts of the kingdom. Shall our ears again be shocked with the impious complaint of over-production, of superabundance, when thousands of our fellow-subjects are suffering all the horrors of famine? It is unnecessary to add that the published circular of the Committee at the City of London Tavern, dated June 20. 1822, confirms the truth of these heart-rending scenes; and we could fill page after page with similar relations from unquestionable authority. The work of death is going on! Its progress may be stopped by the unbounded benevolence of the British public, but it will only be arrested *for a time*, unless some system is adopted for the permanent and productive employment of this miserable people.

oat-

oat-meal, biscuit, rice, &c. are likewise daily announcing the arrival of cargoes of wheat and oats in the ports of London, Liverpool, and Glasgow, from this very Ireland whose population is perishing with hunger, — from the very counties, even, in which the famine rages? Is over-production the cause of distress there as well as here? No: the articles of subsistence are exported from that wretched country because there are no means of purchase to those who stand in need of it. In a very recent debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Western stated "that he had received many letters from Ireland, all of which concurred that in the distressed districts there was a want of employment, a want of money, but not a want of food.... The fact was, that the farmers of Ireland having no money could not employ the poor, and that the poor having no employment could not buy food. Thus are human beings starving with the cup of plenty close to their lips." This statement was confirmed by Mr. Ricardo in his reply: "the Misery of Ireland," says he, "might be traced to the system pursued in that country — to the depreciated food which the population *consented* to take; where the food of the population was so low as that of potatoes, on the failure of the crop, the people were exposed to the pressure of want, because the main source of their subsistence was no more, and the low rate of their wages would not enable them to purchase grain." (Debate, July 10.)

Mr. Ricardo admits in his pamphlet that wages rise in consequence of taxes paid by the laboring classes: but he denies the inference that high wages tend to augment the price of those commodities on which labor is bestowed, and to give an advantage to foreign competitors. He contends that the farmer is placed under no comparative disadvantage in consequence of an increase of wages; and therefore that, if it be necessary that corn should rise in order to remunerate the growers, it is also necessary that cloth, hats, shoes, and every other commodity should rise, in order to remunerate the producers of those articles. We are disposed to extract, from the very able pamphlet of Mr. Turner, his remarks on this question, for it is of the utmost importance that the nature of taxation should be examined in all its bearings:

'Now, let us examine closely into the arguments here made use of, which go to shew, that high wages do not tend to increase the price of corn, nor prevent the English farmer from competing with the foreign grower. Let us suppose, that the annual produce of a farm which required the constant labour of ten men, produced annually 2,000 bushels of corn, and that the quantity of corn paid to such labourers, for the support of themselves and their families,

was

was at the rate of a bushel and a half each per week, or 78 bushels per annum, equal together to 780 bushels; let us suppose also that it was quite impossible the labourers and their families should, or could exist upon a smaller quantity; and that of the 780 bushels so received by these ten labourers, 390 bushels were consumed as food, and the remaining 390 bushels exchanged for hats, shoes, and clothes, the produce of the labour of ten working manufacturers, equal exactly to one-half of that portion of their industry left to them by their masters.

'Now suppose a tax to be levied, which should take from the agricultural labourers, one tenth of what they received, equal to 78 bushels of corn, and from the manufacturing labourers one-tenth of their portion of manufactures: then say that—

Ten labourers received		780 bushels.
Consumed	390	
Paid as tax	78—468	
		312

Leaving only 312 bushels to be exchanged (supposing prices continue the same) not against one half of the portion of ten manufacturers, but only against nine-tenths of that half. We have supposed, however, that one half of the labour of the manufacturers is absolutely necessary for the clothing, &c. of the agriculturists; and *vice versâ*, that 390 bushels of corn are equally necessary for the support of the manufacturers. How then, can this tax be met but by an increased allowance both by the farmer and the master manufacturer to their respective labourers? Instead of 780 bushels of wheat per annum, the farmer must allow at least 858, and the master manufacturer must make a corresponding increased allowance in the number of shoes, hats, &c. &c., to his workmen, to allow them to supply the agricultural labourers with the same portion of manufactured goods, and to pay their taxes. Now, suppose that the farmer in addition to his labourers, had to pay 400 bushels for rent, 200 bushels for tithe, and 200 bushels for agricultural instruments and repairs, &c.; then before any tax was laid say

The produce was			2000 bushels.
	bushels.		
Rent	400		
Tithes	200		
Agricultural instruments, &c.	200		
Labourers	780—1580		
Leaving a profit for the support of the farmer and his family		420	
But a tax of 10 per cent. would require for the farmer's own tax	42		
For his labourers' tax	78—	120	
		300	

Leaving

Leaving only for the maintenance of the farmer and his family 300 bushels instead of 420, equal to a tax upon him of 28½ per cent. instead of 10 per cent. A similar effect might easily be shewn to be the consequence of a tax on the manufacturers, which would compel them to raise the price of labour. How then is it possible, that the farmer, or manufacturer could meet a property-tax of this kind, nominally of 10 per cent., but really, of 28½, without an increase of price? and how is it possible, that an increase of price should take place without an increase in the circulating medium?'

'Suppose, that in a country without taxes, the labour of ten men employed in agriculture, would produce 2,000 bushels of wheat, and that the same portion of labour would produce precisely the same quantity of wheat in a country taxed to the extent of 200 bushels. Now, supposing other charges to be the same in both countries, the farmer in the untaxed country would have a surplus of 200 bushels more than the farmer in the taxed country; and if the portion retained by the untaxed farmer was 500 bushels, in the taxed it would be only 300. In the untaxed country, therefore, 500 bushels remain as the surplus produce in the hands of the farmer from the labour of ten men; whereas a farmer in the taxed country, to get the command of 500 bushels, must employ the labour of sixteen men, and two-thirds of the labour of a seventeenth. By importing, therefore, into the taxed country, the labour of ten men, you would be able to purchase in such taxed country, the labour of 16⅔; and the only way in which the foreign grower could be prevented from competing with the home-taxed grower, would be by laying a duty on importation, equal to that paid by the home grower. The principle is the same, whether applied to corn or manufactured goods.'

In acknowleging that the principle is the same, whether applied to corn or manufactured goods, the position of Mr. Ricardo is admitted that the farmer is placed under no *comparative* disadvantage: but his argument is completely rebutted as it regards our intercourse with foreign countries.

Mr. Turner was for several years in the direction of the Bank, and retired from it only a few months ago; and the two-fold object of his pamphlet, which well deserves the public attention, is to exculpate that establishment from the charges brought against it by Mr. Ricardo and "the bullionists," and to hold up to derision and contempt all the different measures which have been proposed, some adopted, some abandoned, by his Majesty's ministers for the relief of the country, save and except one, namely the reduction of the 5 per cents. As to Mr. Peel's bill, which has created so strong a sensation throughout the country, we were somewhat surprized to hear Mr. Turner call it a complete 'dead letter.' With regard to its effect on the Bank of England, 'it has neither accelerated

nor

nor retarded the return to cash payments,' he says, 'except as by ordering the repayment of ten millions of Exchequer bills to the Bank, it enabled it to expend those ten millions in the purchase of bullion, without in any way curtailing its advances.' Does Mr. Turner mean to intimate that the Bank would *ever* have returned to cash-payments, if it had not been compelled to do so? Would it *ever* have purchased ten millions of bullion, while it remained exonerated from the necessity of cash payments? Mr. T. attributes the present distresses of the country to Mr. Peel's Bill, inasmuch as it has tended to aggravate the weight of taxation by reducing the price of commodities; but, if it has been 'a dead letter' relatively to the Bank of England, — an opinion to which we cannot accede, — in what way has it tended to produce the present agricultural distress? How has it aggravated the weight of taxation? How has it produced low prices, except by effecting a contraction of the issues? Mr. T. answers, 'by having spread *alarm* from one end of the country to the other: by having put a stop to that regular system of credit which had existed for years between the yeomanry and tenantry of the country, and their country-bankers.' We must again withhold our assent: there was no general *alarm* at the first passing of the bill: on the contrary, it instilled a premature confidence between man and man: the expected return to a sound currency was the subject of general gratulation; and it is notorious that the extent of its operation and the magnitude of its effects were very inadequately estimated, either by its supporters or its opposers in or out of Parliament, except, perhaps, by Mr. Turner himself. They have been fully appreciated only since they have been practically felt. The general low price of commodities arises either from a diminished amount of currency, or, which is equivalent, from its more sluggish circulation.

It is detailed in evidence before the Bullion Committee, that about 200,000*l.* is sufficient to effectuate the exchange of drafts amongst the different bankers of London, at the clearing-house daily, to the extent of 4,700,000*l.* Now, it must be quite clear, that if any given number of bankers were from any circumstances out of credit with their brethren, so that drafts upon them would not be received at the clearing-house, then it must require a larger sum in current coin or bank notes than 200,000*l.*, in order to settle and adjust the above quoted daily payments to the extent of 4,700,000*l.* The multiplying power would be checked, and the same sum of money could not effectuate the same objects. An effect similar to this has taken place in the country, in consequence of Mr. Peel's bill, and has carried distress into every district. A country bank was a kind of clearing-house, where, without any actual

actual interchange of notes or money, the greater part of all payments between man and man was effectuated by mere transfers in the books of their bankers. The tenant had credit with the Bank, and paid his rent by a draft in favour of his landlord, which draft was paid by the landlord to his banker, and he again (the landlord,) paid his different tradesmen by fresh drafts, which drafts were again lodged by such tradesmen with the bankers, so that the whole was adjusted by mere book transfers between A, B, C, and D. It was merely the smaller payments for wages and weekly bills which required notes.'

Mr. Turner says (p. 48.) that 'the only danger of an excess [of currency] proceeds from too great advances to the Government, whereby the Bank loses its control over its issues, in consequence of repayment not taking place at short periods. Then and then only is it possible for a larger quantity of notes to be kept in circulation than the necessities of the country require.' This remark would be sound if its application were confined to country-bankers, because they have always been obliged to pay their own promissory notes either in cash or in notes of the Bank of England: the circulation of a country-banker's notes depended entirely on his credit: but the Bank of England had no such check on its issues during the suspension of cash-payments, the circulation of its notes being secured to it at all events, because the acceptance of them was compulsory. They were issued exclusively in payment of the public dividends, and they were received as equivalent to cash in all payments into the Exchequer. When Parliament removed from the Bank of England that salutary check which restrained the issues of country-banks, its paper was at par with gold, and so continued till the year 1801, when it was at a discount of nearly 8½ per cent. When the Bank increased its issues, which had before averaged 17 millions, to 19 millions in the year 1809, and in 1810 to 22½ millions, the discount rose in proportion: in the latter of these years, it was 13*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* per cent.: in 1812, bank-notes were at an average discount of 20½ per cent., and in 1814 of 25 per cent. How can Mr. Turner assert, then, that it is impossible for the Bank to keep in circulation a larger quantity of notes than the country requires, unless its advances are too great to Government? Its advances, during the period mentioned, were undoubtedly much too great, *but it was from the very circumstance of the restriction that they were so.* Mr. Peel's Bill has removed that restriction: the circulating medium of the country is reduced; and had a corresponding reduction of the national expenditure accompanied its enactment, we should have felt nothing of the distress which now assails us.

Much

Much sound reasoning occurs in Mr. Turner's pamphlet, on the comparative pressure of taxes under different circumstances of the country: but we can make room only for the following illustration, with which we close this article:

'I cannot understand the doctrine, that taxes levied upon producers are re-paid by the consumers. For, say that, before the late fall in prices, taxes were raised in this country to the extent of sixty millions per annum; and that these sixty millions were equal to one-fourth of what the annual produce of the lands and labour of the country sold for, namely, to one-fourth of two hundred and forty millions; that one-third of these taxes, or twenty millions, were either levied upon, or paid back in the shape of taxes, by those persons who received the sixty millions; then it is evident, that the forty millions being levied upon producers, the effect of taxation on the productive industry of the country was precisely equal to one-sixth of the produce of the lands and labour, and no more; but now, supposing prices to have fallen one-half, the whole quantity of produce should sell for only 120,000,000*l.*; but the same forty millions of taxes being levied upon producers, 80,000,000*l.*, only are left for their support, whereas 200,000,000*l.* were left before: but the tax-receivers still get forty millions to spend after payment of their own taxes, and consequently hold the command of one-third of the annual produce of the lands and labour of the people instead of one-sixth.'

ART. VII. *Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions, and on other Subjects.* 8vo. pp. 284. 8*s.* Boards. Hunter. 1821.

AT a period like the present, we cannot too strongly recommend this volume to the attention of our readers. It is the fashion of the day to decry discussion as dangerous; and any opinions, whether moral, religious, or political, which have been long received, are considered as so venerable and so sanctified by authority, that the epithets of libellous, blasphemous, and seditious are very freely used to stigmatize freedom of inquiry and to denounce all opposition. In former times, it was imagined that truth was not a delusion; that man was a reasoning and a reasonable animal; and that he was capable at the same time of discriminating truth from falsehood, right from wrong, and of perceiving that virtue was his best interest. It was conceived, also, that his powers of discrimination were improved by exercise; and that he was not less likely to be upright when rendered more intelligent, or less likely to be an honest man or a good citizen when his knowlege was increased and his means of doing good and

being serviceable to the community were enlarged. It was moreover supposed that good sense was a faculty which thinking, and talking, and reading, might benefit instead of injuring; and that, even if persons of refined understandings would perplex themselves and their neighbours with doubts and subtilties on nice points of speculation, plain reason and ordinary experience would keep the mass of mankind from wandering very far from the right path, in all matters of practical importance.

The age in which we live, on the contrary, is an age of political and religious squeamishness; and squeamishness in a nation, like that of individuals in private life, is at best but a dubious symptom, which more frequently indicates sickliness of conscience than any real purity of manners or honesty of character. Where the political institutions of a country are founded on its interests, and really tend to the good of the community, their permanence is guaranteed by their intrinsic value, and "the powers that be" are respected not from fear but "for conscience' sake." Where, also, the national religion inforces the truths of morality by its own peculiar sanctions, and evinces its divine origin by the benefits which it confers, it appeals at once to the hearts and the judgment of the people; and, instead of rousing opposition by unimportant dogmas or unreasonable pretensions, it wins esteem and conciliates respect by its amiableness. From the conduct of many men in the present day, we might be led to infer that all establishments are indebted for their continuance to the hand of power; that governments of all sorts are a sort of gratuitous mischief, which only require to be detected to be overthrown; and that the reason of man, if fully cultivated, would at once abate them as nuisances.

'Men,' says the Essayist before us, 'have long since found out how ridiculous is the interference of authority in physical and mathematical science: when will they learn to smile at its officious and impotent attempts at the protection of truth in moral and political inquiries? The doctrine, that, under perfect freedom of discussion, falsehood would ultimately prevail, virtually implies the human faculties to be so constituted as, all other things being the same, to cleave to error rather than to truth; in which case the pursuit of knowledge would be folly, since every step and every effort would carry us farther from our object. But the supposition of the ultimate triumph of falsehood is a fallacy disproved by the experience of mankind. Error may subvert error, one false doctrine may supersede another, and truth may be long undiscovered, and make its way slowly against the tide of prejudice; but that it has not only the power of overcoming its antagonist in equal circumstances, but also of surmounting every intellectual obstacle,

obstacle, every impediment but mere brute force, is proved by the general advancement of knowledge. If we trace the history of any science, we shall find it a record of mistakes and misconceptions, a narrative of misdirected and often fruitless efforts; yet if amidst all these the science has made a progress, the struggles through which it has passed, far from evincing that the human mind is prone to error rather than to truth, furnish a decisive proof of the contrary, and an illustration of the fact, that, in the actual condition of humanity, mistakes are the necessary instruments by which truth is brought to light, or, at least, indispensable conditions of the process.

'No one, perhaps, in the present day, although he might be the advocate of restraints on the discussion of theological and political topics, would be hardy enough to contest the justness of this remark, or contend for the utility of restrictions in mathematical and physical science: and yet, in this respect, all the various departments of knowledge stand on the same ground. Let those who think otherwise show us the distinctive characteristics which render it proper and expedient to shackle the discussion of particular topics, while every other subject is abandoned, without fear or precaution, alike to the conflicting play of the acutest intellects and to the blunders of ignorance and imbecility.

'What, however, we have to prove on the present occasion, is not, that truth if left to its own energy will finally triumph over prevailing error, but the less questionable position, that novel errors are not capable of overturning truths already established. The exercise of authority is, of course, always in support of established opinions; and since to be justifiable it must proceed on the assumption of their freedom from error, all that is necessary for our purpose is to show, that if they are as true as they are assumed to be, they cannot be subverted by the utmost latitude of discussion.

'If they are true, then is there the highest probability, that every fresh examination to which they may be subjected will terminate in placing them in a clearer light; because every argument levelled against them must involve some fallacy which is liable to detection, and the exposure of which will tend to propagate and confirm them. The only cause why any opinions need to apprehend the touch of discussion is, that there is a certain process of reasoning by which they may be proved to be wrong, and the discovery of which may result from the conflict of arguments. The nature of this predicament, in which true opinions can never stand, and all objections to them must ever remain, constitutes of itself a sufficient barrier against the encroachments of falsehood, were there no other to be found in the fixed habits and dispositions of the community. It is a work of difficulty to overturn even established error, because the interests, passions, and prejudices of so many are engaged in its support, and long resist the strongest arguments and the clearest demonstration: why then need we fear the overthrow of established truth by the utmost licence of discussion, when not only prescription, interest, preju-

dice, and passion, are in its favour, but the powerful alliance of reason itself?'

The writer pursues the opponents of free discussion through the various positions which are implied as well as those which are brought forwards in their arguments, and exposes the inutility as well as the unreasonableness of restrictions:

'The surest way,' he observes 'of contracting the empire of error, is to increase the general power of discerning its character. In the present stage of civilization this is, in fact, all that can be done. The days of concealment and mystery are past. There is now no resource but in a system of fairness and open dealing; no feasible mode of preserving and propagating truth but by exalting ignorance into knowledge.

'The universal education of the poor, which no earthly power can prevent although it may retard it, is loudly demanded by the united voices of the moralist and politician. But if the people are to be enlightened at all, it is unavailing and inconsistent to resort to half measures and timid expedients; to treat them at once as men and as children; to endow them with the power of thinking and at the same time to fetter its exercise; to make an appeal to their reason and yet to distrust its result; to give them the stomach of a lion and feed them with the aliment of a lamb. The promoters of the universal education of the poor ought to be aware, that they are setting in motion, or at least accelerating the action of an engine too powerful to be controlled at their pleasure, and likely to prove fatal to all those parts of their own systems, which rest not on the solid foundation of reality. They ought to know, that they are necessarily giving birth to a great deal of doubt and investigation; that they are undermining the power of prejudice, and the influence of mere authority and prescription; that they are creating an immense number of keen inquirers and original thinkers, whose intellectual force will be turned, in the first instance, upon those subjects which are dearest to the heart and of most importance to society.

'In the further prosecution of this subject, it may be asked of the advocates of restrictive measures, by what conceivable regulations they could guard those from error, who were not able to judge for themselves, and at the same time secure the substantial advantages of unlimited discussion to the rest?

'No human ingenuity could combine these two objects. No line of demarcation could be drawn between those who should be left to the operation of all arguments, which could be adduced, and those whose weakness or ignorance required the paternal arm of authority to shield them from falsehood. There can be no distinction made between the rich and the poor in these cases. Not to insist upon the fact, that many in the inferior ranks are quite as competent to the examination of any question, which bears upon moral or political conduct, as many in the highest stations; it is impracticable to devise a measure which shall exclude any particular classes and leave the right of free examination unimpaired

to

to the rest: so that, if we were under the necessity of allowing, that some evils might arise from admitting the poor to be a party in the examination of a subject, it might still be contended, that such evils would be wisely encountered for the sake of those inestimable advantages, which follow the progress of truth, and which can be purchased only by liberty of public discussion. It may be further urged, to show the importance of maintaining this liberty unshackled, that the intelligence of the lower classes, the diminution of ignorance and error amongst them, must necessarily depend on the general progress of knowledge. While those, who have the best opportunities of information, are in darkness, those, who are in inferior stations, cannot be expected to be otherwise than proportionably more so. Whatever therefore tends to keep the former from becoming enlightened (as all restrictions inevitably do) must have a corresponding effect on the latter, or, in other words, tend to keep them in that state from which it is the professed object of restrictions to preserve them.'

In the conflict of opinions, where an unlimited freedom of inquiry prevails, truth will surely be established in the result; and men will at all events not only learn to treat with respect the opinions of others, but will perhaps discover that many notions which they have been accustomed to consider as pernicious to society are in themselves entirely innocent, and that the benefits of good government and of true religion are much too substantial to be endangered by any exposure of abuses or any attack on prejudices.

Subjoined to the Essays 'on the Formation and Publication of Opinions,' are some few others on Facts and Inferences, on the Influence of Reason on the Feelings, on Inattention to the Dependence of Causes and Effects in Moral Conduct, on Individual Character, on the Vicissitudes of Life, on the Variety of Intellectual Pursuits, on Practical and Speculative Ability, and on the Mutability of Human Feelings. These papers are in general written with extremely good sense, and particularly the one which expatiates on inattention to the dependance of causes and effects in moral conduct. The essay on individual character travels more out of the beaten path than any other; and most readers will, we think, be of opinion that the author has searched into the matter somewhat too curiously. The ensuing passages from that essay seem to have been written by Mr. Shandy himself.

'There must be causes why the mind as well as the body of one man differs constitutionally from that of another; what are they? Perhaps all that can be said in reply to these inquiries is, that the mental like the bodily constitution of every individual, depends, in some inexplicable way, on the conjoint qualities of his parents. It depends, evidently, not on the qualities of one of the parents only, but on those of both. A moment's reflection will teach us,

that the individuality of any human being, that ever existed, was absolutely dependant on the union of one particular man with one particular woman. If either the husband or the wife had been different, a different being would have come into the world. For the production of the individual called Shakespeare, it was necessary that his father should marry the identical woman whom he did marry. Had he selected any other wife, the world would have had no Shakespeare. He might have had a son, but that son would have been an essentially different individual; he would have been the same neither in mental nor physical qualities; he would have been placed in a different position amongst mankind, and subject to the operation of different circumstances. It seems highly probable also, that if a marriage had taken place between the same male and female either at an earlier or a later period of their lives, the age at which they came together would have affected the identity of the progeny. If they had been married, for instance, in the year 1810, their eldest son would not be the same being as if they had been married ten years sooner. It may be remarked, too, that not only the time at which persons are married, but their mode of living and their habits generally, as they have the power to affect the physical constitution of their progeny, may also affect the constitution of their minds, and occasion beings to be brought into the world absolutely different from those who would have been the light under other circumstances.' —

'Suppose the father of Bonaparte had married any other lady than the one who was actually destined to become his mother. Agreeably to the tenor of the preceding observations, it is obvious that Bonaparte himself would not have appeared in the world. The affairs of France would have fallen into different hands, and have been conducted in another manner. The measures of the British cabinet, the debates in parliament, the subsidies to foreign powers, the battles by sea and land, the marches and countermarches, the wounds, deaths, and promotions, the fears, and hopes, and anxieties of a thousand individuals, would all have been different. The speculations of those writers and speakers who employed themselves in discussing these various subjects, and canvassing the conduct of this celebrated man, would not have been called forth. The train of ideas in every mind interested in public affairs would not have been the same. Pitt would not have made the same speeches, nor Fox the same replies. Lord Byron's poetry would have wanted some splendid passages. The Duke of Wellington might have still been plain Arthur Wellesley, Mr. Warden would not have written his book, nor the various critics their review of it; nor could the author of this essay have availed himself of his present illustration. The imagination of the reader will easily carry him through all the various consequences to soldiers and sailors, tradesmen and artizans, printers and booksellers, downwards through every gradation of society. In a word, when we take into account these various consequences, and the thousand ways in which the mere intelligence of Bonaparte's proceedings, and of the measures pursued to counteract them, influenced the

the feelings, the speech, and the actions of mankind, it is scarcely too much to say, that the single circumstance of Bonaparte's father marrying as he did has more or less affected almost every individual in Europe, as well as a numerous multitude in the other quarters of the globe.'

The general character of this author's compositions is of a more staid and serious sort; and it is only in the essay on individual character that he has indulged in such excursions as these, which, however entertaining they may be, are, we fear, of little practical utility. The volume throughout displays considerable reflexion accompanied by a liberal and humane spirit: and if we remark a want of ease in the composition, or some degree of affectation occasionally in the language, (as in the use of such words as *subserve*, &c.) these are minor blemishes, from which the author may easily free himself by further practice in writing: a remedy which it will give us pleasure to see him adopt.

ART. VIII. *Recollections and Reflections, Personal and Political,* as connected with Public Affairs during the Reign of George III. By John Nicholls, Esq., &c. Vol. II. 8vo. 7*s*. Boards. Longman and Co. 1822.

THE reign of the late King was perhaps sufficiently long to occupy the Recollections of any ordinary individual. Mr. Nicholls, in his first volume, confined his attention to that period; and his narrative of public affairs, which occurred under his own observation, contained matter of considerable interest. He afterward, however, 'determined to carry back his Recollections and Reflections to the latter years of Sir Robert Walpole's administration,' and the first ninety pages of the present volume are accordingly filled with a consideration of events and characters during the reign of George II. At p. 90. Mr. N. makes another retrograde movement, and proceeds to discuss 'the Revolution in 1688, and the Act of Settlement in the 13th of William III. Anno Dom. 1700,' which discussion occupies above 20 pages. The remainder of the book consists of a series of notes on the former volume; in which the author amplifies some of the details, and repeats at a length perhaps rather unnecessary the principal positions which he had before laid down.

The comments on the reign of George II. are principally composed of extracts from Leonidas Glover's and Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs. Mr. Nicholls was only 12 years old at the time of Admiral Byng's execution, but recollects the great popular ferment that was excited against that unfortunate offi-

cer by the intrigues of the ministers, and animadverts on the whole affair with just indignation. He afterward comes forwards, to our surprize, as a champion for the integrity of Lord Bute and the chastity of the Princess Dowager of Wales. The latter question we supposed to have been put to rest by the judgment of Lord Waldegrave. — In his observations on the act of settlement, particularly as it regards the King's foreign dominions, and on the clause relating to pensioners and placemen, Mr. N. writes with much manliness and good sense. Among the notes, perhaps the most curious is that in which he gives at length a speech delivered by him in the House of Commons in 1798, when he publicly professed that he considered Mr. Pitt as neither a financier nor a statesman. Mr. Nicholls's opinion exposed him at the time to much ridicule, but posterity will perhaps pass a more impartial judgment than his contemporaries had formed. The following extract may be amusing to our readers:

'"Sir," continued Mr. Nicholls, "every event of this war has convinced me, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is a man of no abilities. (Here a laugh from the ministerial benches.) I will explain what I mean: I mean that he has no abilities to benefit his country. I have no wish to do injustice to the reputation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; I acknowledge his talents as a debater in this House; that he possesses sarcasm, sneer, irony, wit; above all, he possesses the happy talent of multiplying and stringing together his words in such a manner, that it is hardly possible to affix a precise meaning to his language. To this he joins a most successful knack of misrepresenting the arguments of his adversaries. I acknowledge that he has much dexterity in cheering the band of prætorians who sit round him, and who are ready to laugh whenever he gives the signal by a smile; in one word, I acknowledge that he is *maximus* as a gladiator in this political arena, while he is *minimus* as a statesman.

'"If all which is required from a minister is the faculty of amusing this House by his speeches, I acknowledge his talents. But I recollect the expression of an Athenian statesman, Themistocles; he said he could not play on a fiddle, but he could make a little city a great state. The language of the Chancellor of the Exchequer must be the reverse of this: he can play on his fiddle, and amuse his confiding majority in this House; but he has reduced a great empire to be a little state. You judge of a painter, of a statuary, of an architect, by their respective works. I have read of an architect (Sir Christopher Wren) who desired to be buried in a church which he had himself erected, with this epitaph, *Si quæris monumentum, circumspice.* Would the Chancellor of the Exchequer wish his character, as a statesman, to be decided by this test? Is he an able war-minister? Is he a skilful financier? Is he a successful negotiator? Has he any one quality which constitutes the great statesman? His friends acknowledge that

that he is not an able war-minister; and how can they avoid making this acknowledgment? Beginning the war with all the powers of Europe on his side, he has so conducted it, that every ally has either abandoned us, or been subdued; while France has been exalted to a power almost beyond the dreams of ambition. View him as a financier: — the funding system exhausted by his folly, in supposing that there were no limits to the supply which the money-market could afford; a paper-money established; taxes on consumption no longer practicable; while recourse is to be had to a requisition on income, though he himself acknowledges that this requisition will be unequal, and therefore unjust; that it will destroy the employment of the artizan, diminish the present revenue, and, by so doing, weaken the security of the stockholder. That he has, as yet, discovered no criterion for ascertaining income; and that he is under the necessity of having recourse to the establishment of an inquisitorial tribunal, inconsistent with the principles of civil liberty, repugnant to every maxim of a commercial nation, and destructive of all private happiness.

'"What is he as a negotiator? He tells you himself, that he has three times attempted to make peace; always, he says, sincerely, but always unsuccessfully. View him as a statesman; begin your examination of his conduct with the commencement of the French Revolution, in the autumn 1789, when the King was carried prisoner to Paris. Sir, a great statesman would have seen, that this was a moment of no little consequence to England. He would have seen, that the French government was in a state of dissolution; incapable of resisting any pacific plans of the British minister; and that he had it in his power to carry into effect many measures beneficial to his country. What was the conduct of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? His first measure (in 1790) was a foolish dispute with Spain; ill-conducted, and disgracefully terminated. He wanted the wisdom to see, that this was the happy moment when Great Britain might have re-established her antient connexion with Spain, which had been interrupted by the accession of a Prince of the House of Bourbon to the sovereignty of that country. The alliance between France and Spain had been the alliance of the reigning families, not of the two nations; it would have been easy for him to have pointed out to the court of Spain, that the Bourbons being dethroned in France, it was now for the interest of Spain to look to Great Britain, and to renew its antient, natural, and national alliance with this country.

'"In the year following (1791,) another foolish contest with Russia. In 1792, Austria and Prussia invaded France; he neither assisted the invaders, nor conciliated the confidence of France. In 1793, he engaged in the war; and how has he conducted it? One of his great political measures was the attempt to starve France; a measure which any man of the smallest reflection must have seen, would, if successful, necessarily have produced a famine in this country. If France was distressed for corn, and this country abounded, it was obvious that France would draw grain from this country, by the assistance of the smuggler. While,

While, on the other hand, if both countries wanted corn, England would find France her competitor in every market where she might have otherwise hoped for supply.

'"But I will rest my opinion of him as a statesman on his conduct in the late negotiation; I mean after the 4th of September, after his paltry intrigue to overturn the French government had failed. He knew that Austria would make a separate peace, if this country determined to continue the war; he knew that, in consequence of that peace, France would establish her ascendancy in Italy, and the Mediterranean sea; and let it be remembered, Sir, that this expression, the Mediterranean sea, is of an import very different now, from what it was antecedently to the peace between France and Austria. All the eastern part of the Mediterranean sea is now open to France; and the Grand Seignior is as much dependent on France for protection, as the Nabob of Oude is on the English government. He knew that from the moment peace was concluded between France and Austria, Portugal and Germany, as well as Spain and Holland, would stand in awe of the power of France. He knew the situation of Ireland; he knew that he had exhausted the funding system; that he had been obliged to have recourse to that perilous measure, paper-money; that he could no longer lay taxes on consumption, and that he must have recourse to this new mode of a requisition on income; yet, knowing all this, he wanted the political wisdom to see, that this country ought to make peace in conjunction with Austria. That if this country was the last to relinquish the war, it would make peace on the most disadvantageous terms; and he determined to expose this country to all the hazards consequent on the continuance of the war, in hopes of retaining Trinidad, the Cape of Good Hope, and Trincomale.

'"Sir, it has been said by an honourable Alderman, on a former night, that though the bill is odious, yet those he converses with fear nothing so much as the removal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is very possible that this is true. Those who profit by the wasteful expenditure of public money, can never find a minister more suited to their wishes. But can any man say, that he confides in the Chancellor of the Exchequer from the review of his conduct? Sir, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was first advanced to power, it is not surprising that he was viewed with partiality: we remembered his father's virtues, his talents, his services: we easily believe what we wish, and we were willing to believe that the country would derive much benefit from the son's administration. We had observed that, in the father, the talents of the statesman had been accompanied by the powers of eloquence: we admired the fluency with which the son addressed this House; and from his resemblance to his father in this faculty, we presumed that he resembled him in all the qualities of a statesman. Sir, casual observers did not remark the difference between the father's eloquence and the son's. In the father, political wisdom was the ground-work, eloquence the result; he spoke forcibly, because he had

had reflected deeply. In the son, the knack of talking is the ground-work; and he never has acquired political wisdom.

'"The Chancellor of the Exchequer affords a striking proof of the soundness of an opinion delivered by one who joined the qualities of the statesman to those of the orator. '*Ac me quidem diû cogitantem, ratio ipsa in hanc potissimum sententiam ducit; ut existimem, sapientiam sine eloquentiâ parum prodesse civitatibus; eloquentiam vero sine sapientiâ, nimium obesse plerumque, prodesse nunquam. Quare si quis, omissis studiis rationis et officii, consumit omnem operam in exercitatione dicendi, is inutilis sibi, patriæ perniciosus civis alitur.*' And I am fully convinced, upon mature reflection, that political wisdom without eloquence is not often useful in a free state; but that eloquence without political wisdom is most frequently injurious, never beneficial. If any man, therefore, neglecting the pursuit of political wisdom, applies his whole attention to acquire the knack of talking, he becomes useless to himself, pernicious to his country.

'"Sir, we have instances that whole nations have been mistaken in the expectations they had formed of a statesman. It is but a few years ago that M. Necker was considered as the tutelary angel of France; there is now but one opinion of him, viz. that he was a weak man, in whose character vanity was the leading feature. I do not mean to impute vanity to the Right Honourable Gentleman. Were I to mark the resemblance between him and M. Necker, in the place of vanity, I should substitute arrogance; perhaps the only natural quality which remains in that work of art, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer."'

In other notes, Mr. N. repeats his opinions on East Indian affairs, and on the abolition of the Slave-trade, endeavouring to justify them by a considerable detail. Even where we differ most decidedly from this gentleman, as on the question of a gradual abolition, we think that his opinions are intitled to much attention; and we must admit that his arguments are expressed with great precision and clearness. We quote the summary which he has annexed at the close of his Recollections, and we are glad to leave subjects on which we are at issue with him to meet him on friendly ground:

'The sentiments which I have wished to impress are these:—First, that immoderate taxation is the grievance by which the country is oppressed; that this immoderate taxation has been the result of the unnecessary wars in which the nation has been involved during the reign of George III., and has been carried to such an excess, that it checks and impedes the creative industry of the people. Either the expenses of the government must be diminished, or a portion of the dividends must be withheld from the public creditor. Secondly, that this retrenchment cannot be effected without a reform of the House of Commons; inasmuch as wasteful expenditure is necessary, to enable the minister to regulate and controul this most expensive machinery. The Stuarts were

were expelled, because they abused the power confided to them. The House of Commons will be reformed from a similar cause, viz. because it has abused that power of taxing which has been confided to it by the Constitution. One other sentiment Englishmen should keep in mind; it is this, — that our government is, by the principles of our constitution, a civil government; but that there are certain persons who, during the reign of George III., have endeavoured to change it into a military government. This system cannot be persevered in; a German military, united to English profusion, is beyond what can be supported by the most active industry of the people; and when Englishmen are deprived of the enjoyment of those principles of civil liberty in which they have been accustomed to delight, their energies will cease.'

We are old enough to 'Recollect' that, as a member of the House of Commons at a period when it boasted of very eminent orators and debaters, Mr. Nicholls did not command a great share of weight in its deliberations and decisions, differing also as he did from the strongest side: but he was always considered as a gentleman, a scholar, a man of sense, and a man of integrity.

ART. IX. *The Cyclopædia of Commerce;* comprizing a Code of Commercial Law, Practice, Customs and Information, and exhibiting the present State of Commerce, Home, Foreign, and Colonial; with the Shipping, Manufactures, and Products, both Natural and Artificial, of the various Commercial Nations in the World; to which is added an Appendix, containing an Analytical Digest of the Laws and Practice of the Customs, with copious Tables of the respective Monies, Weights, and Measures of the principal Commercial States in the World; and a variety of useful and select Commercial and Notarial Precedents. The Commercial Department conducted by Samuel Clarke, Esq.; and the Legal by John Williams, Esq. of the Inner Temple, Author of "the Laws relating to Trade and Commerce." 4to. 2*l.* 10*s.* Boards. Richardson.

THE compilers of this Cyclopædia very properly remark that, while the importance of commerce is so generally admitted, the materials for information relative to it are derived chiefly from oral and adventitious communication, or scattered through the pages of a multiplicity of books. This defect they now come forwards to remedy, by endeavouring to give a clear and comprehensive view of a great variety of topics connected with commerce; viz. the History and Principles of Commerce, home, foreign, and colonial, given not in the form of a continued narrative, but under separate heads (Cotton, Sugar, Coffee, &c.) as they respectively occur: — a description of the materials of commerce, whether produce

duce or manufactures, given in like manner under separate heads. The Laws of Commerce. — I. International, such as those which relate to Licences, Letters of Marque, Embargo, Reprisals, Search, and Capture. II. Municipal; viz. those which affect the Sale and Purchase of Goods; Bankruptcy, Bills of Exchange, Contracts; Apprentices, Masters, &c. III. Maritime Laws, Insurance, Average, Freight; Dock and Port Regulations; the Function of Consuls, &c. Lastly, A Comprehensive Digest of Custom-house Laws, with the Rate of various Duties of Import and Export, Drawbacks, Bounties; Dock and Tonnage Dues.

The work forms a full-sized quarto volume, printed with a small type and in double columns, in the usual form of an Encyclopædia, but with a larger page. Its order is alphabetical, and its articles have all the miscellaneous character of a dictionary. We extract as a specimen the first paragraph of one that is not altogether familiar to ordinary readers:

'*Bottomry* in commercial and maritime law is a marine contract in the nature of a mortgage, by which the owner of a ship borrows money in order to enable him to undertake an intended voyage, and pledges the keel of bottom of the ship, as a security for the re-payment.

'Contracts of this kind are constituted by bond or bill of bottomry, by virtue of which the vessel is charged with the payment of the sum borrowed, and with the premium or interest agreed upon, on her safe return home, after the completion of the voyage; but at the same time it is stipulated, that if she should happen to be lost during her voyage, the obligation for the repayment of the money shall cease and determine. And such contracts, however much the premium may exceed the legal rate of interest, are allowed to be valid in all trading nations, for the benefit of commerce, and on account of the extraordinary hazard run by the lender.'

The important head of *Exchange* is discussed at considerable length, and comprizes tabular statements of transactions of that description with Holland, Germany, Russia, and every commercial country in Europe: but it contains comparatively few observations on the principles of exchange, the causes of fluctuation, or the singular derangement that took place in our exchanges towards the close of the last war.

Weights; Measures, Monies. — These articles also abound in tabular statements, containing under their respective heads a comprehensive list of the weights, measures, and monies of the different countries of Europe: as well as of those parts of America, Asia, and Africa, with which we carry on commercial intercourse. With regard to *Shipping*, the information conveyed is full and explicit, as well under the leading title as under

under the collateral heads of *Freight, Master, Passengers, Pilot, Registry, Tonnage, Carriage of Goods by Water, Smuggling, Wreck,* &c. The particulars specified under *Pilotage* and *Registry* are very useful; and under the head of *Consul* will be found a sketch of the origin and functions of the guardians of our commerce in foreign ports.

The word *Company* occasions a notice at some length of the East India Company, and a much shorter account of the Turkey, Hudson's Bay, and Russian Companies. There are likewise articles on *Bank, Coin, Contracts, Freight;* and in the article of *Letters* is given a clear abstract of the laws relative to Postage.

Under the head of *Lloyd's* we have a brief sketch of the regulations of that great mercantile association, but no information respecting the mode of transacting insurance business. The remarks on this topic under the word *Insurance* are chiefly legal; and it may be observed, generally, that the extent of information communicated in this work is much greater concerning the law than on the practice of business; in consequence, doubtless, of the compilers having at command comparatively few printed authorities relative to the latter. Materials might, however, be found in abundance in the reports of parliamentary committees, and in communications from eminent merchants and manufacturers; so that we can not but regret that the authors did not feel themselves at liberty to extend their reports. Thus the important article of *Fisheries* is chiefly legal; containing an abstract of the principal acts of Parliament, but no historical sketch of the extension of our fisheries. In like manner, under the head of *Docks*, the West India, London, East India and Commercial docks are described in succession, but with a very brief notice of the extent of business transacted in these great repositories; the information given being confined to abstracts from the acts of Parliament relative to the docks.

Prices. — This head, which is limited to a few notices of prices of old date, we should gladly have seen extended, and made to contain tabular statements, founded on the authority of Sir George Shuckburgh, Arthur Young, and others, of the relative prices of the 17th and 18th centuries; followed by remarks on the effects of war in enhancing them; and on the much disputed question of the effects of bank-paper, and the generally exaggerated estimate of the operation of the American mines. Under *Interest and Usury* are given the different statutes relative to the limitation of the rate of interest, but no remarks on the expediency of removing such restrictions. Similar *desiderata* exist in the articles of *Funds, Loans, Cotton,*

Cotton, *Cotton Manufactures*, *Life Insurance*, and a variety of others. Under *Orders in Council*, we have a short account of the nature of such enactments, but unaccompanied by any comment on their commercial effects in the late war. Again, under such heads as *Salt*, *Silk*, *Sugar*, *Silver*, *Tea*, *Wool*, we have notices interesting to a certain degree, but too brief for the great importance of those articles to the productive industry of this country. On the whole, we are of opinion that the part relative to the practice of commerce might safely have been extended to twice its present length: but we must add that to this error on the side of brevity we find one striking exception; viz. the Custom-Laws and Regulations, the explanation of which occupies fully 180 quarto pages, and embraces Duties, Bounties, and Drawbacks in all their ramifications: which particulars are given in a long alphabetical list, comprizing almost every article or object of commerce, and are followed by very useful tables of dock-dues.

Law Articles. — These, as already remarked, are treated at much greater length than the practical or mercantile part, almost every page of the book presenting information derived from a legal source; as the reader may at once see by a reference to such heads as *Bankruptcy*, *Release*, *Guarantee*, *Lien*, *Licence*, *Partnership*, *Principal*, and *Agent*, each of which affords occasion for an analysis of the chief contents of the statute-book concerning them.

It often falls to the lot of reviewers to pass a censure on prolixity, but, if we except a very few articles, (such as *Innkeepers* and *Quarantine*,) the present volume affords no room for such animadversions. In fact, the writers have shewn much discrimination in rejecting second-rate matter, and in confining their work to that which is of general interest. Thus, in the case of so comprehensive an article as *London*, no attempt is made to give an account of the extent or population of the city, the explanations being confined to local privileges and customs.

The general fault of encyclopædiacal collections consists in following too closely the dictionary-form, instead of combining a number of second-rate articles under a general head, which may thus be made to assume the form of a continued treatise. The latter mode is to a certain degree practised in the present work, and we have only to regret that it was not carried farther. Among other arrangements for that purpose, the authors might have prefixed or added to the volume a few pages in the form of an index, containing the leading heads, such as *Shipping*, and enumerating the minor titles (*Freight*, *Average*, *Passengers*, *&c.*) under which the topics connected with it are respectively treated.

ART.

ART. X. *Bracebridge Hall;* or, the Humorists. By Geoffrey Crayon, Esq. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 4*s.* Boards. Murray. 1822.

GEOFFREY CRAYON is now so well known to our readers, and to the public at large, that he wants no introduction to them, nor any letters of recommendation. He has already "found favor at their hands," and has established his claim to their kind reception whenever he presents himself before them. Nevertheless, he chuses still to preserve the *travelling name* under which he has hitherto appeared, and on offering these volumes to our acceptance has thus introduced himself and them to our notice:

'Worthy Reader!—On again taking pen in hand, I would fain make a few observations at the outset, by way of bespeaking a right understanding. The volumes which I have already published have met with a reception far beyond my most sanguine expectations. I would willingly attribute this to their intrinsic merits; but, in spite of the vanity of authorship, I cannot but be sensible that their success has, in a great measure, been owing to a less flattering cause. It has been a matter of marvel, that a man from the wilds of America should express himself in tolerable English. I was looked upon as something new and strange in literature; a kind of demi-savage, with a feather in his hand, instead of on his head; and there was a curiosity to hear what such a being had to say about civilized society.

'This novelty is now at an end, and of course the feeling of indulgence which it produced. I must now expect to bear the scrutiny of sterner criticism, and to be measured by the same standard with contemporary writers; and the very favour which has been shown to my previous writings, will cause these to be treated with the greater rigour; as there is nothing for which the world is apt to punish a man more severely, than for having been over-praised. On this head, therefore, I wish to forestall the censoriousness of the reader; and I entreat he will not think the worse of me for the many injudicious things that may have been said in my commendation.'

He must, indeed, be a churl who can read the preliminary chapter of Bracebridge Hall without perceiving, at the close of it, that his good feelings are already bespoken: there is a something in the appeal which is irresistible. A young man of lively imagination, warm affections, and a poetical cast of mind,—romantic, inquisitive, and observant,—is born and brought up in a new country, which possesses no remains of antient art, nor any very splendid specimens of modern skill: but he is educated in the literature of an old nation, whose historians have recorded the noble achievements that were there accomplished in antient days, and whose poets have brought before his fancy the feudal castle and the monastic abbey.

Having

Having in his boyhood associated with the name of England all that is heroic in warfare, venerable in religion, classical in literature, superb in art, and wonderful in science, he leaves his native land, and sails to this, — the capital of the world. He arrives, and

> " Towers and battlements he sees,
> Bosomed high in tufted trees;"

and all that painting, poetry, and romance had pictured to his imagination is presented to his view in faithful reality. His 'Sketch-Book' is made the repository of every thing that strikes him as beautiful, picturesque, and peculiar: he takes the outline with a rapid pencil, and finishes the drawing at leisure. It thus happens that some of our countrymen are now perhaps indebted to a foreigner, — though we do not like the use of this word towards an American, sprung from our own loins and speaking the same language with ourselves, — for exhibiting to them certain of their national peculiarities and customs, which had escaped their own remark: in the same manner as many fine ladies and dandy gentlemen at the west end of the town, who never soiled a shoe on the east side of Temple Bar, and whose character for fashion would be ruined if they were seen on London Bridge or at the India Docks, are at last reluctantly dragged, by the prying curiosity of some friends from the country, to pay a visit to St. Paul's and the Tower, and even to take a peep, *incog.*, at the "tall bully" on Fish-street Hill.—Mr. Irving has indeed 'forestalled the censoriousness' of his readers: but we cannot think so ill of them as to suppose that they would visit the sins of the critic on the head of the author, even admitting that the former, albeit unused to the flattering mood, should have bestowed on him any injudicious commendation. He is not unconscious of his present elevation in the region of literature: but he must be cautious: we greatly doubt whether he has strength of pinion to soar higher: he is evidently fluttering his wings without rising; and perhaps it would be better to repose awhile, and renovate his strength, than flutter till he flags.

The readers of "The Sketch Book" will probably recollect something of the Bracebridge family, and the Christmas festivities which Geoffrey Crayon so happily described. He is now on another visit to the Hall, having been invited to a wedding which is soon to take place; the squire's second son, Guy, a fine, spirited, young captain in the army, being about to be married to his father's ward, the fair Julia Templeton. 'A gathering of relations and friends has already commenced

to celebrate the joyful occasion, for the old gentleman is an enemy to private weddings: there is nothing, says he, like launching a young couple gaily, and cheering them from the shore: a good outset is half the voyage.' As all the preliminaries, however, have been settled, the determined novel-reader will perhaps yawn at the insipidity of a plotless courtship: for here are no jealousies excited, no perfidious hopes fed, no stolen kisses or clandestine meetings, and no accidents, except that Julia is thrown from her horse as she is pursuing the dangerous sport of hawking, and thus a convenient delay of the nuptials is become necessary: — to which delay we are indebted for the history of the heroes of the village as well as of the Hall, — the parson, the schoolmaster, the politician, the champion, and the old soldier, — the sports of May-day, and the prophetic palmistry of the black-eyed gipsy.

In perusing the descriptions of Mr. Irving, we feel as when listening to a piece of music, or inhaling the fragrance of a flower-bed: it is almost a sensual gratification, transitory and unimpressive: so the concert closes, and the flower-bed fades, and we forget the harmony of the one and the odor of the other. Mr. Irving very rarely makes an appeal to the feelings: description, pure description, is his forte, and we must confess our good opinion of his powers. We find, indeed, a very frequent recurrence of imagery, somewhat diversified, though essentially the same: as a skilful composer will take a popular air, preserve it through an endless succession of variations, each rising in complexity above the other, and return by a few happy *da capos* to the original melody. Perhaps we are getting old, — and less sensible to the superficial beauties of mere description, for with us they die on the ear and sink no deeper: but this is a matter of taste, and about taste we may not dispute.

The chapters on *Forest Trees* in vol. i., and on *Country Gentlemen* in vol. ii., contain such good delineations of the manners, habits, and feelings, of the real old English Country Squire, and such sensible observations on the utility of that character when rightly sustained, that we must submit portions of them to our readers; only regretting that we have not space for the whole. We place the latter chapter first, as more properly introductory of the personages.

'I take great pleasure in accompanying the squire in his perambulations about his estate, in which he is often attended by a kind of cabinet council. His prime minister, the steward, is a very worthy and honest old man, that assumes a right of way; that is to say, a right to have his own way, from having lived time out

out of mind on the place. He loves the estate even better than he does the squire; and thwarts the latter sadly in many of his projects of improvement, being a little prone to disapprove of every plan that does not originate with himself.

'In the course of one of these perambulations, I have known the squire to point out some important alteration which he was contemplating, in the disposition or cultivation of the grounds; this of course would be opposed by the steward, and a long argument would ensue over a stile, or on a rising piece of ground; until the squire, who has a high opinion of the other's ability and integrity, would be fain to give up the point. This concession, I observed, would immediately mollify the old man, and, after walking over a field or two in silence, with his hands behind his back, chewing the cud of reflection, he would suddenly turn to the squire and observe, that "he had been turning the matter over in his mind, and, upon the whole, he believed he would take his honor's advice."

'Christy, the huntsman *, is another of the squire's occasional attendants, to whom he continually refers in all matters of local history, as to a chronicle of the estate, having, in a manner, been acquainted with many of the trees, from the very time that they were acorns. Old Nimrod is rather pragmatical in those points of knowledge on which he values himself; but the squire rarely contradicts him, and is, in fact, one of the most indulgent potentates that ever was hen-pecked by his ministry.

'He often laughs about it himself, and evidently yields to these old men more from the bent of his own humour, than from any want of proper authority. He likes this honest independence of

* From the chapter on *Horsemanship*, in vol. i., we insert here a little farther sketch of this important personage.

'His crabbed humour is a source of much entertainment among the young men of the family; the Oxonian, particularly, takes a mischievous pleasure now and then in slyly rubbing the old man against the grain, and then smoothing him down again; for the old fellow is as ready to bristle up his back as a porcupine. He rides a venerable hunter called Pepper, which is a counterpart of himself, a heady, cross-grained animal, that frets the flesh off its bones; bites, kicks, and plays all manner of villanous tricks. He is as tough, and nearly as old as his rider, who has ridden him time out of mind, and is, indeed, the only one that can do any thing with him. Sometimes, however, they have a complete quarrel, and a dispute for mastery, and then, I am told, it is as good as a farce to see the heat they both get into, and the wrongheaded contest that ensues; for they are quite knowing in each other's ways, and in the art of teasing and fretting each other. Notwithstanding these doughty brawls, however, there is nothing that nettles old Christy sooner than to question the merits of his horse; which he upholds as tenaciously as a faithful husband will vindicate the virtues of the termagant spouse, that gives him a curtain lecture every night of his life.'

old age, and is well aware that these trusty followers love and honour him in their hearts. He is perfectly at ease about his own dignity and the respect of those around him; nothing disgusts him sooner than any appearance of fawning or sycophancy.

'I really have seen no display of royal state that could compare with one of the squire's progresses about his paternal fields and through his hereditary woodlands, with several of these faithful adherents about him, and followed by a body-guard of dogs. He encourages a frankness and manliness of deportment among his dependents, and is the personal friend of his tenants; inquiring into their concerns, and assisting them in times of difficulty and hardship. This has rendered him one of the most popular, and of course one of the happiest of landlords.

'Indeed, I do not know a more enviable condition of life, than that of an English gentleman, of sound judgment and good feelings, who passes the greater part of his time on an hereditary estate in the country. From the excellence of the roads and the rapidity and exactness of the public conveyances, he is enabled to command all the comforts and conveniences, all the intelligence and novelties of the capital, while he is removed from its hurry and distraction. He has ample means of occupation and amusement within his own domains; he may diversify his time by rural occupations, by rural sports, by study, and by the delights of friendly society collected within his own hospitable halls.

'Or if his views and feelings are of a more extensive and liberal nature, he has it greatly in his power to do good, and to have that good immediately reflected back upon himself. He can render essential service to his country, by assisting in the disinterested administration of the laws; by watching over the opinions and principles of the lower orders around him; by diffusing among them those lights which may be important to their welfare; by mingling frankly among them, gaining their confidence, becoming the immediate auditor of their complaints, informing himself of their wants, making himself a channel through which their grievances may be quietly communicated to the proper sources of mitigation and relief; or by becoming, if need be, the intrepid and incorruptible guardian of their liberties — the enlightened champion of their rights.

'All this, it appears to me, can be done without any sacrifice of personal dignity, without any degrading arts of popularity, without any truckling to vulgar prejudices, or concurrence in vulgar clamour; but by the steady influence of sincere and friendly counsel, of fair, upright, and generous deportment. Whatever may be said of English mobs and English demagogues, I have never met with a people more open to reason, more considerate in their tempers, more tractable by argument in the roughest times than the English. They are remarkably quick at discerning and appreciating whatever is manly and honourable. They are by nature and habit methodical and orderly; and they feel the value of all that is regular and respectable. They may occasionally be deceived by sophistry, and excited into turbulence by public distresses and the

the misrepresentations of designing men; but open their eyes, and they will eventually rally round the land-marks of steady truth and deliberate good sense. They are fond of established customs, they are fond of long established names, and that love of order and quiet which characterises the nation gives a vast influence to the descendants of the old families, whose forefathers have been lords of the soil from time immemorial.

'It is when the rich and well-educated and highly privileged classes neglect their duties, when they neglect to study the interests, and conciliate the affections, and instruct the opinions and champion the rights of the people, that the latter become discontented and turbulent, and fall into the hands of demagogues: the demagogue always steps in where the patriot is wanting.'

'One of the favourite themes of boasting with the squire is the noble trees on his estate, which, in truth, has some of the finest that I have seen in England. There is something august and solemn in the great avenues of stately oaks that gather their branches together high in air, and seem to reduce the pedestrians beneath them to mere pigmies. "An avenue of oaks or elms," the squire observes, "is the true colonnade that should lead to a gentleman's house. As to stone and marble, any one can rear them at once, they are the work of the day; but commend me to the colonnades that have grown old and great with the family, and tell by their grandeur how long the family has endured."

'The squire has great reverence for certain venerable trees, gray with moss, which he considers as the ancient nobility of his domain. There is the ruin of an enormous oak, which has been so much battered by time and tempest, that scarce any thing is left; though he says Christy recollects when, in his boyhood, it was healthy and flourishing, until it was struck by lightning. It is now a mere trunk, with one twisted bough stretching up into the air, leaving a green branch at the end of it. This sturdy wreck is much valued by the squire; he calls it his standard-bearer, and compares it to a veteran warrior beaten down in battle, but bearing up his banner to the last. He has actually had a fence built round it, to protect it as much as possible from further injury.

'It is with great difficulty that the squire can ever be brought to have any tree cut down on his estate. To some he looks with reverence, as having been planted by his ancestors; to others with a kind of paternal affection, as having been planted by himself; and he feels a degree of awe in bringing down with a few strokes of the axe, what it has cost centuries to build up. I confess I cannot but sympathize, in some degree, with the good squire on the subject. Though brought up in a country overrun with forests, where trees are apt to be considered mere incumbrances, and to be laid low without hesitation or remorse, yet I could never see a fine tree hewn down without concern. The poets, who are naturally lovers of trees, as they are of every thing that is beautiful, have artfully awakened great interest in their

favour, by representing them as the habitations of sylvan deities; insomuch that every great tree had its tutelar genius, or a nymph, whose existence was limited to its duration.' —

'I have paused more than once in the wilderness of America, to contemplate the traces of some blast of wind, which seemed to have rushed down from the clouds, and ripped its way through the bosom of the woodlands; rooting up, shivering and splintering the stoutest trees, and leaving a long track of desolation. There was something awful in the vast havoc made among these gigantic plants; and in considering their magnificent remains, so rudely torn and mangled, and hurled down to perish prematurely on their native soil, I was conscious of a strong movement of the sympathy expressed by Evelyn in his *Sylva*. I recollect, also, hearing a traveller, of poetical temperament, expressing the kind of horror which he felt on beholding, on the banks of the Missouri, an oak of prodigious size, which had been, in a manner, overpowered by an enormous wild grape-vine. The vine had clasped its huge folds round the trunk, and from thence had wound about every branch and twig, until the mighty tree had withered in its embrace. It seemed like Laocoon struggling ineffectually in the hideous coils of the monster Python. It was the lion of trees perishing in the embraces of a vegetable boa.

'I am fond of listening to the conversation of English gentlemen on rural concerns, and of noticing with what taste and discrimination, and what strong, unaffected interest they will discuss topics, which in other countries are abandoned to mere woodmen, or rustic cultivators. I have heard a noble earl descant on park and forest scenery with the science and feeling of a painter. He dwelt on the shape and beauty of particular trees on his estate, with as much pride and technical precision as though he had been discussing the merits of statues in his collection. I found that he had even gone considerable distances to examine trees which were celebrated among rural amateurs; for it seems that trees, like horses, have their established points of excellence; and that there are some in England which enjoy very extensive celebrity among tree-fanciers from being perfect in their kind.

'There is something nobly simple and pure in such a taste: it argues, I think, a sweet and generous nature, to have this strong relish for the beauties of vegetation, and this friendship for the hardy and glorious sons of the forest. There is a grandeur of thought connected with this part of rural economy. It is, if I may be allowed the figure, the heroic line of husbandry. It is worthy of liberal, and freeborn, and aspiring men. He who plants an oak looks forward to future ages, and plants for posterity. Nothing can be less selfish than this. He cannot expect to sit in its shade, nor enjoy its shelter; but he exults in the idea, that the acorn which he has buried in the earth shall grow up into a lofty pile, and shall keep on flourishing, and increasing, and benefiting mankind, long after he shall have ceased to tread his paternal fields. Indeed it is the nature of such occupations to lift the thoughts above mere worldliness. As the leaves of trees are said

to

to absorb all noxious qualities of the air, and to breathe forth a purer atmosphere, so it seems to me as if they drew from us all sordid and angry passions, and breathed forth peace and philanthropy. There is a serene and settled majesty in woodland scenery, that enters into the soul, and dilates and elevates it, and fills it with noble inclinations. The ancient and hereditary groves, too, that embower this island, are most of them full of story. They are haunted by the recollections of great spirits of past ages, who have sought for relaxation among them from the tumult of arms, or the toils of state, or have wooed the muse beneath their shade. Who can walk, with soul unmoved, among the stately groves of Penshurst, where the gallant, the amiable, the elegant Sir Philip Sidney passed his boyhood; or can look without fondness upon the tree that is said to have been planted on his birthday; or can ramble among the classic bowers of Hagley; or can pause among the solitudes of Windsor Forest, and look at the oaks around, huge, gray, and time-worn, like the old castle towers, and not feel as if he were surrounded by so many monuments of long-enduring glory? It is, when viewed in this light, that planted groves, and stately avenues, and cultivated parks, have an advantage over the more luxuriant beauties of unassisted nature. It is that they teem with moral associations, and keep up the ever-interesting story of human existence.'

The characters of the different actors in the scenes at Bracebridge Hall are throughout well represented; and we wish that we had room, in particular, for that of 'Ready Money Jack Tibbets:' but we have already been very free in quotation, and must leave a few pages for the episodical stories in this work, which are perhaps the best parts of it. 'Annette Delarbre' is a pretty little tale, reminding us of the simple rustic stories of Marmontel; and 'Dolph Heyliger' is fitted for a winter's night, when the candle is burning blue into the socket, and the wood-embers are fast expiring: — that is the time for ghosts and hobgoblins, haunted houses, and phantom-ships sailing in the moon-beams. The 'Student of Salamanca,' however, will charm more readers than any of the rest, since it is in Mr. Irving's best style, and his descriptive powers are here exerted with the happiest success; — for wildness of incident, and profusion of imagery, it would not have discredited Wieland himself.

"Once upon a time," in the antient city of Grenada, there sojourned a young man of the name of Antonio de Castros, who wore the garb of a Student of Salamanca, and was pursuing a course of reading in the library of the University; at intervals, also, examining the remains which abound in that neighbourhood of Moorish magnificence. Among the habitual visitors at the library, was an old man of singular appearance; his pale and thoughtful countenance, his loneliness, his absorp-

tion in the study of antient books and manuscripts, and his lean and withered figure, covered with a rusty, thread-bare doublet, excited the curiosity of Antonio; who could obtain no other information concerning him than that his reading lay chiefly among Arabian manuscripts, and works treating of the occult sciences. In the course of his rambles among the mouldering piles of Moorish power and splendor, the great court of the Lion, and the deserted halls of the Alhambra, Antonio more than once encountered the old man of the library, studying to decypher those half-buried inscriptions which are occasionally found among the ruins, and "seem to murmur from the earth the tale of former greatness." The gloom of evening at last favored his desire to discover the habitation of this mysterious stranger by following his footsteps; and it seemed to be the wing or fragment of a solitary mansion among the hills, at no great distance from the banks of the Darro. The old man knocked at the portal, when immediately a light, at a small window just above it, exhibited the features of a lovely and delicate damsel, who opened the door for his admission, and instantly closed it. There was something in this sudden glance of beauty that wonderfully struck the imagination of the student: 'it was like a brilliant flashing from its dark casket;' and he sauntered about the gloomy pile till his attention was attracted by a few wild notes of music which came from a groupe of Gitanas, a gipsy race, living in hovels and in caves of the hills about the neighbourhood of Grenada. He endeavored to obtain of them some information about the building and its inhabitants, but could learn only that the country-people were not fond of passing near the tower at night, because it was believed that the old man was a practitioner in the black art. Antonio directed his steps to the tower on the following day, and obtained another transitory glance of the fair female, as she stretched her white arm to water a few flowers which stood on one of the window-stones. Night after night he renewed these idle vigils to catch the flittings of a phantom: when the sound of approaching footsteps one evening made him withdraw into the shadow of a ruined arch-way, whence he observed the approach of a cavalier wrapped in a large Spanish cloak, who paused under the envied window, and began a serenade accompanied by his guitar. It was some consolation to Antonio to observe that the tenderest airs were unheeded, or rather rejected, for the light at the window was extinguished at their sound, and the disappointed cavalier retired. Not so the spell-bound student, who was still lingering about the building, when suddenly a dazzling glare shone through

through the casement, followed by a loud report, and a figure appeared before the window uttering shrieks of agony, while a body of smoke and flame issued from the aperture. Antonio instantly rushed towards the door, and burst it open. In the vaulted hall he found two females in a frantic state of alarm; and one of them, clasping her hands, implored him to save her father, who was found bleeding and almost lifeless on the floor of a small chamber, surrounded by the fragments of a chemical apparatus. The bursting of a retort, and the ignition of innumerable combustibles, had so enveloped the feeble Alchymist in their noxious vapors, that, but for the instant assistance of Antonio, he would have fallen a victim to the accident. By slow degrees, however, he came to his senses, and the fine black eyes of the lovely Inez proclaimed with unutterable eloquence her gratitude to the stranger.

Antonio now found himself a welcome guest in this mysterious mansion of Felix de Vasques, whose whole life had been passed in the study of astrology and the pursuit of the philosopher's stone. How far any interest excited by his daughter might influence Antonio is matter of surmise: but certainly he took such delight in the profound speculations of the Alchymist, as even to offer his assistance in exploring the precious secrets which absorbed all the powers of the old man's mind, and had grievously reduced the ducats of his purse. The student thus became a privileged visitor, and was indefatigable in the toils of the laboratory; which by the accident was strewn with the wrecks of retorts and alembics, old crucibles, boxes, phials of powders and tinctures, and half-burnt books and manuscripts. Inez was not the last object of his solicitude; and when the sound of her lute, accompanied by the soft notes of her voice, saluted his ear in the stillness of evening, it may be supposed that the abstractions of the young philosopher were somewhat invaded by the palpitations of the lover. One evening, as the Alchymist and his noviciate were inhaling the balmy air of the garden, and gazing in silent reverie on the vault of heaven, the latter, attracted by the sound of music, turned his eye towards a copse, where he saw his unknown serenading rival at the feet of Inez, detaining her hand within the grasp of his own, and covering it with kisses. At the sight of Antonio, he started up, and half drew his sword; while Inez, disengaged, fled back to the house. The wretchedness of Antonio, at this discovery of duplicity in one whom he had believed to be so pure and artless, drove him almost to distraction, and he resolved to tear himself from Grenada; the dream of alchymy was over, and faded with the faithless Inez.

Before

Before he had summoned courage to execute this design, however, it chanced one night as he was returning to his lodgings, that he passed in a shadowy part of the road a person whom he recognized as the unknown Cavalier, going in the direction of the tower with a companion. Antonio watched them at a short distance. As they approached the building, the Cavalier took a dark lantern and threw off his cloak, while his companion brought a ladder from a clump of trees, and placed it against the wall, immediately under the chamber of Inez: the curtain of the window was drawn, but the casement was open, and a light was burning in her chamber. Antonio saw his rival ascend the ladder, and heard a stifled shriek from within: at a blow he laid prostrate the fellow who stood at the foot of the ladder, wrested from him his stiletto, hurried up the ladder, sprang in at the window, and found Inez struggling in the grasp of her ravisher. A conflict ensued, in which Antonio was wounded, and his antagonist escaped. A double interest was now excited in his favor; and the student, recovering under the soft attentions of Inez, was relieved from his jealousy by the assurance that her daring persecutor had clandestinely invaded her solitude to plead his insulting passion. Don Ambrosio de Loxa, indeed, was one of the most determined and dangerous libertines in all Grenada; artful, accomplished, and insinuating in his manners; headlong in the pursuit of his pleasures; violent and implacable in his resentments. Antonio, therefore, foreseeing that he would execute some deep revenge for the disappointment which he had sustained, urged his apprehensions to the Alchymist and his daughter, and persuaded them to exchange the dangerous vicinity of Grenada for the greater security of Valentia. To recruit his strength, the student suspended his toils in the laboratory; and before their departure from Grenada he spent a few days in perambulating the romantic hills of the neighbourhood, Inez being often the companion of his walks:

'In one of their evening strolls, they had ascended to the mountain of the Sun, where is situated the Generaliffe, the palace of pleasure in the days of Moorish dominion, but now a gloomy convent of capuchins. They had wandered about its garden, among groves of orange, citron, and cypress, where the waters, leaping in torrents, or gushing in fountains, or tossed aloft in sparkling jets, fill the air with music and freshness. There is a melancholy mingled with all the beauties of this garden, that gradually stole over the feelings of the lovers. The place is full of the sad story of past times. It was the favourite abode of the lovely queen of Grenada, where she was surrounded by the delights of a gay and voluptuous court. It was here, too, amidst her

her own bowers of roses, that her slanderers laid the base story of her dishonour, and struck a fatal blow to the line of the gallant Abencerrages.

'The whole garden has a look of ruin and neglect. Many of the fountains are dry and broken; the streams have wandered from their marble channels, and are choked by weeds and yellow leaves. The reed whistles to the wind where it had once sported among roses, and shaken perfume from the orange blossom. The convent bell flings its sullen sound, or the drowsy vesper hymn floats along these solitudes, which once resounded with the song, and the dance, and the lover's serenade. Well may the Moors lament over the loss of this earthly paradise; well may they remember it in their prayers, and beseech heaven to restore it to the faithful; well may their ambassadors smite their breasts when they behold these monuments of their race, and sit down and weep among the fading glories of Grenada!

'It is impossible to wander about these scenes of departed love and gaiety, and not feel the tenderness of the heart awakened. It was then that Antonio first ventured to breathe his passion, and to express by words what his eyes had long since so eloquently revealed. He made his avowal with fervour, but with frankness. He had no gay prospects to hold out: he was a poor scholar, dependent on his "good spirits to feed and clothe him." But a woman in love is no interested calculator. Inez listened to him with downcast eyes, but in them was a humid gleam that showed her heart was with him. She had no prudery in her nature; and she had not been sufficiently in society to acquire it. She loved him with all the absence of worldliness of a genuine woman; and, amidst timid smiles and blushes, he drew from her a modest acknowledgment of her affection.

'They wandered about the garden with that sweet intoxication of the soul which none but happy lovers know. The world about them was all fairy land; and, indeed, it spread forth one of its fairest scenes before their eyes, as if to fulfil their dream of earthly happiness. They looked out from between groves of orange upon the towers of Grenada below them; the magnificent plain of the Vega beyond, streaked with evening sunshine, and the distant hills tinted with rosy and purple hues; it seemed an emblem of the happy future that love and hope was decking out for them.

'As if to make the scene complete, a group of Andalusians struck up a dance, in one of the vistas of the garden, to the guitars of two wandering musicians. The Spanish music is wild and plaintive, yet the people dance to it with spirit and enthusiasm. The picturesque figures of the dancers; the girls with their hair in silken nets that hung in knots and tassels down their backs, their mantillas floating round their graceful forms, their slender feet peeping from under their basquinas, their arms tossed up in the air to play the castanets, had a beautiful effect on this airy height, with the rich evening landscape spreading out below them.

'When the dance was ended, two of the parties approached Antonio and Inez; one of them began a soft and tender Moorish ballad,

ballad, accompanied by the other on the lute. It alluded to the story of the garden, the wrongs of the fair queen of Grenada, and the misfortunes of the Abencerrages. It was one of those old ballads that abound in this part of Spain, and live, like echoes, about the ruins of Moorish greatness. The heart of Inez was at that moment open to every tender impression; the tears rose into her eyes as she listened to the tale. The singer approached nearer to her; she was striking in her appearance; young, beautiful, with a mixture of wildness and melancholy in her fine black eyes. She fixed them mournfully and expressively on Inez, and suddenly varying her manner, sang another ballad, which treated of impending danger and treachery. All this might have passed for a mere accidental caprice of the singer, had there not been something in her look, manner, and gesticulation, that made it pointed and startling.'

The meditated mischief was too soon put in execution: Antonio had taken his leave of Inez for the night, and was returning to his lodgings when he found himself suddenly surrounded by armed men; one of whom threw a mantle over him that stifled his cries and enveloped him in its folds, and he was hurried off with irresistible rapidity. The ground being thus cleared of her vigilant and courageous lover, it was no difficult matter for a nobleman of such rank and opulence as Ambrosio de Loxa to engage the familiars of the most Holy Inquisition in securing the person of the poor Alchymist, as one who was engaged in dangerous and forbidden pursuits, and employing the agency of the spirits of another world. He was accordingly plunged into the dungeons of that tribunal, and the fainting Inez was conducted to the voluptuous palace of the monster who sought her destruction.

'The apartments were furnished in the most sumptuous and voluptuous manner; the silken couches swelled to the touch, and sunk in downy softness beneath the slightest pressure. The paintings and statues all told some classic tale of love, managed, however, with an insidious delicacy; which, while it banished the grossness that might disgust, was the more calculated to excite the imagination. There the blooming Adonis was seen, not breaking away to pursue the boisterous chase, but crowned with flowers, and languishing in the embraces of celestial beauty. There Acis wooed his Galatea in the shade, with the Sicilian sea spreading in halcyon serenity before them. There were depicted groups of fawns and dryads, fondly reclining in summer bowers, and listening to the liquid piping of the reed; or the wanton satyrs surprising some wood-nymph during her noontide slumber. There, too, on the storied tapestry, might be seen the chaste Diana, stealing, in the mystery of moonlight, to kiss the sleeping Endymion; while Cupid and Psyche, entwined in immortal marble, breathed on each other's lips the early kiss of love.

'The

'The ardent rays of the sun were excluded from these balmy halls; soft and tender music from unseen musicians floated around, seeming to mingle with the perfumes that were exhaled from a thousand flowers. At night, when the moon shed a fairy light over the scene, the tender serenade would rise from among the bowers of the garden, in which the fine voice of Don Ambrosio might often be distinguished; or the amorous flute would be heard along the mountain, breathing in its pensive cadences the very soul of a lover's melancholy.

'Various entertainments were also devised to dispel her loneliness, and to charm away the idea of confinement. Groups of Andalusian dancers performed, in the splendid saloons, the various picturesque dances of their country; or represented little amorous ballets, which turned upon some pleasing scene of pastoral coquetry and courtship. Sometimes there were bands of singers, who, to the romantic guitar, warbled forth ditties full of passion and tenderness.

'Thus all about her enticed to pleasure and voluptuousness; but the heart of Inez turned with distaste from this idle mockery. The tears would rush into her eyes as her thoughts reverted from this scene of profligate splendour, to the humble but virtuous home from whence she had been betrayed; or if the witching power of music ever soothed her into a tender reverie, it was to dwell with fondness on the image of Antonio. But if Don Ambrosio, deceived by this transient calm, should attempt at such time to whisper his passion, she would start as from a dream, and recoil from him with involuntary shuddering.

'She had passed one long day of more than ordinary sadness, and in the evening a band of these hired performers were exerting all the animating powers of song and dance to amuse her. But while the lofty saloon resounded with their warblings, and the light sound of feet upon its marble pavement kept time to the cadence of the song, poor Inez, with her face buried in the silken couch on which she reclined, was only rendered more wretched by the sound of gaiety.

'At length her attention was caught by the voice of one of the singers, that brought with it some indefinite recollections. She raised her head, and cast an anxious look at the performers, who, as usual, were at the lower end of the saloon. One of them advanced a little before the others. It was a female, dressed in a fanciful, pastoral garb, suited to the character she was sustaining; but her countenance was not to be mistaken. It was the same ballad-singer that had twice crossed her path, and given her mysterious intimations of the lurking mischief that surrounded her. When the rest of the performances were concluded, she seized a tambourine, and tossing it aloft, danced alone to the melody of her own voice. In the course of her dancing she approached to where Inez reclined; and as she struck the tambourine, contrived, dexterously, to throw a folded paper on the couch. Inez seized it with avidity, and concealed it in her bosom. The singing and dancing were at an end; the motley crew retired; and Inez, left alone,

alone, hastened with anxiety to unfold the paper thus mysteriously conveyed. It was written in an agitated, and almost illegible, hand-writing; "Be on your guard! you are surrounded by treachery. Trust not to the forbearance of Don Ambrosio; you are marked out for his prey. An humble victim to his perfidy gives you this warning; she is encompassed by too many dangers to be more explicit.— Your father is in the dungeons of the inquisition!"'

We have sketched thus much of the story of 'the Student of Salamanca,' in order to introduce a few specimens of the descriptive powers of Mr. Irving, which our readers will probably agree with us are very considerable. To pursue the tale would lead us too far, and tempt us, perhaps, to cull more flowers and steal more spices than honesty allows. Lest any love-sick youth, however, or tender-hearted maiden, should upbraid us with want of feeling in thus exciting an interest in the fate of Inez, and disappointing it at the most critical juncture, we are glad to relieve their anxiety by assuring them that the story terminates very happily; — and so here we take our leave.

ART. XI. *Transactions of the Association of Fellows and Licentiates of the King's and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland.* Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 602. 16*s*. Boards. Dublin, Cumming; London, Longman and Co.

WE have much pleasure in now presenting to our readers a second volume of these Transactions, and we congratulate the members of the association on the increasing value of their labors as they proceed. To each of the papers here communicated we shall briefly advert.

Case of the Operation of Paracentesis of the Thorax. By Dr. N. Archer. — Eleven pints of an inodorous whey-like fluid were drawn off, mixed with a few solid masses; which latter, the author says, were discovered to be small branches of the bronchia in a shrivelled decayed state: but is it not more probable that they were portions of coagulable lymph, effused into the cavity of the pleura? The opening into the cavity of the chest continued to discharge for four months: but the patient ultimately gained strength, and enjoyed tolerably good health for three years. We are not told, however, in what state he was when the account was published. The following extraordinary explanation of the case is offered by Dr. A.:

'It is probable, that an ulceration of the external pleura had taken place, and that a small lymphatic had been included in this ulceration,

ulceration, which gradually oozing its lymph into the right cavity of the chest, occasioned a gradual compression of the lungs; which, in the course of the progress of the disease, must have been compressed into a very contracted space. It would appear too, as if the lungs themselves were free from ulceration, as he had but little cough, and but very little expectoration, which was perfectly mucous, and not approaching to the nature of the fluid drawn off.'

Effusion into the chest arising from erosion of a lymphatic vessel! That the lungs were themselves free from ulceration, we have no doubt: but what, then, becomes of the previous supposition of the author, that the small masses discharged through the canula in the operation were decayed portions of the bronchia? We beg to ask in what way the vacuity left in the chest by drawing off the fluid was filled up? Is it possible that the compressed lung could have expanded sufficiently for this purpose?

Two Cases of Fatal Constipation of the Bowels. By Dr. W. Stoker. — The disease arose from a schirro-contracted rectum.

Case of ruptured Uterus. By Dr. C. Frizel. — In his introductory remarks, Dr. F. states the proportion of cases of rupture of the uterus, during parturition, as about 1 in 940. The present case is then perspicuously detailed, and it impresses us with a very favorable opinion of the author's professional abilities. He found great difficulty in preventing the escape of the intestines through the wound, but at length succeeded by causing the edge of it to overlap the other. The woman happily recovered, has since had another child, and was in good health when the paper was drawn up.

Case of unusual Termination of Psoas Abscess. By Dr. S. Wilmot. — The subject of this report was affected with a tumour at the upper part of the left thigh, which both Dr. Wilmot and Dr. Stoker considered as psoas abscess; and which seems, indeed, to have possessed sufficiently the characters of that disease. After the interval of nearly a year, the tumour was found to be much increased in size, measuring nearly 14 inches in circumference at the base, and seven inches from the base to the apex. No sense of fluctuation was now perceptible, but it was elastic, and felt as if filled with air. By pressure, the swelling was made to recede into the abdomen: and when such pressure was no longer applied, it became again distended to its usual size, although the patient was laid in a horizontal position. The tumour was completely removed in seven weeks by means of pressure, strong astringent lotions, and the application of a truss. Dr. W. supposes that

that the purulent effusion had in this case been absorbed, and that the vessels which formerly secreted that fluid had afterward acquired the property of secreting air. The paper is accompanied by a drawing of the tumour.

On Apoplexia Cephalica. By Dr. W. Stoker. — Dr. S. proposes to divide *Apoplexia Hydrocephalica* of Cullen into two species, *Apoplexia Cephalitica*, and *Apoplexia Hydrocephalica*, designating by the former the early stage of what is usually termed acute hydrocephalus; and he proceeds to detail two cases, in which this disease existed. One of these proved fatal, but no effusion or disorganization of the parts within the skull could be detected: the other was successfully treated, and the patient recovered. In this latter instance, benefit seems to have been derived from the use of a strong infusion of green tea; and a case of typhus is afterward shortly noticed, in which marked relief in a comatose state and vomiting was obtained from the same beverage: — yet green tea is itself emetic. The treatment of the favorable case of acute hydrocephalus evinces promptitude and ability.

An Essay on Dreaming, including Conjectures on the proximate Cause of Sleep. By A. Carmichael, M. R. I. A. &c. — The writer commences this paper by considering in succession the different theories of dreaming which have been advanced by modern metaphysicians; and he declares himself dissatisfied with all of them. That they are liable to objections and difficulties we readily admit, but we fear that the theory of Mr. C., however ingenious, is not free from similar imperfections. Sleep has by many writers been considered merely as a state of repose, produced by exhaustion: but he goes farther, and supposes that it is occasioned by the assimilating process.

'The new particles have never been exercised in any mode of thinking. They can differ but little on their first arrival, from so many foreign bodies of equal dimensions; and is it surprising, that the oppression occasioned by their deposition should be felt throughout the delicate volume of the brain, until they are perfectly assimilated with the other particles, and fitted like them for mental operations? — a result which may, perhaps, in some measure, be effected by the very sleep which they induce.'

Thus, if we may be permitted to borrow the phraseology of the material psychologist, as soon as any attempt is made to repair and rebuild the intimate structure of the brain, it ceases to secrete thoughts. Nothing can be more true than that long and intense exercise of the mind impedes nutrition, and produces emaciation and debility of the bodily frame: but we cannot admit that the converse of the proposition is correct,

correct, and that the processes set up to rebuild the c
ations of the cerebral structure arrest the flow of though
induce a state of sleep. We have no evidence, as the au
himself admits, that assimilation is not constantly going on
all parts of the frame. The tide of blood is incessantly
coursing through every portion of the body, and the absorbent
vessels are as unceasingly pouring into that tide their supplies
of fresh nutriment and decayed particles: therefore, we
would ask, why is the deposition of new matter to be delayed
during our waking hours, and vacuities filled up only while
we are wrapt in sleep? The apparatus of life, the heart, and
other organs, are, as Mr. C. acknowleges, in uninterrupted ac-
tivity during existence, yet the waste of their structure is as re-
gularly and constantly supplied as the waste of any other
part of the frame. To explain this fact, as he has done, by
asserting that their nutrition takes place during the minute in-
tervals of their action, is to furnish materials for the over-
throw of his theory; for in like manner might the brain be
repaired, during the brief intervals that occur in the progress
of thought. If the repairing of the waste of the brain
throws us into a state of sleep, how is it that we awake? Does a
glare of light flashing on the face, or a loud sound striking the
membrane of the tympanum, put an instant stop to the process
of assimilation? or do these circumstances only prove suf-
ficient to rouse the senses, which would have remained unin-
fluenced by smaller stimuli? Dreaming, according to Mr.
Carmichael, is produced merely by the activity of those parts
of the brain which are not at the moment subjected to the
process of assimilation; and in this manner he is led to the
adoption of the theory of Gall, which he has amusingly illus-
trated in the ensuing fanciful passage:

'The mechanic's imagination may rove among machinery, the
mathematician may solve a problem, the orator pour forth un-
studied eloquence, the poet unpremeditated verse, the wit delect-
able jests, the musician unprecedented harmony; yet this does
not always occur, but occasionally. If the peculiar organ happens
to be asleep, there is no music, no wit, no poetry, no oratory, no
mathematics, no mechanics — a different faculty may be active,
and these individuals may wander through inextricable difficulties,
or fly before wild beasts, or combat with enraged assailants, or dis-
solve in a cold sweat at the frightful visit of some spectre from
the grave. It is not because the organ may have been frequently
or recently exercised, that it is employed in a dream; it is simply
because it has escaped from the trammels of sleep which still en-
velope the remainder of the brain, or at least the senses, which
open a communication with the external world, and supply the
only means by which we are informed whether similar objects of
thought are realities or illusions.'

We beg to ask, how has any one of these supposed organs thus happily *escaped the trammels of sleep?* Doubtless, some slight accident has prevented the usual repairs from being continued in that part of the building.

Dreaming appears to us to possess many features which strongly ally it to some states of insanity. In both, the ideas succeed each other in the same strange and incongruous manner, and the mind adopts conclusions which in its waking hours would appear the most ridiculous and absurd. In our dreams, we often dispute the possibility of that which has occurred to our fancies, and which is in fact wholly impossible: then, perhaps, we suddenly fall into some train of thought entirely foreign to that which has preceded; or we cease to dream, and sink into a state of profound sleep. We suspect that, in dreaming, none of the faculties are exempted from a state of activity, although imagination is that of all others which is most powerfully at work. We often remember past events in our dreams, reason on the most proper conduct to be pursued, and combine our ideas in the strangest and most grotesque groupes. Nay, we are not altogether without the perception of external objects; for it is certain that external impressions powerfully influence our dreams. A sound that is not sufficient to awaken us will often divert our thoughts into some new and extraordinary channel; and sensations of bodily pain seldom fail to affect in a remarkable manner the character of our dreams. The greater variety and distinctness of the pictures, which exhibit themselves to us in our morning-dreams, are no doubt to be ascribed to the refreshed state of the frame, and the approaching cessation of sleep; but they are also due in some measure to the numerous sounds which then begin to assail our ears, although they have not become so powerful as to break our slumbers. The doctrine of Gall on the organs of the brain is too unphilosophical to demand from us any attempt at a formal refutation; and such a system never could have been invented by any man having a distinct conception of the powers of the human mind, or acquainted with the analysis of those desires, passions, and mental peculiarities, to each of which the founder of this system has dedicated a particular organ in the brain. It was not without surprise, therefore, that we read the extravagant praises of this doctrine in which Mr. C. has indulged. Gall and Spurzheim are compared by him to Davy and Herschell: — the two latter of whom are distinguished by the brilliancy and stability of their discoveries; and the former for having *ascertained* the '*probable* existence in the brain of upwards of thirty material organs of the mind, each of which

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is endowed with its own desire, memory, and imagination.!!! (P. 93.) The author pleads guilty to the charge of materialism, in one sense of that word, but endeavors to shelter himself behind the revealed doctrine of the resurrection of the body.

An Account of the Extirpation of a Tumour of the Neck engaging the Parotid Gland. By Richard Carmichael, M.R.I.A., &c. — This very formidable tumour had pushed up the external ear from its situation, and measured five inches in breadth and the same in length. It had existed for fourteen years, had been once removed, but had grown again, and had since been partially subjected to the escharotic action of the arseniate of potass. There seemed every reason to believe that it was not of a malignant nature. — During the operation, a great deal of blood was lost, owing to the inefficacy of the pressure applied to the carotid artery. It was originally the intention of Mr. C. to pass a ligature under the main trunk of the vessel, before he proceeded to the operation: this wise precaution, however, had not been adopted, and the patient was in consequence very nearly lost: but the wounded vessel was fortunately discovered and tied. In detaching by the fingers, for the operator did not now venture to use the knife, that portion of the root of the tumour which grew from between the mastoid and the styloid processes, the *portio dura* of the seventh pair of nerves was forcibly torn away, in consequence of which a paralysis of that side of the face was induced. Another portion of its root was separated in like manner from the transverse process of the atlas; and a third was found so deeply inserted into the basis of the skull, that it was deemed advisable to pass a ligature around it, and suffer it to drop off. — A great deal of pain and constitutional disturbance followed this operation, and on the fifth day the patient was found muttering and delirious: but Mr. C. very wisely judged that this state arose only from the exhaustion by pain, from sleeplessness, and loss of blood, and accordingly endeavored to relieve it by wine and nourishment. He succeeded; and he remarks that an opposite treatment, by depletion, would in all probability have destroyed his patient. The wound was completely healed in 36 days from the operation: six months afterward, no hardness, or any appearance as if the disease were about to return, could be perceived; and the paralytic affection of the face was considerably lessened.

A Case on the Use of Turpentine. By Dr. Whitlock Nicholl. — A diseased state of the bowels, and various febrile symptoms, were removed by the exhibition of oil of turpentine.

Case of Angina Pectoris. By the Same. — This very interesting and well detailed case is remarkable on account of the great power which the imagination of the patient appeared to have over the accession of the fit. Unfortunately, the body was not allowed to be inspected.

Case of Sarcoma or Polypus in the Colon. By Edward Percival, M. B., &c. — The patient was a child of 22 months old, and the case ended fatally.

Two Cases of Inflammation and Enlargement of the Pancreas. By the Same: — *With Additional Cases.* By J. Crampton, M.D. — We have here a very distinct and graphic illustration of an important and interesting disease. Its symptoms are pain and tenderness on pressure in the region of the pancreas, which are succeeded by inflammation of the ducts of the gall-bladder, and liver, and affection of that viscus itself: and the patient at length becomes dropsical. To two cases related by Dr. Percival, two others are added by Dr. Crampton; in one of which the disease seems to have been induced by exposure to cold during the use of mercury. The state of the salivary glands, under the administration of this mineral, renders the occurrence of affection of the pancreas, in such circumstances, very probable. In both of the cases, which were examined after death, the *ductus communis choledochus* was impervious, the liver much diseased, and the pancreas enlarged and indurated: — in one of them it contained a considerable abscess.

Clinical Report on Dropsies. By J. Crampton, M. D. — Dr. C. has performed a most essential service to his professional brethren, by furnishing them with these distinct and candid details. His paper contains an accurate report of the whole of the dropsical cases treated in Steevens's Hospital, during one year. Of 74 in number, 35 were cured, 21 died, 7 were relieved, 8 were not relieved, and 3 left the hospital from different causes. In a great proportion of these instances, the disease had its origin in a more or less acute inflammation of the membrane of the heart, — in enlargement of that viscus, — in a diseased state of the valves, — or in pulmonic inflammation: but in some it had succeeded to fever, in others to diarrhœa, and in one it was dependent on a diseased state of the ovarium. An account of the appearances after death in fifteen cases is given, which fully warrants the statements now made. The treatment pursued was chiefly depletory, and the experience of the author places in a very decided point of view the advantage of a moderate employment of blood-letting in dropsical diseases. It is truly astonishing to those who have been educated in the dread of the lancet, to know.

know how often traces of sub-acute and sometimes of acute inflammation are detected after death, in such affections: but we ought to beware of carrying this depleting plan of treatment too far, or of adopting it where the dropsy arises from a tuberculated state of any of the abdominal viscera.

'General bleeding,' says Dr. C. in speaking of such cases, 'mostly hastens the doom of the patient; local bleeding is sometimes applicable to such cases, when the peritoneum covering the tuberculated liver, spleen, or pancreas, becomes inflamed. There is no form of dropsy in which detractions of blood are more useful than those where the peritoneum is inflamed, and where ascites follows; local bleedings after general venæsection, repeated according to the strength of the patient, frequently removes the inflammatory state of this membrane, the vital properties of which have been so well appreciated by Bichat; in truth, little is then left after such discipline for the other remedies to accomplish in completing the cure of dropsy.

'It is not difficult to distinguish these latter cases from those which attend a tuberculated liver; in dropsy arising from inflamed serous membranes, the pains are superficial, and felt on pressure. Those from scirrhous liver are deeper seated, — the general health more broken, the frame more emaciated, the sediment in the urine of a deeper red. The urine occasionally coagulates on the application of heat in both instances, but not with any uniformity. The causes and manner in which the disease has come on, often shew its true nature. When its attacks are sudden after exposure to cold, venæsection is generally advisable; when its approach is more gradual, after abuse in spirituous liquors, there is reason to suspect scirrhus, and the treatment should vary accordingly.'

On the choice of diuretics, Dr. C. has expressed himself to be somewhat indifferent; placing his chief reliance on the previous use of local and general blood-letting, blisters, and a careful adaptation of the doses and forms of those diuretic medicines which are most commonly in use. Mercury does not appear to be approved by him in any case in which a tendency to inflammation or to much irritation exists. He is partial to the use of the tinctures of squills and digitalis. Little attention is paid throughout the body of the report to the coagulability of the urine by heat, on which Dr. Blackall, in his excellent work, has placed so much dependance as a test of the presence of inflammation, and of the propriety of blood-letting in dropsy: but we are informed in an appendix, that the author's trials on this point have led him to disregard this property of the urine. Dr. E. Percival and Dr. Reid, in like manner, found that they could not depend on the coagulation of the urine as an evidence of inflammation, or a guide in practice. — In a table appended to the present volume, a

brief view is given of 40 cases of dropsy, subsequently treated; in 34 of which, the urine did not coagulate by heat, while in the remaining six it did: yet, in several of the former, topical inflammation was distinctly present. We regret to observe in this report many errors of the press, and several striking inaccuracies of language.

Cases and Dissections illustrative of Disease of the Brain. By S. Black, M. D. &c. — This is a very excellent paper, and deserves from us a more detailed discussion than our limits will admit. The first case manifested external tumour on the upper part of the *os frontis* of a young man, which at first yielded to local depletion and other remedies, but afterward recurred: — the disease proceeded slowly, and towards the close was accompanied by convulsive fits, and slight mental derangement. After death, which took place at the end of three years, the pericranium was found discolored, and firmly adhering to the bone in the situation of the small tumour; opposite to this spot, the *dura mater* was five times as thick as in other parts; and suppuration had taken place, both here and in several other spots in the immediate vicinity.

'On the inner surface of the membrane, to a considerable extent, and surrounding that condensed portion of it where these little abscesses were situated, was a distinct layer of coagulable lymph, as thick as a wafer. — The suppuration did not extend into the brain, but that organ, to the size perhaps of an orange, immediately beneath the diseased membrane, had become a soft and pulpy mass, in which scarcely any trace of organic structure was discoverable; in colour it resembled a custard; in consistence, it was thicker. There was an effusion of serum into the ventricles, which we calculated to exceed four ounces.'

The four concluding dissections are cases of typhus fever, and they all indicate a greater or less degree of previous congestion, or inflammatory action in the brain or its membranes.

Case of Inflammation and Abscess of the Brain attended with Disease of the Ear. By Dr. John O'Brien. — In this very interesting case, the fatal disease appears to have been produced by suppression of discharge from the internal ear. — The subsequent paper also reports a *Case of Inflammation of the Ear, attended with Symptoms of Compression of the Brain.* By R. Grattan, M. D., &c.

Observations on Varix and Venous Inflammation, with Instructions for operating with safety to the Femoral Vein in Popliteal Aneurism. By R. Carmichael, M. R. I. A., &c. — The observations of Mr. C. on the subject of venous inflammation are interesting and instructive: but we must express our dissent from his remarks on the most eligible mode of avoiding the

the wounding of the femoral vein in operating for popliteal aneurism, since we think that the best of all instruments for carefully separating the vein from the artery is the nail of the forefinger. In answer to his strictures on the directions of Searpa for this operation, we have to say that we have often seen the two vessels separated by the finger, and the artery raised on the handle of a scalpel, without the slightest bad consequence: whereas by employing the aneurysmal needle, whether introduced on the mesial side of the artery or not, we still hazard the wounding of the vein. Mr. Hennen's observation, that in fatal cases of amputation the veins of the stump are often inflamed, is corroborated by the experience of Mr. Carmichael. Five cases are also given in the paper before us, of the successful adoption of Mr. Brodie's ingenious plan of treating varicose veins by dividing their enlarged branches. We cannot conclude our remarks on this subject without stating our conviction, that much of the failure which has attended operations for aneurysm, and varicose veins, has arisen from the total neglect or the unskilful application of the roller to the affected limb.

Case of incurable Disease of the Arm, &c. By the Same. — This is an instance of disease resembling *Phlegmasia dolens*, produced by the voluntary introduction of needles into the palm of the hand. Amputation close to the shoulder-joint became necessary, and the patient recovered.

On the Origin of Intestinal Worms, particularly the Ascaris Vermicularis. By Dr. J. M. Barry. — A gentleman and his family, residing near Macromp in the south of Ireland, were afflicted with *Ascarides Vermiculares*; and insects similar in every respect, except the darkness of their color, were found in abundance in the water of the spring from which the house was supplied. The local origin of this disease was farther proved by the appearance of the complaint in strangers after a short residence at the place, and by the relief experienced by the family in question when they removed to a distance from it.

Medical Report of the Fever-Hospital and House of Recovery, Cork Street, for 1816; *with some Account of the succeeding Epidemic.* By Dr. W. Stoker. — We have to regret that Dr. Stoker was not allowed sufficient time to digest his materials for this report, or space to detail his observations; and that he has added to the difficulties thus occasioned, by entering into general discussions on the origin of epidemic fever, and on the merits of particular modes of treatment. He is still hostile to the use of the lancet in fever: but we see plainly that his opinions on this subject have already under-

gone a manifest revolution, although they are not yet so matured in their new form as to allow him to express himself on this point in clear and decided language. In illustration of his practice in the late epidemic, he has given a tabular view of the state of the Cork-Street Fever-Hospital, during the months of July and August, 1818; and of 471 patients, he lost during that period only four by fever, one by dropsy, and one by hydrocephalus, making in all only six. The average number of days during which the persons remained in the hospital was 9¼. The treatment seems to have consisted chiefly in purgatives and antimonials: wine or spirits were given only to 86: not more than 21 were bled generally; and 36 had blood drawn by leeches or cupping. These results are most highly creditable to Dr. S.; though the period, which his return embraces, is very much too short to warrant us in drawing any general conclusions. The paper throughout shews evident marks of hurry in its composition, and is altogether an unfavorable specimen of the labors of this able and zealous physician.

Medical Report of the Sick Poor Institution for the Year 1817. By Dr. J. O'Brien. — We have in this report a very striking and melancholy picture of the wretched condition of a large portion of the numerous population within the district of the Sick Poor institution. The usefulness of this humane establishment has been still farther extended by ingrafting on it another, not less benevolent in its purpose: viz. the Dorset Nourishment Dispensary, for distributing Food, Cordials, and Fuel to the Sick Poor. Ireland affords indeed a vast field for the exercise of charity: but the sufferings of her poor are so intense, and the cry of misery which ascends is so piercing, that the philanthropist must possess no common firmness and courage to be enabled to proceed undauntedly in his benevolent exertions. Some excellent remarks are given by Dr. O'B. on the judicious and enlightened adoption of blood-letting in fever; and a succinct and satisfactory account is furnished by him, of the other diseases prevalent within the bounds of the institution during the year 1817.

Medical Report of the Fever-Hospital, Cork-Street, Dublin, containing an Account of the Progress of the present Epidemic. By Dr. F. Barker. — Here again we are presented with the same deplorable details of the sufferings of the poor of Dublin. The heart sickens at such recitals: but we would console ourselves with reflecting on the good which may flow from evil, — on the benefits which are likely to arise from the devastation of the late epidemic in Ireland:

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'The wants of the poor have become known, at a time and under circumstances of great urgency. The humanity of the upper classes has been called into action, and most benevolently exerted. Legislative interference has been obtained to aid the public in putting a stop to the present calamity, and preventing its future recurrence. Enlarged views have been acquired respecting the progress and prevention of fever, and an evil which threatened formidable consequences has been at least comparatively mitigated. If such effects of the epidemic should gradually lead to an improvement in the habits, feelings, and condition of the whole community, that which to our narrow conceptions appears a calamity may thus become a signal benefit, and prove the means of introducing health and happiness in the place of disease and misery.'

Dr. B. is disposed to consider the epidemic fever as produced by contagion, imported from the continental countries suffering under the ravages of war: but he has only succeeded in shewing that war brings pestilence in its train, as the effect of the extreme privation and misery which it produces. The fever in Ireland did not appear first at the out-ports, and never prevailed to any extent among the troops stationed in that island.—The Doctor is a friend to the moderate use of the lancet in fever, but does not consider the disease as one of the *Phlegmasiæ*. He has given a very interesting statement from Dr. Macartney, as the result of that gentleman's dissections of those who had died of typhus. In such cases, congestion and serous effusion were almost the only marks of disorganization in the viscera, which that eminent anatomist was able to detect.

A scale of the medium temperature in London and Dublin, during the spring, summer, and autumn of 1815 and 1816, is added to this volume, which shews that Ireland enjoys the more equable and milder temperature of the two. Scales have also been constructed by Dr. B., exhibiting the progress of the epidemic, drawn from the monthly lists of discharges from the Dublin hospitals, during nine months of 1817; and of the mortality during the same period. The greatest number of discharges occurred at the end of August, when they amounted to about 2750; and the highest mortality was in the end of September, when it rose to 114 in the month. The benevolence, sound judgment, and excellent spirit of observation, evinced throughout this report, lead us to look forwards with agreeable and anxious anticipation to the perusal of the work of Doctors Barker and Cheyne on the Epidemic of Ireland, which we have not yet found leisure to take up.

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ART. XII. *A Visit to North America, and the English Settlements in the Illinois*, with a Winter-residence at Philadelphia, &c. By Adlard Welby, Esq., South Rauceby, Lincolnshire. 8vo. pp. 224. and 14 Plates. 10*s*. 6*d*. Boards. Baldwin and Co. 1821.

POLISHED surfaces betray the slightest scratches, or *rubs*; and Mr. Welby is impatient of the little vexations which he encounters at inns and lodging houses. The waiter at an inn in England would open the door of his post-chaise and receive him with twenty bows, while the landlady's smiles and curtsies announce the *warmth and sincerity* of her welcome: but the tavern-keeper of America knows that his guests alight at his house for their own indispensable accommodation, and he feels that he confers advantage as well as receives it. His servants, too, are paid by him, and look not to his guests for an additional fee: so that, if the traveller obtains any thing more than common civility from them, it is purely gratuitous. A tavern-keeper at Pittsburg brought to Mr. W. some dirty wine-glasses, stinking of whiskey: out of a pitcher of water he poured some into a glass, shook it, threw the water into the tray on which the wine stood, and walked away satisfied with this proof of his cleanliness; and a female, in order to brush away the flies while Mr. W. was at supper, flourished over his head her well-used pocket-handkerchief. Complaints also of dirt, indifference of servants, and the 'frying of provisions in butter till the stomach turns even at the very smell,' fill too many pages of this volume. The author dislikes the Americans, and discourages emigration: but he makes this remark: 'it appears that the man who should emigrate to this country to *spend* an income might not gain by the change: it is equally evident that the individual who goes to *make money* may be benefitted.' We apprehend that this is an important concession: for those only who want to 'make money' are likely to emigrate from their own countries, not those who have enough to spend at home.

The sole object of Mr. Welby's visit to the Illinois was 'to ascertain the actual prospects of the emigrating agriculturist, mechanic, and commercial speculator.' It was a little discouraging that, before he had passed through the State of Ohio, on his way to "the Western Paradise," he met a large party of settlers returning to New York, which they had left a year and half before: who stated that they had purchased a fine fertile tract of land about 40 miles from the river Illinois, and near its confluence with the Mississippi, and had settled on it in the preceding summer: but that, having lost eight of their party by dysentery, fever and ague, the remainder had taken

taken alarm, quitted their purchase, and returned home with the loss of all their time, and almost all their money. The Americans, however, are of a very migratory character:

"A river or a sea
Is to them a dish of tea,
And a kingdom bread and butter."

Before they have fairly given themselves time to settle in one place, they rove on to another, five hundred or a thousand miles distant; and, like flocks of sheep, they go in search of fresh pasture before the first is fed down. — The price of land in Kentucky, in the neighbourhood of its very capital, Frankfort, and Lexington, is about one-sixth of what it was three years ago. Good land then sold for 600 dollars per acre, and may now be bought for 25; while very considerable tracts are to be had between these towns for five or six dollars per acre. In their search after gain, the Americans lose all considerations of comfort or attachment to home:

'He makes a pig-inclosure of logs, a stable of the same, open to all the winds and to the poultry, and if his log-house will keep out the worst of the weather it is sufficient: and thus, with such buildings, with just as much corn and fother as will keep him, his family, and his stock, the settler passes his indolent days; smoking under the shed of his habitation, and waiting for some good offer for what he terms his improvement; when he immediately loads his waggon with his furniture and family, and without the shadow of regret leaves his abode to seek some other equally uncomfortable.'

Tavern-keepers are frequently representatives in congress, colonels, majors, 'squires, captains, and physicians. An American, says Mr. W., may be proud of his liberty, but the pride of a gentleman never stands in the way of a profitable speculation; 'idleness only is here a disgrace, and if a man of a liberal education finds that his profession will not sufficiently remunerate him, it is thought right that he should seek profit in trade.' This compliment to the good sense of the Americans will wear well, and comes from one who is not disposed to think very highly of them.

Mr. Welby is angry at being cheated by a blacksmith, who charged him 'ten dollars for eight new horse-shoes, steel toes, and eight removes,' — as if travellers, and particularly foreigners, were not overcharged in all countries. Then he tells a story of a man who was murdered by some of his neighbours, an occurrence not very uncommon in England or Ireland; and because he 'happened not to hear that any punishment was ever talked of,' he exclaims, 'such is the state

state of things in this Western Paradise, a beautiful garden from the hands of nature, and with but a little industry a most desirable country to dwell in .... *with a people who do not shoot each other!*' Yet within ten pages we find Mr. W. so excessively irritated at one of his guides, who had deceived him about the character of a road which was very rough instead of being smooth, and which jolted his carriage, that he says, 'I became so enraged at the man's deception, that had he given me the least provocation *I should have shot him.*' The poor fellow seems to have known with whom he had to deal, and 'luckily avoided this, — by keeping a little in advance, and mildly calling out, now and then, to direct the way.' (p. 103.)

Of the English settlement at Illinois, this writer's account is just such as any one would expect from a traveller whose touchy temperament breaks forth at every turn of the wheel. He pretends to be disappointed, though it is clear that he expected nothing: but every thing disgusts and annoys him. From Mr. Flower, — whose account of the settlement we shall presently notice, — who has resided there some years, and gives a very different representation of it, — he received every attention and hospitality; and to his exertions its very existence through the winter of 1818 is ascribed. Mr. Birkbeck, on the contrary, is represented as having even declined to give him a little water, (p. 111.), and is accused of having published direct and wilful falsehoods about its prosperity, (pp. 117, 118, &c.); of having made plausible representations to induce others to seek fortune and independence where they are not to be found; and of having 'led people into this wilderness, where, for any thing he has done, they may in vain look around for the expected shelter .... in short he seems only to have thought of himself, and to have falsified his public promises,' (pp. 119, 120.) These and others of a similar nature are very heavy charges, which it is out of our power either to corroborate or rebut. We can only say that, in addition to the natural repugnance to credit such accusations against a man of character and talent, we have not seen these allegations urged by others whom we consider as better authorities than Mr. Welby, namely, those *residents* in the settlement who have favored us with their accounts of it.

Returning with disgust from his western excursion, the traveller passed a winter at Philadelphia; and he properly expresses much satisfaction at seeing the various sectaries moving towards their respective places of worship on Sundays, in the most perfect amity with each other; 'thus forming an exception to the rest of the globe.' (P. 177.) Yet in the very

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next page we have the following remark, equally illiberal and insulting: 'while they (the people of the United States) talk of the moral and religious principle; of true liberty, honesty, &c.; their actions belie their words, and make them appear *a nation of unprincipled Atheists*; by the bye, a description of people, perhaps, more general over the world than we might be inclined to allow; people who outwardly profess belief in a Creator and future Judge of our actions, yet whose daily acts contradict their professions.' Of what religious sect Mr. Welby may be, we know not: but the benignant *spirit* of true Christianity certainly did not guide the pen of him who could outrage the feelings of a whole people, by uttering the calumnious paragraph which we have just transcribed. Let him read the beautiful chapter of Mr. Irving's "Bracebridge Hall"* intitled "The Author's Farewell," and blush for his offence against America.

ART. XIII. *Two Years' Residence in the Settlement of the English Prairie,* in the Illinois Country, United States, &c. &c. By John Woods. 8vo. pp. 310. 10*s.* 6*d.* Boards. Longman and Co. 1822.

ART. XIV. *Letters from the Illinois,* 1820, 1821, containing an Account of the English Settlement at Albion and its Vicinity; and a Refutation of various Misrepresentations. By Richard Flower. With a Letter from M. Birkbeck; and a Preface and Notes by Benjamin Flower. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* Ridgway. 1822.

IN the first of these tracts, we have the plain unornamented journal of a man who seems to have had no object in view but to tell "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth:" — he does not disgust us with any affectation of sentiment, or attempt at high-flown description; but all is sober narrative. Mr. Woods emigrated with his family to the western wilds of America in the hope and expectation, doubtless, of improving his condition, but without indulging in those idle visions of unalloyed felicity, which have terminated in the frightful realities of misery and disappointment to many hapless adventurers.

Mr. W. pitched his tent in the Illinois, one of the youngest of the American States: the Ohio washing its southern border for 160 miles from the mouth of the Wabash to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, and separating it from Kentucky: the Mississippi bounding it for 600 miles on the west, and dividing it from the state of Missouri; and the Wabash flowing

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* See Art. X. of this Review.

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round its eastern border, and separating it from Indiana. The length of the Illinois, from north to south, is more than 300 miles, and its mean breadth 200; its southern point (the apex of its triangular form) is the mouth of the Ohio; and it is estimated to contain 33,280,000 acres, with a population, rapidly increasing, of 70,000 persons. A reference to the map shews it to be remarkably well situated for navigation; for not only is it bounded by the magnificent rivers already mentioned, but it is intersected by the river Illinois, which runs more than 300 miles through the state, by the Kaskaskia, which runs 150, and by many other considerable streams that empty themselves into some of the larger rivers.

The *Prairies*, as they are called, or the meadow-land, vary in size from a few acres to the Grand Prairie, which is more than 200 miles in length, and between 20 and 90 in breadth. The English Prairie is situated 45 miles north of the Big Wabash, and contains about 10,000 acres. Mr. Birkbeck's settlement at Wanborough includes 25 cabins, a tavern, a store or two, and several lodging-houses; together with carpenters, bricklayers, smiths, wheelwrights, &c. a taylor, and a butcher. Water is scarce in these prairies: Mr. B. found a tolerably good spring at six feet depth, but several of the wells lately dug have little water in them. The country is represented as very healthy, yet this deficiency of water is a grievous inconvenience; the creeks in the woods and prairies being exhausted in a dry season, except a few deep holes that are well shaded. The soil found in digging wells is, first a clay under the vegetable mould, then sand-stone, and lastly clay-slate, through which no person has penetrated, though some have dug 50 and 60 feet, without finding water. A well at Birks's Prairie is strongly tinctured with Glauber's salts, and another with sulphur; and there are several *salt-licks*, which horses, cattle, and pigs frequent, 'and the earth is worn away by their licking it.' The buffaloes and elks which, seven or eight years ago, were very numerous, have now receded to the larger prairies. Many cabins, as they are called, belonging to the Americans, have neither ceiling nor windows, and some of them no floor, — nothing but the bare earth; and some are not *mudded*, but open on all sides. Locks to doors are nearly unknown, but wooden bolts are common among the English. If man is satisfied with such accommodation, it is not surprizing that the cattle which belong to him are generally left abroad in the winter, with no other shelter than the leafless trees. Mr. Woods says that he has seen no barn in any part of the English settlement; nor are there any granaries, except *corn-cribs*, with a few poultry-houses,

houses, and stables. A hay-rack is not common: the horses being indulged only with a manger, made out of a hollow tree, the ends stopped up with wood or clay.

In a country so thinly peopled, we expected to hear of many things cheaper than they are represented to be. Land, for instance, we should have imagined to bear a nominal price only, like an acre of water in the Atlantic or of ice in New Georgia: but we find Mr. Woods giving 108*l.* sterling for 162 acres, of which 40 or 50 were wood-land, and the rest prairie, uncultivated, and without a building on them. He also paid 47*l.* 5*s.* for three horses, such as might have been had in England for less money. Oxen and cows are cheap, and consequently beef and veal: but the insufficiency of water urges cattle to stray away for a supply, and the practice of giving them salt must incite a very inconvenient thirst in the poor animals. Beasts are much lighter than in England, and their flesh not so firm: the sheep, likewise, are very inferior; and their wool, like themselves, is coarse, and sometimes of a hairy nature. Few of the *American* flocks exceed twenty sheep!* which are inclosed at night to protect them from wolves. They are kept for the sake of the wool alone, bad as it is; the Americans holding mutton in such contempt that they say, "people who eat it belong to the family of wolves;" and many of them, who in summer are short of meat, would live on bread for a month rather than eat mutton, veal, rabbit, goose, or duck. Wool, with very little regard to its fineness, sells for half-a-dollar per pound, or about double the value of the best wool now in England. Pigs are numerous, but from very hard keep do not rise to much weight: they run wild in the woods, and are left to shift for themselves, except that now and then a little salt is given to them. During the summer, when herbs and grass are dry, and before the masts begin to fall, it is impossible, says Mr. W., to describe how excessively poor they are; and bears and wolves take great liberties with them. Pork is about 2½*d.* a pound: *the price for which it is now selling in England.* Poultry are abundant and cheap; the Americans keeping geese and ducks for their feathers only, and not for sale or to be eaten. They pick them six or eight times in a year, nearly naked, except their wings.

Among the wild animals that roam in these prairies, which have been described in seductive language by many land-job-

* Not so the flocks of the English settlers. Mr. Flower, whose pamphlet is also before us, says that his flock consists of 400; and that the breeding of sheep has succeeded to his utmost wishes and expectations. Both these writers agree as to the great salubrity of the climate, in the prairies of the Illinois country.

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bers and settlers who are very naturally desirous to attract more company, are bears, wolves, panthers, wild cats, foxes, racoons, and squirrels; to which, however, must be added the more valuable quadrupeds, deer, buffaloes, elks, beavers, otters, and rabbits. Squirrels, those beautiful but mischievous little animals, are so numerous, that eight Americans having one day a squirrel-hunt for a small wager, each party of four took a different route, and three of them hunted on and near Mr. Woods's land, when the number killed by the winning party was 152, and by the losing party 141, making a total of 293. Although more than a hundred were killed on Mr. W.'s farm, the slaughter did not appear materially to lessen the number. — Deer are not abundant: they generally weigh from 60 to 100lbs., and sell for about a dollar each without their skins: a skin is worth 50 cents, or hundred parts of a dollar; and their horns, though large, are deemed of no value. Rabbits are smaller than in England: they do not burrow in the ground, but, when hunted, run into hollow trees, so that an axe is necessary in a rabbit-hunt. Rattle-snakes and copper-headed snakes are so common, that the wild beasts and reptiles are scarcely more dreaded than they are in England when under the custody of Mr. Polito: so true is it that "familiarity breeds contempt." The feathered creation are represented as not being so numerous as in England: some of them have beautiful plumage, but not many are birds of song. Turkeys of 18 or 20lbs. weight are to be bought sometimes for as many pence: Prairie-fowls are a kind of grouse, with dark flesh, well flavored; and the flavor of quails is here very fine: wild-geese, wild-ducks, wood-cooks, snipes, mocking-birds, &c. are also frequently found.

Vegetation is exceedingly rapid. The author says, 'some peas I planted on the 1st of April were quite ripe for seed by the middle of June: and French-beans were also fit for seed in June. There was some snow and smart frost with scarce any thing green on the 1st of April, yet on the 6th of May there were ripe strawberries in Birks's prairie.' Very little wheat has hitherto been grown in the English prairie, though it is extremely prolific; a single bushel per acre being sufficient seed. Indian corn is much more extensively cultivated by the Americans, and is said to be rising in the estimation of Europeans, *except as bread-corn.* It produces from 60 to 80 bushels per acre, usually, but much larger crops are occasionally returned. The woods and prairies supply many fruits, some of them excellent. Pomegranates, melons, and particularly water-melons, grow to a large size: and strawberries and various sorts of nuts are found in great profusion.

Mr. Woods

Mr. Woods says that his American neighbours are extremely litigious; and that he has 'known a law-suit brought for a piggin or pail of the value of 25 cents (1*s.* 1½*d.*)' Another failing in their character is drunkenness, in which state they are very quarrelsome. They are also rapacious in making bargains, and not very punctual in their payments. Stern republicans themselves, they hold negroes in the utmost contempt, regarding and treating both them and the Indians as an inferior race of beings.

On the whole, we consider this little book as exceedingly well worth the attention of those who are meditating an emigration to the western settlements of America. The writer states that he does 'not invite any one to leave England and come hither; for although well pleased with the exchange of countries myself, another might not be so.' There is no want of tradesmen: but a man with some property, and a large family, may perhaps do better than in England; and he who goes there with a fortune — if that be an imaginable case — may by successful purchases lay the foundation of much greater wealth. Hard-working and sober people are more likely to settle with advantage than any others.

Just as we had finished the perusal of Mr. Woods's book, the pamphlet of Mr. Flower was put into our hands: in the second page of which we have a corroboration of the prevalent want of water in the English settlement, though the drought is represented as having been unusually great at the time of which the writer is speaking. Mr. Flower's son having found a fine and 'inexhaustible' spring, however, only eight feet deep, he engaged to furnish the settlement with water at a quarter-dollar per barrel, having about two miles to carry it. This fortunate supply allayed at once the discontent and the thirst: but if the assertion be true, 'that the finest water is every where to be raised by digging from 20 to 30 feet,' however inconvenient may be this operation to a new settlement, it is by no means an important difficulty. The general tenor of Mr. Flower's statement is certainly more encouraging than that of Mr. Woods; and we should advise an attentive perusal of them both to any person who is projecting an emigration. Mr. Birkbeck has opened a place of worship at Wanborough, in which he officiates, reading the Church of England Service. Religious worship is now regularly performed also every Sunday at Albion, where the 'reformed or Unitarian Liturgy, the Scriptures, and Sermons from the best English writers,' are read in a plain neat building, which also serves as a library-room. To Mr.

Flower himself the settlers at Albion are indebted for having brought them together on the Sabbath for Divine worship, and the effects of this holy communion are represented to have been most conspicuous in ameliorating their manners and habits.

Female servants are much wanted, on account of the frequency of marriage, which is constantly withdrawing them from their situations; and for farming laborers the demand is much greater than the supply: — an inconvenience which will soon remedy itself. Exempt from tythes, taxes, and poor's rate, a person with 100*l.* a-year lives in affluence at Albion, and steady laborers or mechanics can work themselves into plenty. 'I know two instances,' says Mr. F. 'of females who earn from six to eight dollars a-week by their needles.' No wonder, then, that there is a scarcity of female *servants.*

A considerable part of this pamphlet is taken up in effacing the unfavorable impressions which some writers have endeavored to produce — from interested motives, according to Mr. Flower, — relative to the climate of the settlement, and the character and habits of the settlers themselves.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE,

For AUGUST, 1822.

POLITICS.

Art. 15. *Observations on the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons,* to whom the Petitions complaining of the depressed State of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom were referred in the Session of 1821. By George Webb Hall, Esq. Royal 8vo. pp. 156. 3*s.* sewed. Sherwood and Co.

We see nothing in these Observations which tempts us to dissert on them at length, particularly after the elaborate notice that we have taken of the Report itself to which they refer. The everlasting changes which Mr. Hall rings on three or four cracked bells are perfectly grating to the ear. That which he says in one page will be found in almost every other, and all that he says in any of them will be found in his former pamphlets. The agriculturists have in him a very zealous chairman, but we cannot compliment either his discretion or his sagacity. He pretends that he does not ask for the *exclusion* of any commodity which may be grown in this island; 'no not one;' and the utmost extent of his prayer is that the agriculturists may cultivate *at par* with the cheapest country in the world! (P. 58.): the meaning of which (as explained in p. 33.) is, that the import of corn, and of every other article of British growth, should be subject to such a fixed and permanent duty

duty as may compensate to the British grower the difference of expence at which his corn, &c. can be raised and brought to market, and the expence of its production and bringing to market in other countries. He estimates the general difference in value between the cost of production of wheat in poorer countries and this to be from 35 to 40 shillings a quarter; and therefore, to make security doubly sure, he recommends a permanent duty of 40 shillings per quarter on the importation of foreign wheat: then gravely asking whether he can be charged with demanding its exclusion? — as if he did not know that such a duty would be to all intents and purposes exclusive and prohibitory! The *last* agricultural committee has adopted this preposterous policy, and has recommended the imposition of an uniform duty on foreign corn, equivalent to the difference between its cost of production abroad and the cost of production here, "as preferable to any modification of regulations depending upon average prices with an ascending and descending scale of duties." Thus, it seems, Mr. Hall has made a very powerful convert: but Mr. Ricardo has well exposed the monstrous absurdity of this reasoning. If the principle, says he, be consistently followed, there is no commodity whatever which we can raise at home that we should ever import from abroad: we should cultivate beet-root, and make our own sugar, and impose a duty on the importation of sugar equal to the difference of expence in growing sugar here, and growing it in the East or West Indies. We should also erect hot-houses, and raise our own grapes for the purpose of making wine, and protect the maker of wine by the same course of policy.

Either this doctrine is untenable in the case of corn, or it is to be justified in all other cases. Mr. Hall's forty shillings duty would be positive ruin to the farmers, as well as to the rest of the community; and under a free trade, the price of corn in any two countries could not materially differ more than the expences attending the transportation of it from one to the other. If an abundant harvest reduced the price in one, the superfluous produce would find a vent in the other: — but, under prohibitory or high protecting duties, a fall in price in consequence of an abundant harvest must be ruinous to the grower, because he cannot relieve himself by exportation. Mr. Hall says that there is a difference of 35 or 40 shillings in the cost of producing wheat in England and in the corn-countries of the Continent, and he would accordingly have a permanent duty to that amount on its importation. On every occasion, therefore, of abundant harvests in England, Mr. Ricardo has observed that corn must actually fall 40*s.* (the total value of it is not at the present moment more than that sum), before it can be the interest of any party to export it.

It appears to us, and we have said so a hundred times, that it is the interest of this country to reduce the necessaries of life as nearly as possible to a level with the value of them in the other great kingdoms of Europe. This can be effected only by reducing the cost of production; and that can be accomplished only by a very large remission of public expenditure. Our manufacturers will

then be able to produce cheaper, and foreign nations to employ all the productive classes of society in England with reciprocal advantage; while any superabundance in the produce of our soil, which it may please Providence to bestow, may be made serviceable by exportation to some other states, either in Europe or America. Mr. Hall wants high prices: but the consumers of corn in England could not pay high prices; and, if they existed, we should presently be in the unhappy state in which Ireland now is, starving in the midst of plenty. Ireland is not destitute of the necessaries of life: on the contrary, from the centre of the famished districts it is constantly exporting provisions. What then? The laboring classes, having no employment, have no wages to buy the provisions with which they are surrounded: their will to earn is frustrated; and their utmost efforts avail not to support their families by their labor. Mr. Hall does not foresee these consequences, which appall us in looking at his measures. He offers, however, one suggestion in which we entirely concur. It is alleged by him, and his disciples, that all the principal branches of manufacturing and commercial industry are protected against foreign competition by prohibitory, or at least by high duties; and the agriculturists contend that their industry, being at least of equal importance, should enjoy equal protection. In reply, it is stated by Mr. Huskisson, who drew up the *first* Report, that it may be doubted whether (with the exception of silk) any of our considerable manufactures derive benefit from this assumed protection in the markets of this country; and he argues, strongly, — how could the foreign manufactures of cotton, of wool, or of hardware, compete with our own in this country, when it is notorious that we can afford to undersell them in the products of those great branches of our manufacturing industry, even in their own markets: notwithstanding that cotton and wool are subject to a direct duty on importation, (not drawn back on their export in a manufactured state,) as well as to all the indirect taxation which affects capital in these branches, in common with that capital which is employed in raising the productions of the soil? Mr. Hall says, very properly, if such be the honest and real opinion of the merchants and manufacturers, if they really believe that these high protecting duties are inoperative and a dead letter, *let them be immediately removed:* then will those who are advocates for the freedom of trade ' not only evince the sincerity of their professions, but they will also remove from agricultural petitioners every pretence for those heart-burnings and jealousies on account of this unequal protection, which will otherwise be perpetually objected to it on account of the unnatural preference and partiality which it evinces.' (P. 127.)

Art. 16. *Notices on Political Economy;* or an Enquiry concerning the Effects of Debts and Taxes; of the State of the Currency and Exchange; and of the Balance of Trade, as they operate on the Community, considered as a Whole. 8vo. pp. 77. Richardson.

We

We certainly perused half of this pamphlet under the mistake that it was a *jeu d'esprit;* and the author won our plaudits by the inimitable gravity with which he ascribed to the national debt and taxes the wealth and prosperity of this kingdom. Not a lord of the treasury, not the chancellor of the exchequer, not a secretary of state, in extolling the blessings of a large expenditure, could have preserved a more immovable solemnity of countenance; and we often gave him credit for a command of muscles in himself which mainly contributed to the discomposure of our own: we thought it was Grimaldi playing Lear. Proceeding, however, in a very merry mood, some misgivings now and then crossed us that, after all, the author was in earnest! This was such a damper, — such a kill-joy, — that we hardly know how to forgive him; but, being of a placable disposition, and feeling conscious that our own relish for a little irony and satire might have contributed to the delusion, we are not disposed to bear malice, although we have been thus cheated of a joke. We must state, then, that these and divers other doctrines equally soothing are to be found inculcated in the 'Notices on Political Economy.' In whatever light the subject is regarded, says this ingenious gentleman, 'it will appear quite clear that taxation never can have injured the community considered as a whole, but on the contrary, by encreasing demand, has been a great spur to industry and has thus contributed to encrease the amount of our wealth.' (p. 6.) Though every description of persons is materially benefited by taxation, the laboring classes are blessed by its effects in an especial manner, the whole of the income of government (it seems) being divided among them: for all seamen, soldiers, mechanics, artificers, and laborers in the civil and military departments of government are so many men taken out of the market for labor, the consequence of which is that its price is enhanced to those that remain. (p. 8.) 'It is, however, chiefly the expenditure of the loans contracted by government to which we have been indebted for the immense encrease of our wealth during the last 27 years. The money of the stock-holder has been spread over all the lands, and all the trades, and all the manufactures of the country,' &c. &c. (p. 10.) The author advises government to regulate the wages of labor in every species of employment; 'until the legislature shall be pleased to fix a minimum to the wages of labour, comparative misery must be the lot, as it ever has been, of the most numerous class of society.' (p. 22. and 23.) What! notwithstanding the advantages which this class derives in so especial a manner from taxation?

The author *sports* some whimsical and very original notions about currency, and the standard of value. We cannot go into the *minutiæ:* but it may suffice to say that he wishes government to become the only coiners or fabricators of money in the country; all bank-notes issued by individuals or corporations being immediately suppressed, and an equal amount put in circulation by government. The quantity of these notes is to be positively restrained by law to such as it is at present, or within certain

defined limits, and they are to be made legal tender; added to which the currency is to be of such a nature *that it will circulate no where but in this country*. (p. 48. 51, 52.) Is it very surprising to the reader, after these specimens, that we gave the author credit for a good joke, instead of a grave sermon? His visions of the future glory of England are superlatively magnificent. The exports of Ireland to Great Britain must greatly exceed her imports from it; as a large portion of the income raised in that country is expended in this by the numerous Irish families who reside in England; 'and such may also, *probably*, be one day the relative situation of this country and France. Should the Bourbons become Protestants, there would be nothing to stand in the way of the union of the two crowns;—and in such a case, there was no arguments employed to prove the expedience of the union of Ireland with Great Britain that would not equally apply to show the expedience of an union of the latter with France; and the parliament of the United Kingdoms would, of course, claim the same power that was exerted by the parliament of Ireland.' (p. 64.)

"Visions of glory! spare our aching sight!"

POETRY.

Art. 17. *Italy*, a Poem. Part the First. 12mo. 7*s*. Boards. Longman and Co. 1822.

The endless mutability of fashion is never better illustrated than in our modern poetry. There was a time when the Muses inhabited an elevated and ethereal region, accessible only to a favored few, through ramparts and fastnesses which it was not given to all to penetrate. Rarely did those celestial beings deign to visit the plain, to mingle their sacred forms in homely scenes, or to lower the exalted tones of their lyre to the description of little things and every-day occurrences. In our own age, however, this singular revolution has happened, that poetry has wholly laid aside her antient fastidiousness as to the delicacy of her diction, or the dignity of her subjects. Formerly, even in that walk which is called *descriptive*, she relaxed little of her wonted dignity: but something of epic grandeur was in her steps, something of Heliconian grace in her demeanour, in her evening rambles over the village-green, and in her descriptions of the pastimes and sports of the rude but happy beings whose groupes gave life and character to the scene. All this seems at present *gone by*; poetry no longer

—— "keeps her wonted state
With even step and musing gait;"

and the antient and distinctive attributes, which, while they elevated her above prose, distinguished her also from it by an appropriate loftiness of conception, imaged by a corresponding loftiness of expression, are now forgotten and obliterated landmarks. He therefore best adapts his verses to the public ear, who barters away the characteristic dignity of the art for a home-spun simplicity

simplicity which his admirers mistake for ease, while in reality it is the cold product of a stiff and lifeless affectation.

We might strengthen and illustrate our criticism, but we will mention no names. Those, to whom the features of the old and the modern school are present, will recognize its justice, and the readers of what is called descriptive poetry will admit and deplore the propriety of our censures. The school of authors, to whom we allude, forget that in poetical description such objects alone ought to be selected as are fit for painting; that is, *picturesque* in the original sense of the expression. The most stupid bungler in the sister-art of painting, that ever took brush in hand, must be aware that there are many minute things which, though existing in the actual landscape, are not to be minutely painted; — that the great scenes of nature have an order and a gradation of ranks, as it were, among its beauties: and that, while the stupendous masses of rock and mountain are called forth by his pencil, he is not required to draw the lichens and shrubs which grow on their surface, or peep out from their interstices. Yet these violations of propriety are by no means rare in our modern descriptive poetry. Every thing which the writer knows to exist in fact, he introduces into his description with the mistaken industry of a Chinese painter; and, thus confounding that which is important with that which is subordinate, he produces a mass of images more or less splendid according to the imagination of the author, but perplexing and confused to the reader, who in vain endeavors to reduce this "purple patch-work" into one congruous and distinct landscape.

Of this school is the poet who has given us the detached sketches of Italy now on our table. He is gifted with considerable powers: but he permits a certain subdued tameness to deteriorate his compositions, which is a positive indication that he has rebuked and checked those powers in conformity with the theory of his school; under the absurd and erroneous conviction that occasional feebleness is ease, and that in order to be familiar it is necessary to be negligent: in direct opposition to the practice of those great masters who described even homely objects with elegance, and did not recognize slovenliness and meanness among the beauties of their art.

Thus there is something like bathos in the present sketch of the Great St. Bernard; which, though in many respects picturesque and beautiful, forces an involuntary smile when the following incident is introduced:

> 'Lying on the watch
> Two dogs of *grave demeanour* welcomed me.'

We are here reminded of the town Bull of Uncle Toby, who was a "grave animal." Yet the picture, which we willingly extract, is not destitute of many graces.

> 'Long could I have stood,
> With a religious awe contemplating

That house, the highest in the ancient world,
And placed there for the noblest purposes.
'Twas a rude pile of simplest masonry,
With narrow windows and vast buttresses,
Built to endure the shocks of time and chance;
Yet shewing many a rent, as well it might,
Warred on for ever by the elements,
And in an evil day, nor long ago,
By violent men — when on the mountain-top
The French and Austrian banners met in conflict.

'On the same rock beside it stood the church,
Reft of its cross, not of its sanctity;
The vesper-bell, for 'twas the vesper-hour,
Duly proclaiming thro' the wilderness,
"All ye who hear, whatever be your work,
Stop for an instant — move your lips in prayer!"
And, just beneath it, in that dreary dale,
If dale it might be called, so near to Heaven,
A little lake, where never fish leaped up,
Lay like a spot of ink amid the snow;
A star, the only one in that small sky,
On its dead surface glimmering. 'Twas a scene
Resembling nothing I had left behind,
As tho' all worldly ties were now dissolved; —
And, to incline the mind still more to thought,
To thought and sadness, on the eastern shore
Under a beetling cliff stood half in shadow
A lonely chapel destined for the dead,
For such as having wandered from their way,
Had perished miserably. Side by side,
Within they lie, a mournful company,
All in their shrouds, no earth to cover them;
Their features full of life yet motionless
In the broad day, nor soon to suffer change,
Tho' the barred windows, barred against the wolf,
Are always open!'

In the following sketch, the writer seems to emulate the familiarity of Wordsworth: but we shall close our article by quoting it, because it is by no means deficient in feeling and in taste.

'Jorasse was in his three-and-twentieth year;
Graceful and active as a stag just roused;
Gentle withal, and pleasant in his speech,
Yet seldom seen to smile. He had grown up
Among the hunters of the Higher Alps;
Had caught their starts and fits of thoughtfulness,
Their haggard looks, and strange soliloquies,
Said to arise by those who dwell below,
From frequent dealings with the mountain-spirits.
But other ways had taught him better things;
And now he numbered, marching by my side,

The

The Savans, Princes, who with him had crossed
The icy tract, with him familiarly
Through the rough day and rougher night conversed
In many a chalêt round the peak of terror,
Round Tacul, Tour, Well-horn and Rosenlau;
Save when an avalanche, at distance rolling
Its long, long thunders held them mute with fear.
— But with what transport he recalled the hour
When to deserve to win his blooming bride,
Madelaine of Annecy, to his feet he bound
The iron crampons, and, ascending, trod
The upper realms of frost; then, by a cord
Let half-way down, entered a grot star-bright,
And gathered from above, below, around,
The pointed crystals!

'Once, nor long before,
(Thus did his tongue run on, fast as his feet,
And with an eloquence that nature gives
To all her children — breaking off by starts
Into the harsh and rude, oft as the mule
Drew his displeasure,) once, nor long before,
Alone at day-break on the Mettenberg,
He slipped, he fell; and, through a fearful cleft
Gliding from ledge to ledge, from deep to deeper,
Went to the under-world! Long-while he lay
Upon his rugged bed — then waked like one
Wishing to sleep again and sleep for ever!
For looking round, he saw or thought he saw
Innumerable branches of a cavern,
Winding beneath that solid crust of ice;
With here and there a rent that shewed the stars!
What then, alas, was left him but to die?
What else in those immeasurable chambers,
Strewn with the bones of miserable men
Lost like himself? Yet must he wander on,
Till cold and hunger set his spirit free!
And, rising, he began his dreary round;
When hark, the noise as of some mighty river
Working its way to light! Back he withdrew,
But soon returned, and, fearless from despair,
Dashed down the dismal channel; and all day,
If day could be where utter darkness was,
Travelled incessantly, the craggy roof
Just over-head, and the impetuous waves,
Nor broad nor deep, yet with a giant's strength
Lashing him on. At last the water slept
In a dead lake — at the third step he took
Unfathomable — and the roof, that long
Had threatened, suddenly descending, lay
Flat on the surface. Statue-like he stood,
His journey ended; when a ray divine

Shot

Shot thro' his soul. Breathing a prayer to her
Whose ears are never shut, the blessed Virgin,
He plunged, he swam — and in an instant rose,
The barrier past, in light, in sunshine! Thro'
A smiling valley, full of cottages,
Glittering the river ran; and on the bank
The Young were dancing ('twas a festival-day)
All in their best attire. There first he saw
His Madelaine. In the crowd she stood to hear,
When all drew round, inquiring; and her face,
Seen behind all, and, varying, as he spoke,
With hope, and fear, and generous sympathy,
Subdued him. From that very hour he loved.

'The tale was long, but coming to a close,
When his dark eyes flashed fire, and, stopping short,
He listened and looked up. I looked up too;
And twice there came a hiss that thro' me thrilled!
'Twas heard no more. A chamois on the cliff
Had roused his fellows with that cry of fear,
And all were gone.

'But now the thread was broken;
Love and its joys had vanished from his mind;
And he recounted his hair-breadth escapes,
When with his friend, Hubert of Bionnay,
(His ancient carbine from his shoulder slung,
His axe to hew a stair-case in the ice)
He tracked their footsteps. By a cloud surprised,
Upon a crag among the precipices,
Where the next step had hurled them fifty fathoms,
Oft had they stood, locked in each other's arms,
All the long night under a freezing sky,
Each guarding each the while from sleeping, falling.
Oh, 'twas a sport he loved dearer than life,
And only would with life itself relinquish!
"My sire, my grandsire died among these wilds,
My brother too! As for myself," he cried,
And he held out his wallet in his hand,
"This do I call my winding-sheet, so sure
Am I to have no other!"

'And his words
Were soon fulfilled. Within a little month
Jorasse slept soundly half-way up the Jung-frau.
Long did his wife, suckling her babe, look out
The way he went at parting, but he came not!
Long fear to close her eyes, lest in her sleep
(Such their belief) he should appear before her,
Frozen and ghastly pale, or crushed and bleeding,
To tell her where he lay, and supplicate
For the last rite! At length the dismal news
Came to her ears, and to her eyes his corse.'

Art.

Art. 18. *Chinzica*; or the Battle of the Bridge, a Poem, in Ten Cantos. By Henry Stobert. 8vo. pp. 271. 12*s*. Boards. Warren. 1822.

If the author of this volume has wasted a great deal of good paper and printing, it is no reason that we should be equally profuse of our readers' patience. Such verses as the following would satisfy the most fastidious:

'Thy lips that were once ruby bright
Are now the sad colour of lead,
And thy neck and thy brow ivory white
Are now like the bones of the dead.

'The flowers of the field are wither'd,
The leaves of the forest are dropp'd,
The blessings of Heaven are gather'd,
The souls of the wicked *are crapp'd*.'

When understood in a proper sense, we think that the author's prayer at the commencement of the tenth canto is very sensible.

'O Heaven, sustain, sustain my song;
Still sway the power that wakes my lyre;
O grant my muse to bear along,
And reach the goal on wings of fire.'

We wish that we could give Mr. Stobert's note on moral and physical comets:—but we have not room.

Art. 19. *Retrospection*; with other Poems. By Arthur Brooke. 12mo. pp. 130. 6*s*. Boards. Warren. 1822.

We understand that Mr. Arthur Brooke, like Mr. Barry Cornwall, here appears not for the first time under a *poetical name*, as well as in *the poetical character*. If this fashionable rule obtains, we wish that these coy poets, affecting concealment only that they may be sought, and pretending to fly from public gaze only that it may pursue them, would assume somewhat more lofty and high sounding appellations, to distinguish them from those of mere ordinary mortals, to lessen the probability of actual deception, and to give zest and dignity to the inquiry, "*Ubi, ubi est, diu celari non potest*."

In his style and manner, the author of 'Retrospection' assumes much of the philosopher, and of a philosophical recluse: but his doctrines are delivered with the air of a man of the world, rather vainly intended to be agreeably relieved by free thoughts on religion, jovial songs, and warm stanzas on love. Did these school-boy effusions comprehend the whole of this author's writings, it would save us some trouble, inasmuch as we should quickly consign him to "the tomb of all the Capulets," and take *our revenge by oblivion*. Mr. B., it seems, is infected with that species of the free thinking disease, which renders the patient desirous of communicating the contagion of false principles to others, as if he could thus relieve himself: but he shews a vanity and a littleness in all this, which we feel ourselves bound to reprove; and the more because he appears to possess a heart and understanding which,

with

with all his errors and affectation, may be worth cultivation. Briefly, we would advise him, then, to refrain from obtruding crude opinions in religious matters on the public in his poetry, or in notes to his poetry: for he ought to recollect that it is as unpolite and absurd to do this, as it would be to pour them forth when sitting in a mixed party, or in good company. It is, besides, so hacknied a custom, such a poor joke, if it be meant as such, that it would now be far "more honored in the breach than the observance."

With all "this perilous stuff," that weighs down the genius of his poetry, the author has redeeming points about him, as we have formerly had occasion to observe, which in some measure atone, by their spirit and their power, for much tedious and insipid common-place, both poetic and prosaic. We think that he has the elements of greater and better things in him, if he knew how to frame a poetical mind out of them, and could be brought to give up his scepticism, — at least his poetical scepticism, and the vain attempt of reconciling it to the art of poetry.

In the leading composition of the volume, the writer discovers evident traces of poetry, and passion breathing the soul of poetry, united to some definite object and meaning; — a quality of comparatively rare occurrence among the mass of our modern versifiers. Taking a review of past ages, and a comparison of the various stages of society with the present, he endeavors to shew the probability of such increased and increasing wisdom and happiness, that the time will arrive when perfect freedom, peace, and prosperity shall become inseparable. Though here his sentiments are sometimes bold and paradoxical, they are liberal and free; and they are written in that spirit of inquiry which evinces a vigorous and original power of thought. On this account, perhaps, the poem is embellished with fewer poetical images than we should have liked: but considerable fancy is discovered in some of the minor pieces.

TRAVELS.

Art. 20. *The Tour of Africa.* Containing a concise Account of all the Countries in that Quarter of the Globe, hitherto visited by Europeans; with the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants. Selected from the best Authors, and arranged, by Catherine Hutton. Vols. II. and III. 8vo. 12*s.* each, Boards. Baldwin and Co. 1821.

When the first volume of this entertaining and in many respects judicious compilation was noticed in our Number for December, 1819, we ventured to suggest an improvement to the fair compiler, namely, that of placing her authorities in the margin. She acknowleges, in her preface to Vol. 2., her deference for our opinion, but thus states the impracticability of adopting it. 'I can assure my friends and critics, that in those countries where there have been different travellers, one paragraph is often extracted from several, and sometimes one sentence from two; and that the authors are so mingled, in order to form a regular whole, that like the tub of feathers prepared by the fairy, it would be almost impossible for any bird to find his own. I must, therefore, content myself

myself with a general list of my authorities which will be found at the end of the volume.' Preface, p. vi.

As we have paid due attention to most of the authors on whom Miss Hutton has levied contributions, our remarks on her work will be few. In addition, however, to what we ventured to hint as to her plan, we would remark that no possible advantage has been gained by supposing an imaginary traveller, who relates as the fruit of his own observation the various contents of her volumes. The slightest reflection must convince every reader that to no human traveller, endued only with human powers, and possessing no more than a human frame, it would have been permitted to have traversed Africa in so many different directions, and to have remained long enough at each place to note down all that was most interesting or remarkable. The illusion is not for a moment created; and the work would have afforded equal entertainment, had it been announced only as what it really is,—a compilation.—As to the omission of her authorities in the margin, she seems inclined to think that they would destroy the idea of an imaginary traveller: but we must refer her to the Abbé Barthélémy's Anacharsis, where a profusion of citations occurs in every page; and we have never yet heard that, among the numerous admirers of that work, its charms suffered the slightest diminution from this circumstance.

With regard to the substance of these volumes, we observe that the account of Howakil and Amphila Bays, the journey to Tigre, Chelicut, and the eastern coast of Africa as far as the bay of De l'Agoa in the second volume, are taken from Salt: — the bay of De l'Agoa, from Captain White: — southern Africa, from Kolben, Sparrman, Patterson, Thunberg, Van Reenen, Barrow, Lichtenstein, and Campbell: — Benguela and Angola, from Churchill's Collection: — Congo, from Churchill and Captain Tuckey: — the River Gabon, from Bowdich: — Benin, from Barbot and Van Nyendael: — Dahomy, from Snelgrave, Norris, Dalzel, and *Description de la Nigritie:* — Ashantee, from Bowdich: — the Gold coast, from Bosman and Meredith: — the Kroomen, from Ludlam: — Sierra Leone, from Golberry and Winterbottom.

In the third volume, Sego is taken from Park and Isaaco. From Park, also, are derived the Faloops, Walli, Bondou, Silla, Voyage down the Niger, and the return thence to the Gambia. Mollien, Golberry, Jackson, Riley, Chenier, Lempriere, Ali Bey, Dr. Shaw, Bruce, Mrs. Tully, and Captain Lyon, are the principal contributors to the rest of its contents.

Justice requires us to state that the compilation has been well executed; and, furnishing, as it does, to the curiosity of those who are anxious for information concerning the vast regions of Africa, materials drawn from the most accredited sources, no doubt can be entertained of its utility as a work of instruction. While, also, the range and diversity of its topics enable it to blend so much amusement with that instruction, it must be deemed highly auxiliary to the great cause of African research, and the grand and dignified objects connected with it. For these reasons, we strongly recommend it to the favor and patronage of the public.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Art. 21. *Letters illustrative of Italian Scenery and Antiquities, suggested during a Tour on the Continent, performed in the Summer of 1817.* Crown 8vo. pp. 101. Printed by Ellerton and Henderson.

We must literally cry out for quarter under the unceasing infliction of Italian tours.

> "*Quis leget hæc? Min' tu istud ais? Nemo, hercule; Vel duo, vel Nemo.*"

The publication now before us appears in the shape of letters under the signature of R. C. M. What personage lurks under the obscurity of these initials, we know not: but that our readers may not suppose the acquisition of his work to be an absolute *sine quâ non* as an accompaniment on their Italian excursions, we make the ensuing extract from Letter the Third, to exemplify the plenitude of information imparted by this traveller concerning the places which he visited.

'On Saturday the 9th of August we quited Turin.

'At *Dusino*, over one of the gates, is a balcony remarkably well executed in fresco.

'*Asti*, one of the principal towns of Monferrat, is incommoded by narrow streets, and the inhabitants appeared to be very poor.

'*Alessandria*, celebrated for the number of sieges which it has sustained, is situated on the Tanaro. The citadel is considered one of the best in Italy, and was much improved by Napoleon; the bridge leading to it from the city is peculiar in its construction; and the ditches belonging to the fortifications are filled by means of machinery. We here witnessed the melancholy spectacle of six hundred men, deserters and banditti, returning from their work, heavily chained, and under a strong military escort.

'*Marengo*, so celebrated for the bloody engagement in 1800, which decided the fate of Lombardy, is two miles distant. The plain had the appearance of having recently been waste land, but it is now brought into cultivation. *Novi*, the first town of Liguria, situated in a plain at the foot of the Appennines, is on this route.

'At *Voltaggio* is the castle of Gavi, occupying the summit of a rocky hill, and commanding the defile. We crossed the Molinario, a high, fertile, and well-wooded hill. From Voltaggio we passed the Bocchette, which is one of the bulwarks of Genoa, and the top of it presents a most delightful view of that city and the Mediterranean.

'*Campo Marone* is only one stage from Genoa. Here we crossed the Polcevera. About half a mile on this side the gate of Genoa, is the village of *San Pier d'Arena*, which is beautifully adorned with buildings, the fronts of which are painted in fresco.'

The travellers hired an Italian felucca at Genoa, in order to proceed by water to Leghorn, and were much disturbed by the fleas; an event which is thus described.

'In a few hours the fleas, which from time immemorial had been allowed the undisturbed possession of the inside of the mattrasses, commenced a nocturnal attack upon us; and neither eau

de

de Cologne nor essence of lavender, with which we made copious libations, availed entirely to put them to flight. Imagine our situation, — crowded in a small boat, with a number of dirty Italians, and assailed by a host of vermin. We awoke the padrone, or captain of the vessel, and loudly demanded how long a time would elapse before we should reach Leghorn: he replied, that it would probably be a week, if the wind did not change, as we had been driven back five leagues by contrary winds.'

Art. 22. *Two Voyages to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land;* with a Description of the present Condition of that interesting Colony: including Facts and Observations relative to the State and Management of Convicts of both Sexes; &c. By Thomas Reid, Surgeon in the Royal Navy. 8vo. pp. 400. 12*s.* Boards. Longman and Co. 1822.

The reflecting part of the public has lately witnessed, with much satisfaction, the efforts of numerous benevolent individuals to improve the state of prisons and the morals of prisoners; as also the inquiries which have been made respecting the condition of our crime-colony in New South Wales, and the treatment of convicts on their passage thither. To all such persons we recommend Mr. Reid's publication, as interesting and informing. Its chief purport is to detail the transactions on his passage in the two voyages mentioned in the title, when he was surgeon of the convict-ships, *Neptune* and *Morley;* and when he not merely performed the part of a kind, skilful, and a vigilant medical attendant, but also exercised the functions of a moral adviser and religious instructor, with uncommon perseverance, activity, and (we may add) ability. In these points of view, the work is really a curious narrative, and, as already intimated, must be very interesting to all whom the subject itself can attract.

We are sorry to add that in Chap. iv. *On the manner of disposing of Convicts,* after their arrival at Sydney, Mr. Reid exhibits a shocking statement of the management of affairs there; fully confirming a number of preceding similar accounts, particularly the representations of Mr. Grey Bennet; and lamentably proving that all such extraordinary exertions as those of the author himself, to reclaim the convicts while on their passage out, must be immediately frustrated by their treatment when landed. We hope that the whole of this subject, including the question itself whether any convicts shall in future be sent to this Antipodean exile, will undergo the serious investigation which, according to report, is about to be allotted to it, or has been already commenced.

Art. 23. *Memoirs of the Life and Trial of James Mackcoull of Moffat,* who died in the County Jail of Edinburgh, 22d Dec. 1820; containing a full Account of his Trial before the Jury-Court, and High-Court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh, for robbing the Branch of the Paisley Union Bank at Glasgow of Twenty Thousand Pounds. Illustrated with Notes, Anecdotes, and a Portrait. With an Appendix, containing Mr. Denovan's Journal from Glasgow to London in trace of the Robbery, and other curious Papers. 8vo. pp. 317. 8*s.* 6*d.* Boards. Edinburgh, Anderson; London, Longman and Co. 1822.

Fielding's

Fielding's *Life of Jonathan Wild the Great*, which we should have imagined to be almost forgotten, seems lately to have been very influential in prompting book-makers to compile the memoirs and detail the exploits of highwaymen, housebreakers, footpads, swindlers, murderers, and all the tribe of wretches who live by plundering their fellow creatures, outraging the laws of God and man, debasing the faculties which have been allotted to us, and, "as far as in them lies," rendering our common nature almost odious and disgraceful. Gifted, however, as Fielding was, he made the life of Wild a most entertaining and humorous story, while he laid open the practices of the villains of his day, on information for which he probably was indebted to his office as an active Middlesex magistrate: but the details of modern rogues neither exhibit the humor nor convey the information which characterized Fielding's work; and we cannot account for the welcome and the importance lately given to such publications, nor perceive their utility. Indeed, we are more inclined to think that they tend rather to corrupt by the incitement of example than to deter by the warning of punishment, or to benefit by the exposure of artifice.

We have now before us another of these *Records of Rascality*, forming a goodly octavo volume, handsomely printed; and to those who really have a taste for such details, or who have been *involuntarily acquainted* with the hero of them, we suppose the account may be welcome. Taste is indeed infinite in its variety, and in its love of change; and we actually did once know *a lady*, who borrowed from a neighbour his volumes of Session-papers, or reports of trials at the Old Bailey, (of which he had an almost unique collection,) that she might enjoy the pleasure of perusing, *seriatim*, all the accounts of robbery, rape, manslaughter, murder, &c. &c. with which their choice pages are luxuriously filled. Were she living, we certainly would present her with our copy of the present Memoirs.

The prefixed portrait of this scoundrel is finally characteristic of his nature and habits. His name underneath it might be changed from *Mac Koull* to *Mac Scowl*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

'*Quiz*' will not do. He may punningly but not justly call himself '*laudably* in*quis*itive,' and will not get from us "the secrets of the prison-house."

'*Veritas*' may depend on the accuracy of the statement which has excited his attention in the article in question, and we think that he cannot dispute the validity of the inference.

'*Un étranger*' will obtain the information which he desires, in our approaching APPENDIX, to be published on the 1st of October, with the Number for September.

THE APPENDIX

TO THE

NINETY-EIGHTH VOLUME

OF THE

MONTHLY REVIEW, ENLARGED.

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

ART. I. *De la Peine de Mort, &c.; i. e.* On the Punishment of Death for Political Offences. By F. GUIZOT. 8vo. Paris. 1822. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 6*s*.

FEW men in France enjoy a higher reputation as political writers than M. GUIZOT, or more truly deserve it. His first work, "On the Government of France since the Restoration," was received with the loudest praises, and is said to have produced a great effect on the public mind: so much that even the fall of the ministry is reported to have been hastened by its appearance. Since that time, he has given to the world two other political tracts besides the present, which will not detract from his fame. We do not remember, indeed, to have met with a book which threw more light on an extensive and difficult subject, examined it with sounder argument, or illustrated it with greater ingenuity; and we feel more particularly alive to its merits, after having been fatigued with the laborious errors and petty triflings of some late writers on similar subjects, from whom it is a great relief to turn to the enlightened principles and excellent feelings in which M. GUIZOT's treatise abounds. If we were inclined to make any observations of a different nature on the spirit in which it is written, we should perhaps say that it occasionally displays a little too much of a temporizing policy, though we question whether it may not be calculated on that very ac-

count to produce more beneficial effects. We understand that the author himself, though very liberal in his political opinions, is not one of those who push their principles to an extent which defeats their own objects, — and to France such men are invaluable.

The frequent conspiracies against the government which have lately been discovered in France, substantiated as they have been by judicial investigation at Tours, Marseilles, Nantes, and in other parts of the kingdom, and followed by the capital punishment of many of the parties implicated, have naturally suggested some doubts as to the efficacy of that mode of preventing the repetition of state offences. In these circumstances the work before us appears to have originated, and we rejoice that the subject has fallen into the hands of a writer qualified to perform his task with so much ability. The manner in which he has conducted his inquiries has not only rendered his book valuable for the justness of its views, but has likewise given to it a very considerable interest from the insight which it affords into the present state of political feeling in France. The perusal of it has also made us augur well of a country, in which so bold an exposition of liberal feeling has been made, at a period when such a proceeding cannot fail to excite the hostile sentiments of those whose measures are so freely scrutinized; while the moderation of the author's opinions induces a hope that the people of France have at length been taught to believe, that it is equally cruel and unwise to make violence and bloodshed the attendants of all political changes.

We moreover deem this publication of considerable importance from the new light in which the punishment of death is viewed as *connected with political offences*, whereas the generality of writers have regarded it exclusively in relation to crimes against individuals; and therefore we shall endeavour to give rather fully the substance of the author's arguments, referring to his own words when we find them necessary for the more forcible illustration of his positions.

After having defined what he proposes as the limits of his question, and observed that not only the public mind is agitated with doubts on the propriety of the punishment, but that even the government, by the irresolution and hesitation which it displays on these occasions, evinces the same feelings, M. Guizot proceeds to examine the grounds on which the utility of punishing political offences with death is supposed to rest. The efficacy of punishment, he says, is either physical or moral, or physical and moral united. It is physical inasmuch as it disables the criminal from repeating his offence;

fence; and moral in the example which it gives of his chastisement. In judging of the physical efficacy of the punishment of death in the present case, it is necessary to observe the changes which society has undergone in modern times. Formerly, political commotions were generally fomented by some powerful noble, and in cutting him off the tumult was quelled; or, even if the evil originated with a portion of the populace themselves, it was not unusual to punish them nearly to extirpation. It is evident, however, that, as at the present day political agitations are never caused by the former means, so in the latter case it is impossible to suppress them in the manner antiently adopted. In France more particularly, the writer observes, it is impracticable to render the punishment of death really effective by diminishing the number of the offenders. The Revolution has given rise to a salutary dread of exhibiting the spectacle of men of respectability and rank suffering execution; and it is among that class chiefly, according to the advocates of government, that the plots have their origin. It is equally unsafe to attempt the extirpation of such evil opinions by the destruction of their meaner professors. Within the last half-century, the face of society in France has been entirely changed; the impassable spaces which formerly separated different ranks have been removed, and in their stead we find a gradual ascent of rank above rank: an alteration which has had the effect of connecting individuals more closely, and rendering them of greater importance to society at large, since proximity of situation never fails to excite an interest. The mass of the people is no longer a weak and disjointed multitude, but is composed of merchants, tradesmen, and the small proprietors of lands; and there are no longer any feudal lords to be cut off, or mere populace to be decimated. — Thus, both against individuals and against masses of people, the physical efficacy of the punishment is equally disputable.

Such is the outline of M. Guizot's arguments on the first branch of his position. His succeeding observations on the *moral* effects of this mode of preventing political offences are very able and acute; and we shall give them, as much as we can, in his own terms.

Crime and punishment, he remarks, are intimately connected in the human mind; where the latter is seen, the former is presumed to exist. One great end of punishment, therefore, is to impress on the public mind a detestation of the criminal act. It is this feeling of reprobation which is the main preventive of crimes, and not the apprehension of the mere bodily suffering; for, supposing that all such moral

impressions could be effaced, the utmost rigor would be insufficient to prevent the commission of crime. Now, with regard to offences against individuals, such as murder or robbery, a feeling of detestation already exists in the public mind which induces a persuasion of the necessity and justice of severity, and the principles of the law accord with the sentiments of the people: — but not so in the case of political offences.

'In political crimes, the two circumstances of the certainty and the criminality of the act are undefined; it is not certain that the act of the accused is that which the law denounces, nor that, if denounced by the law, it is naturally and invariably criminal. The first uncertainty is evident. At the present day, in crimes against individuals, it is only necessary to discover the criminal, for of the commission of the act there is no doubt: but in political matters, as conspiracies, libels, &c. it is always requisite, by a chain of evidence more or less conclusive, to ascertain both the offence and the offender. With regard to the uncertainty as to the criminal nature of the act, let it not be said that, in affirming its existence, I wish to weaken the laws, and to leave public tranquillity defenceless; I only assert that the immorality of political crimes is by no means so clear and unchangeable, as that of private offences: it is perpetually disguised or obscured by the vicissitude of affairs: it varies according to times and circumstances, and the rights and merits of power: it staggers every moment under the blows of force, which pretends to fashion it according to its own caprices and necessities. It is scarcely possible to find, in the whole circle of politics, any innocent or meritorious action which has not been declared criminal at some period, and in some corner of the earth. — Who will say that all these laws are founded in reason? Who will maintain that they have always carried into the minds of the people a conviction of their justice, and have inspired, together with a dread of the punishment, a detestation of the acts which they punish? Who will now rise up as the defender of absolute power, and submit himself entirely to the government of laws which declare the rights of society, without reference to the conduct of those who are invested with power? — The supposition is vain. In matters of so changing and complicated a nature, the true morality of actions is not thus defined and imprisoned in the text of laws; and Providence, which so often suffers the fate of men to be decided by violence, will not permit him at his will thus to make and unmake vice and virtue. "Were you not aware," said the President of the "Revolutionary Tribunal," "of the law which forbids the sending of money to emigrants?" — "Yes," replied the accused old man; "but I knew there was an older law, which commanded me to furnish my children with sustenance." This, which was true in 1793, will ever remain so, in spite of all codes, and in the face of every authority. No doubt there are political crimes, both odious and real; but those which the laws thus denominate are not always of that nature, whatever be the laws and the times. Force, it is

true,

true, exercises a wonderful empire over the weak intellect of man: but it cannot deprave it to such an excess, that the crimes which it invents shall excite the instinctive apathy attached to crimes that have been declared such by the sound judgment of the law.'

In comparing the different effects of punishment in cases of political and of private crimes, M. GUIZOT remarks on the different sentiments with which the offenders are impressed concerning the criminality of their actions. A robber or murderer is an isolated being: he knows that society is armed against him; and that, whenever he is seen, he excites the horror of his fellow-creatures. Not so the state-criminal, who lives among men of similar feelings, and looks to them for protection and assistance. Even when he falls, he considers himself as a martyr to his principles, and leaves to his friends the task of avenging his fate. — The writer has given a faithful representation of the consequence of punishing with death those actions which, in public opinion, bear no certain stamp of criminality.

'Of all the means, which power employs to attain this end, certainly punishments are the least efficacious. Punishment presupposes crime; and, if that supposition be not admitted, its moral efficacy vanishes. Let us examine the consequences. — The individual who is punished, and those who think with him, conceive that they are wronged, and the punishment produces nothing but a conviction of its injustice. It causes irritation; instead of effecting a change in their opinions, it confirms them; and, thus separating them more completely from power, it directly defeats one of its own objects. If, on the contrary, the enemies of power admit the right to punish them, — if they grant that force is employed against them with reason, — it is because they have resolved to consider themselves in a state of actual war. In that case, every social bond is broken, and there is no question of laws or punishments; conspiracies are ambuscades, and executions are defeats. Government then loses its moral position, and descends into the arena of force, where every thing is equal between it and its enemies. As it has a right to defend itself, its enemies have a right to attack it. We should err in saying that the one seeks for obedience, or that the other demands justice. *Those* acts belong to society, and society is dissolved: there is nothing but war; — war, with the licentiousness of its arms, the continuance of its dangers, and the uncertainty of its results.'

Does the dread of death, then, produce no effect? We think that the author shews very clearly that it operates much less powerfully in cases of political than of private offences. Men, he observes, are governed by different motives, and it is therefore vain to attempt to control them all by the same means. Interest, passion, and a sense of duty, all operate differently on the mind; and that which will deter an interested man from the commission of a deed may be totally ineffica-

cious in restraining another, who imagines that he is performing a necessary and virtuous action. Interest and passion may be subdued by fear, but opinion never. It is true that all these motives will be found to enter into the composition of the various individuals who are implicated in popular commotions, and that fear may therefore have its effects in deterring the selfish and the malevolent from the prosecution of their design: but it will only serve doubly to strengthen the determination of those whose views are honest. M. Guizot illustrates this part of his argument by a reference to that period of our own history, in which the Stuarts endeavored by severity to fortify their approaches to despotic power. 'In the eyes of the ambitious portion of their party, Russell and Sidney were only unfortunate conspirators, affording a discouraging example, but to the people they were martyrs. It required no long time to prove that, if fear had produced its fruits for power, it had at the same time sown its bitter seeds.'

With these arguments the writer has filled the first three chapters of his work. In the fourth, he applies the principles which he has laid down to the state of France at the restoration of the Bourbons. His fifth chapter treats on 'the double character of governments,' and contains some most able and excellent remarks on the changes which have of late years been wrought in the state of society. A government, it is observed, has a double character: — it is charged with the maintenance of public order and justice, and with the conduct of state-affairs, and it thus represents the interests of society: but, as it is composed of men open to the passions and even the vices of our nature, it has also interests purely personal.

'To abjure the personal and to retain the social character of government is the highest virtue of those who are in power. To convince the people that they act only for the public interest, and that the fortunes of the governors and the governed are the same, is the truest policy: while to permit themselves to be seen occupied with their own situation, and in the nakedness of their own separate existence, is the most ridiculous and dangerous folly. — * * * As the representative of society, the force of governments is prodigious, and greater than it even was in former times: but in its individual and isolated character it is almost a nullity. It stands alone to-day; to-morrow it ceases to exist.

'There are certain traits which belong more peculiarly to one than to the other of these characters; — circumstances which are symptomatic of the one or the other. The employment of the punishment of death is in the number, and announces the predominance of the personal over the social character of power; causing a belief that it is occupied with its individual affairs, and is contending with a danger which is menacing itself only. What can be more natural? When we turn to history, and demand the reasons

reason of all the blood that has been shed on the state-scaffolds, how rarely can society rise and answer, "This blood was shed for me." The governments alone, in general, render an account of these sufferings; their passions, their faults, and their interests alone have commanded them; and after all the inflictions which these unfortunate individuals have sustained, society itself has suffered.'—

'Scantily diffused, and confined to moralists alone, this knowledge has notwithstanding become popular. It seems to be with us a sort of instinct, which reveals to their utmost extent the situation and the falsehood of power. When they say that the illusions of what is called monarchy are dissipated, and its deceptions vanished, they do not know how far this truth extends. It is not merely the illusions and deceptions that are in question;—the very things themselves are changed: the sphere of existence and of action is enlarged; and that which was confined to individuals has become general; not only with regard to society and its defence, but respecting government and its interests.'

In his sixth chapter, M. Guizot defines the nature of justice, and distinguishes between natural and legal justice. He shews that in every action two things are to be considered, viz. the morality of the act itself, and the morality of the agent: but that human justice can examine only the morality of the act. Still, individuals will judge of the criminal by the morality of his intention, and the law therefore incurs a double danger; viz. of erring with regard to the act which it denounces, and of proceeding in the application of its rules so as to shock the public sentiment. In punishing political offences, the law is more especially exposed to this danger, for in them the purest intentions are often accompanied by the most immoral acts. The moral merit or depravity of the action has not the same degree of certainty which attaches to private crimes, and depends on an infinite variety of circumstances, to which the providence of the laws cannot extend. The consideration of the intention, also, has more force in this than in any other case; it is more easy to doubt; the motives are less directly personal; the causes of illusion are more pressing, and even the passions may be more pure.

Having shewn that it is not by the principle of utility alone that justice is to be guided, the author maintains that there are three circumstances which are the foundation of punishment; moral criminality, danger to society, and penal efficacy. Now it is the moral criminality, and not the idea of public danger, (which is complex, and produced by reflection,) that causes an antipathy towards the offender; and if the law sacrifices a pure and disinterested character, even from a professed regard to public safety, it alienates the minds of men,

and bears the semblance of injustice. — Again, is the public danger always so great as it is represented to be by men in authority? Here, also, is a great distinction between political and private crimes. Under every government, free or tyrannical, murder and robbery are dangerous and detestable: but, in political offences, the peril to society varies according to the conduct of those who are in power, and the advantages which the public derive from them. — The whole of this chapter deserves the highest praise and attention: but we hasten to examine M. GUIZOT's observations on the necessity of the punishment.

Taking care to disclaim any intention of recommending the abolition of those laws which inflict death for political offences, (a question which the author does not undertake to argue, his object being merely to shew the impolicy of a frequent resort to them,) M. GUIZOT maintains that, whatever might have been the necessity for employing such severity in former times, when the attacks on governments generally proceeded from individuals aiming at the sovereignty, it has now ceased to exist, in consequence of the change which has been wrought in the character of the assailants. Were the revolutions in Spain, in Portugal, in Naples, and in Piedmont, he asks, the fruit of a contest for the throne, the act of an ambitious individual desirous of ascending it?

'Political dangers have changed their nature — the contest is no longer between man and man, but between systems of government. The lot of a minister, or even of a dynasty, is not subordinate to the fortunes of an adversary, but to those of the system adopted or represented by him. Formerly, society was a *possession*, and the contest lay between its possessors; now it is enfranchised, and from it alone, or from the great parties into which it is divided, can government derive, not its power only, but its pretensions; while from the same quarter alone it has to look for danger. It is not the question now who forms the government, but how it is conducted. Individuals, I repeat, are nothing more than instruments and interpreters of those general interests, which can never, in any event, want either interpreters or instruments.'

At the end of this chapter, the author attempts to point out the true reason of the severity of punishments in political offences.

'I repeat that power itself feels this; its confidence in these means is a prejudice rather than a conviction; and, like all who are prejudiced, it is disquieted and doubtful before it acts. It persists, notwithstanding; and we are thus under the necessity of examining the true reason of its conduct; of exposing all its pretexts and falsehoods; and of assigning the punishment of death to its proper source. This source is not justice, nor necessity; it is fear;

fear;—not that legitimate and wise apprehension which looks danger in the face, and takes the means of avoiding it, but that blind dread which wishes rather to fly from itself than from the danger; and which, without any reasonable intention, or well formed design, adopts at all hazards any step which offers a chance of relief. Prudence desires safety, fear only wishes to escape from the aspect of danger. On the morrow, perhaps, the danger will be redoubled. No matter:—for a moment, it has shaken off a situation full of anxiety, and for a moment will persuade itself that it has been without fear. This untractable passion never changes its nature; what it is in the obscure incidents of private life, such is it in the bosom of splendor; ever more occupied by its own torments than by the perils which cause them;—ever entertaining the most futile and unreasonable schemes, if they promise an immediate asylum or a little respite from anguish. When to the fears of power those of faction are joined,—when this blind feeling, penetrating the mass of a party, becomes a collective passion, and drives forwards the individuals one on another, who thus flatter themselves with the hope of escaping all personal responsibility;—reason is silent, calculation and foresight disappear, and it is in vain to talk of the necessity or the utility of justice. Fear perceives the necessity in itself; one of those fatal necessities, the empire of which redoubles in proportion as it recedes from its ends; and on which men act mechanically, yet with passion, and without ability to exert their judgment. Such is the terrible example which the Convention and the Jacobins have left us.'

We are sorry that we must pass over the remainder of M. Guizot's work in a more cursory manner; but, as the observations which it contains relate principally to the state of politics in France, and have not so much reference to the general question, we may be brief with the less regret. We cannot, however, omit to notice the very sensible remarks on the folly of fostering crimes and conspiracies till the agents in them have incurred capital guilt, when it is in the power of the administrators of justice to suppress them ere they arrive at that point. A contrary course is one of the means by which M. Guizot proposes to avoid the necessity of a too frequent resort to the punishment of death. The extent to which this system of encouragement is carried in England is well known; and one argument which has been used in favor of such practices is that they supply useful examples: but the author's answer is very complete, and effectually exposes the fallacy of the common opinion on this subject.

'They promise themselves much from *the example*: but they forget that, if there be an example of punishment, there is also one of crime, often more powerful than the former. Who can doubt that, in a country where robbery has been infrequent, that very

very infrequency will have a greater effect than the severest punishment. How can so evident an analogy be misinterpreted? Murder has been seen to follow murder, and one incendiary to produce another. The perverse dispositions of men reveal themselves at the appeal thus made to them; and, when they are once launched in their career, the rigor of the laws must be long exercised before it can overcome them.'

We observe that the severity of the law has occasionally produced the same effect in France as in England, and that considerable difficulty has been found in procuring convictions when the punishment was capital. This public feeling of aversion to the system must have some regard paid to it; even the boldest governments have not ventured to despise it. "All men," says Clarendon, in speaking of the execution of Colonel Ashton and others, "appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable spectacles, that Cromwell thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemned, or rather to reprieve them." Yet we are told by some writers that the public sentiment is not to be consulted in the administration of the laws!

We have abstained from offering many remarks on M. Guizot's opinions, not only because our entire concurrence with them in general seemed to render our interposition unnecessary, but also that we might find space to give a more complete idea of this valuable treatise; which, as yet, can be but little known even to that portion of the English public, whose inquiries have interested them in the important subject to which it relates. — As a writer, M. Guizot is eloquent, and occasionally florid; an admirer, we conjecture, of Gibbon: of whose works we believe he some time since published an edition at Paris.

Art. II. *Histoire de Philippe II.* &c.; *i. e.* The History of Philip II. King of Spain. By Alexis Dumesnil. 8vo. pp. 411. Paris. 1822. Imported by Treuttel and Co.

Few characters have been exhibited in more opposite colors than that of Philip, son of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and husband of Mary Queen of England. Catholics, monks, and inquisitors, have endeavored to soften down his ferocious features, and wash away the blood-stains from his portrait, in gratitude for an uniform protection of them and an inexorable persecution of the Protestants; while the latter, in the exasperation occasioned by every outrage and insult which his intolerant spirit could inflict, have represented him as a monster rather than a man, combining in his character all

all the vices which despotic power and hardened bigotry can engender, and possessing no solitary redeeming virtue. When in his long dying illness his body was covered with sores, and the care of his attendants could not deliver him from the swarms of loathsome vermin which bred in the imposthumes, it is no wonder that the Protestants fancied they beheld in the agonies of their oppressor the vengeance of Heaven, and the just punishment inflicted by Providence on an enormous sinner.

When the dominions of the House of Austria, says Mr. Hume, devolved on Philip the Second, all Europe was struck with terror, lest the power of a family which had been raised by fortune should now be carried to an immeasurable height by the wisdom and conduct of this monarch. But never were apprehensions found in the event more groundless. Slow without prudence, ambitious without enterprise, false without deceiving any body, and refined without any true judgment; such was the character of Philip, and such the character which, during his life-time and after his death, he impressed on the Spanish councils. Revolted or depopulated provinces, discontented or indolent inhabitants, were the spectacles which those dominions, lying in every climate of the globe, presented to Philip the Third, a weak prince, and to the Duke of Lerma a minister weak and odious. (Hist. vol. vi. p. 6.)

With considerable skill M. DUMESNIL opens the present history.

'It is no part of my design,' he says, 'to justify the crimes of which Philip is accused, or to weaken the horror which his sanguinary disposition must inspire: but, after all, we shall see by the history of this prince that his superstitious and barbarous devotion was that of the age in which he lived, and that he did not surpass in zeal that which *the Pontiffs of the period required.* Philip was a conscientious devotee and fanatic: those sentiments of piety were not fictitious which he so well sustained; nor was his confidence in heaven, or his resignation, which at no period of his life deserted him. As at this day we can only satisfy insulted honour by a sacrifice of blood and murderous reparation, so did that prince believe that he could not wash away his own sins but in the blood of infidels and heretics. Kings rule by superstition and cruelty only when the people whom they rule are cruel and superstitious. People, form to yourselves new projects! Nations, conspire together the destruction of your kings! change masters, change them every day, till you become sensible that it is your own corruption and not the will of an individual man that makes you slaves! However haughty and imperious are your tyrants, they can impose on you no other chains, than those which you have forged yourselves!'

Except

Except for the absurdity of assimilating the personal conflict of two individuals in a duel to the contest between a monarch, backed by a vindictive hierarchy, and a portion of his subjects whom he denominates heretics because their religious creed is different from his own, we might have acquiesced in the foregoing sentiments. Philip was a conscientious fanatic: a bigoted attachment to the See of Rome had been carefully instilled into him by the ecclesiastics to whom his education was confided; and it was natural for a people, who cherished the establishment of the Inquisition, to observe with satisfaction the holy ardor of their monarch in exterminating heresy. It is certainly an evidence of some dexterity on the part of the historian, thus to throw the vices of his hero on the age in which he lived.— When Charles V. retired to the monastery of St. Justin in the province of Estremadura, he shut his eyes against the busy scenes of strife which he had abandoned; and, taking no sort of interest in the political transactions of Europe, he amused himself with more innocent occupations. With his own hands he cultivated the plants in his garden, and, when the weather confined him to his apartment, or his growing infirmities deprived him of more active recreation, he employed his time in studying mechanical principles, and in constructing various mechanical works, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly adapted. With this view, he engaged one of the most ingenious artists of the age, *Torriano*, to accompany him in his retreat, and assist his labours. Charles was very curious in the construction of clocks and watches, and took great pains to make them go exactly alike: but, after repeated trials, he found that he could not get any two of them to strike precisely at the same instant. "How vain and preposterous, then," he could not help exclaiming to some of the monks who witnessed his disappointment, "must be the attempt to bring mankind to a perfect uniformity of sentiment on the mysterious doctrines of religion!" Philip profited not by the fruitless efforts of his father, and made not the reflection which experience had too tardily forced on him.

If Philip had all the 'vices of his age,' he had others likewise that were peculiarly his own. For the honor of human nature, filial ingratitude, parental perfidy, and indifference to the ties of blood, can never be the vices of any age or country; and the conduct of Philip in the double character of a son and a father was alike detestable and atrocious. His condemnation of the Counts *Horn* and *Egmont* was accompanied by every thing that was tyrannical, insidious, and treacher-

treacherous; yet the execution of these Generals, whose valor had achieved for Philip some of his most important victories, may possibly be extenuated on the score that monarchs, in all ages, have rarely hesitated to sacrifice their bravest officers and most devoted adherents, when the plea of state-necessity has been urged; or when some new favorite, some Duke of *Alva*, has required the sacrifice.

Charles had fondly cherished the hope of transmitting the imperial sceptre to his son: here he was disappointed: but Philip, by his father's abdication in his favor, became perhaps the most powerful monarch living. He possessed the united kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre; the crowns of Naples and Sicily; the Duchy of Milan, Franche Comté, and the Netherlands; and his authority was acknowleged in Tunis and Oran, in the Cape de Verd and the Canary Islands. Yet how much soever his dominions had been extended in Europe and Africa, these acquisitions equalled not the conquests which his predecessor had made in the New World: there, it has been truly said, empires instead of provinces had been added to the Spanish crown; inexhaustible veins of wealth had been discovered; and the rich produce of the mines of Mexico, Chili, and Potosi were poured into the bosom of the Guadalquivir. Charles made a voluntary resignation to his son of the crowns of Spain and all their dependant territories, both in the Old and in the New World: reserving nothing for himself but an annual pension of a hundred thousand crowns to defray his domestic expenditure, and to afford him a small residue for acts of charity. The thin and negligent attendance of the Spanish nobility, who had still grace enough to pay their respect to Charles when he passed through Burgos, in his way to St. Justin's, made him feel for the first time that he was no longer a monarch. Mortified as he was at the discovery, that the obsequious adulation which he had been accustomed to receive from his early youth was paid not to his personal qualities, as he had fondly thought, but to his rank and power, he might soon have learned, says Robertson, to forget the levity of his subjects, or to despise their neglect: — but he was more deeply afflicted with the ingratitude of his son; who, forgetting already how much he owed to his father's bounty, obliged him to remain some weeks at Burgos, before he paid him the first moiety of his small pension; for without this sum Charles could not dismiss his domestics with such rewards as their services merited, or his generosity had destined for them; and he could not refrain from expressing surprize and dissatisfaction.

Don

Don Carlos was the son of Philip by his first wife, Mary, daughter of John, King of Portugal. Neither of the parties had attained the age of sixteen at the period of their nuptials, and the birth of the son caused the death of the mother. He is said to have been a prince of violent passions, and weak capacity. At the conferences at Cercamp, he had been betrothed to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Henry II. King of France: but his father Philip supplanted him, and made her his own wife.* Yet this poor miserable prince was suspected of carrying on a secret and treasonable correspondence with the Marquis of *Mons* and the Baron *de Montigny*; and a design was attributed to him of retiring into the Netherlands, and putting himself at the head of the mal-contents. Such rash projects of a weak and wayward youth, if they had succeeded to the fullest extent, could not have affected the stability of his father's crown, and might rather have excited his pity than resentment: but the stern bosom of Philip was dead to every parental feeling, and in his very presence Don Carlos was arrested, deprived of every mark of dignity, and ordered into close confinement in his chamber. A subsequent sentence which was dictated by the inexorable father, and which issued from the Inquisition, pronounced his guilt and his death. At an *auto da fé*, which ceremony Philip frequently honored with his presence, to observe the convulsive agonies and hear the last piercing shrieks of the tortured victims, he once exclaimed to a poor wretch who stopped to implore his mercy as he passed before him to the fatal stake, — "I would prepare the pile myself and bring the faggot to my own son, were he so vile a wretch as thou art."— Such was the prophetic threat of a demon, who shrunk not from its execution. †

There is something in the tragical history of Don Carlos which excites more than a common interest. The ostensible plea for his murder was a correspondence with mal-contents in the Low Countries, but most probably the real motive was of a very different nature. Soon after the young Princess Elizabeth had arrived in Spain, and almost before the fêtes and rejoicings had subsided which gave splendor to the royal nuptials, it was observed that, in the midst of his court, the countenance of Philip was overcast with a deep and gloomy

* When the princess passed into Spain, the Inquisitors of Toledo, in order to celebrate the royal marriage with appropriate solemnity, presented her with the spectacle of an *auto da fé*, in which many heretics perished in the flames!

† This was a Spanish nobleman, Don *Carlos di Sassa*: — See Dr. Watson's Life of Philip II.

sternness.

sternness. In short, he was jealous — jealous of his own son! and well he might; for he had robbed him of the youthful mistress to whom he was affianced. Whether Don Carlos gave his unnatural father any reason for the suspicions which haunted him is not certain: but it was intimated that the young man was incessantly lamenting to the Queen the eternal separation which had been made between them, and that they wept together and talked of an unextinguishable attachment, while he concluded with giving expression also to feelings of indignation against that tyrannical power of which he was himself the victim. The King learnt from his spies the movements of his son, and resolved to send him to a considerable distance from the object of his affections. With this view, he deemed it proper to acknowlege him in a general assembly of the Cortes as the presumptive heir of his crown, and, adroitly availing himself of this pretext, immediately fixed on his place of residence. This was in the year 1561, when Don Carlos was about sixteen years of age. Catholic historians have depicted the young prince as of very weak capacity; while they have also represented him as discovering a most intemperate ambition to be admitted to a share in the administration of his father's dominions. The two charges, evidently made in exculpation of Philip, are scarcely compatible with each other. Be that as it may; Philip refused to gratify his son's ambition, if he had any, and behaved towards him with the greatest distance and reserve; bestowing all his confidence on the most consummate monster that the annals of history record, the Duke of *Alva*, or *Ruy Gomez de Sylva*, whose wife he debauched, and whom he murdered, and on the President *Spinosa*; against whom Don Carlos, partly on this account and partly because he considered them as spies on his conduct, had conceived the most irreconcileable aversion. It is added that he threatened the Duke of *Alva*, and even made an attempt on his life for accepting the government in the Netherlands, and administering it with such enormous atrocity.

As a specimen of the style and manner of M. Dumesnil, we shall translate his full and interesting account of Don Carlos's fate:

'This young Prince dissembled neither his hatred of the Inquisition nor the interest that he felt for the inhabitants of the Provinces: both which greatly disturbed his father, and caused the liveliest alarms at Rome.* At this court, where kings are prejudged,

'* It appears by letters which the Pope's Nuncio, the Archbishop of Rosano, wrote from Spain, that the principal object of his

sleeper. He immediately sought for the arms which he had placed under his pillow, and, not finding them, sprang to the bed-side for others, when he saw the Duke immoveably seated on the chest. At this instant, the stern and fearful voice of the King struck his ear, when he threw himself headlong into the fire, and would have destroyed himself if he had not been forcibly prevented by the guards.

'All the furniture of the Prince's apartment was removed, and his windows blocked up; and a mourning dress having been put on him, he was confined several days in this room, guarded by men whom he knew not, and who, like himself, were clothed in funereal habits. He was thence removed into one of the towers of the palace, where he also remained a few days; and then, at the close of a solemn conference of the most eminent doctors and casuists in the realm, the King delivered him up to the officers of the Inquisition, exclaiming: "Pay no regard to the rank which the Prince holds in the state; do your duty, officers; and know that my zeal for the interests of religion stifles in my bosom the feelings of a father." In fact, all the despatches which this monarch addressed to the potentates of Europe, announcing to them the astounding intelligence of his son's fate, spoke only of his Catholic faith, and of the sacrifices which it had imposed on him. To his own sister, the Empress Maria, he wrote, that he was performing an indispensable duty, but that the faults of the Prince her nephew were not of a nature to cast dishonour on his relations; and, when the Pope's nuncio had an audience of him, he declared that he gloried in being able to prefer the maintenance of his holy religion to the indulgence of his tenderest sentiments. When the fatal sentence which condemned Don Carlos to death for heresy was brought to Philip for signature, he likewise expressed himself in such a manner as to leave no doubt of his intention to carry it into execution: "Thou knowest, O Lord," exclaimed he, "that I have no other motive than to promote thine interests, and the glory of thy holy name!" Uttering these words, he signed the warrant.

'The monks waited till the sun had set, before they went to the Prince to read the sentence of his death, and then descended to his dungeon by torch-light. One of the two exhibited to him a picture in which were represented various modes of death, and asked Don Carlos to make his choice among them of that which he preferred. "What!" exclaimed the Prince, turning away his eyes from the horrible delineations before him, "has my royal father, then, no power to remit the sentence? Is he aware that his only son, the sole heir to his throne, is actually sentenced to an infamous death?" The Prince knew not, till this moment, the reality of the tragedy prepared for him: but, when the sentence was shown to him, signed by the King's own hand, his despair and anguish rose to such a degree of frenzy that it was found impossible to administer the sacraments on that day, and it was therefore necessary to suspend his execution till the morrow. The morrow came, and the respite expired, but he still refused to confess;

fess; declaring "*that, as there was nothing but perfidy and cruelty among priests, it should be to God alone that he would confess and implore forgiveness of his sins.*"

Don Carlos had been arrested in the month of January, 1568, and, according to the most probable accounts, he was strangled in the dungeon of the Inquisition on the 24th of July following, at the age of twenty-two years. All the cities of the kingdom, in rival magnificence, performed sepulchral obsequies on the occasion: Madrid especially, signalizing her profound grief: while the monarch himself, in the midst of this general mourning, was seen viewing from one of the windows of his palace the funeral procession of his son, without the slightest symptom of emotion. (Pp. 97—106.)

The account of this black transaction here given is more full than that which we have in the excellent "History of Philip the Second" by Dr. Watson, (book viii.) who says that Don Carlos was *poisoned;* and who, alluding to the King's jealousy of his son, does not advert to the circumstance which necessarily must occasion it, namely, that he had bereft that son of the young and beautiful mistress to whom he was attached and betrothed, and had married her himself. *

Philip had given abundant proof of the cruelty of his disposition long before this time. The composure, not to say the complacency, with which he witnessed the torments of his Protestant subjects in Spain, was ascribed by some to the power of superstition, while by others it was regarded as a convincing evidence of the sincerity of his zeal for the true religion. His severity towards his son, however, was considered by all the world as a proof that his heart was dead to every sentiment of humanity and natural affection: while it struck terror into the inhabitants of the Low Countries, who saw how vain it was to expect mercy from a prince who had refused to exercise it towards his own child, whose fate they attributed to his attachment to them and his compassion for their misfortunes.

* The Prince of Orange, in his vindication against Philip's proscription, openly charges him with having poisoned his wife Elizabeth, in order to make room for his nuptials with the daughter of Maximilian: "I say not this," he declares, "prompted by my resentment, rashly and at random. I assert that in France there is evidence of the horrid deed of which I now accuse him. It was not a single murder that was perpetrated for the sake of this extraordinary marriage. His son, too, was sacrificed in order to furnish the Pope with a pretext for so unusual a dispensation, which was granted in order to prevent the Spanish monarchy from being left without a male heir. This was the true cause of the death of Don Carlos." (See the Appendix to Watson's History of Philip.)

The demon whom Philip employed to perpetrate his pious murders was a compound of such consummate vanity, arrogance, perfidy, and barbarity, as the world had rarely been cursed with beholding. It was fortunate for the Protestant interests that the Prince of Orange was too sagacious to be caught in the wily snares of the Duke of *Alva*. Soon after the Duke's arrival in the Netherlands, he had cited that Prince to appear before him; and he published a declaration, in the name of the King, promising that in case of his appearance the utmost lenity would be shewn to him. The Prince declined the proffered kindness, and, as soon as the short term allowed him for making his appearance was expired, *Alva* pronounced sentence against him and some noblemen of Brabant, and confiscated their estates to the King. The Prince, who had long been solicited by the Flemish exiles to take up arms, now prepared for an invasion of the Netherlands: but the history of this glorious struggle is too well known to render it desirable that we should enter into it on the present occasion. The enormity of *Alva*'s atrocities is am liar to every school-boy: confiscation and death were the ni shments awarded by him not only to Protestants, but to every individual who had shewn the slightest attachment to the liberty of his country, or the slightest sorrow at beholding its ruin. Dr. Watson relates an anecdote to illustrate the coolness and negligence displayed by *Alva*'s judges, in the sentences which they passed against the unhappy victims who were delivered over to them by the Inquisition. An order having been issued for the execution of several, the list was found to contain the name of one man whose cause had not been tried, and he too was led to execution. Some time afterward, the Judges having given directions to have this man brought before them for his trial, they were informed that, *in obedience to their former command*, he had already suffered death; and proof was at the same time laid before them of his innocence. Most of the Judges expressed on this occasion great uneasiness: but *Vargas*, a Spanish lawyer, observed that the event, if rightly considered, ought not to give them much concern, *since it was happy for the man's soul that he had died innocent.* (Book x. note c.)

Such terror did the unrelenting iniquity and cruelty of *Alva* and his inquisitors diffuse over all the provinces, that some historians have asserted that a hundred thousand houses were forsaken by their inhabitants. Many of those who left the Netherlands fled to this country; where, enjoying the free exercise of their religion, and being well received by Elizabeth, they fixed their residence, and rewarded the English for their

their protection by the introduction of various branches of manufacture with which they had before been unacquainted. On the other hand, the services of *Alva* were not disregarded by the Pope, who stimulated the monster to fresh atrocities by rewarding him for the past: presenting him, as an exemplary defender of the popish faith, with a consecrated hat and sword, enriched with jewels of great value.

The name of the Duke of *Alva* reminds us of an anecdote which is to be found in that very amusing book the "Varieties of Literature," and which we shall take the liberty of here inserting for the gratification of our readers. Charles the Fifth, on his return to his camp in Suabia in the year 1547, passing through Thuringia, was solicited by Catherine, Countess Dowager of Schwartzburg, to grant a letter of safe-guard for the protection of her subjects from any depredations of the Spanish army, on its march through her territories. The Emperor complied with her request, and in return the Countess bound herself to supply the Spanish troops who were transported to Rudolstadt with any provisions which they wanted, at a reasonable price. Shortly afterward, the Duke of *Alva*, accompanied by Prince Henry of Brunswick, approaching the city, invited themselves to a breakfast with the Countess, and on their arrival were welcomed with an elegant and plentiful repast: but they had scarcely seated themselves when a messenger, almost out of breath, called the Countess from the hall, and informed her that several of the Spanish soldiers had plundered some neighbouring villages, and driven off the cattle belonging to the peasants. Full of indignation, she gave immediate orders that every gate of the castle should be privately barred and bolted; and having also commanded her whole retinue to arm themselves, she returned to the Princes, who were yet sitting at table. In an animated and affecting manner, she then complained that the imperial word had been violated, and intreated the Duke of *Alva* to command immediate restoration of the plundered property. He told her, laughing, that such irregularities in a marching army were too trifling to be regarded. "That we shall shortly see," replied the Countess; "my poor subjects MUST have their own again, or by G—," raising her voice in a threatening tone, "princes' blood for oxen's blood!" With this intimation, she flew out of the room, which was instantly filled with armed men; who, sword in hand, planted themselves behind the chairs of the two Princes, taking place of the previous attendants, but without offering any violence. *Alva* changed color, and felt that, cut off from his army, and surrounded by a resolute body of men, he had no

alternative but to appease his indignant hostess. Henry of Brunswick first rallied his spirits, and, bursting into a fit of forced laughter, turned every thing which had passed into mirth. He intreated the Countess to be perfectly easy, and took on himself to answer that the Duke would consent to all that was reasonable. A dispatch was then instantly sent off to the troops, requiring them to restore the cattle, &c. without delay, to their respective proprietors, or to make good the damage. On the return of the messenger with a certificate that every thing was settled to the satisfaction of the peasants, the Countess of Schwartzburg politely thanked her guests for the honor which they had done to her castle, and with equal politeness they took their leave. *

M. Dumesnil tells us in his preface that he undertook to compose this work because no history of Philip the Second existed in the French language. It is respectably executed: but, if it were not for the apprehension of exposing ourselves to the charge of national partiality, we should certainly say that he would have conferred on his countrymen a more valuable present, in translating the ampler and better account of Dr. Watson; appending to it, in the shape of notes, any additional matter with which his researches had furnished him.

Philip probably was not altogether devoid of any thing like virtue, for perhaps no human being ever lived without some good qualities. Hannibal took an oath of hatred and vengeance against Rome: not so Philip: he swore not vengeance and hatred against Protestantism, but he swore to protect and maintain the Catholic faith. Had it not been for the bigotry which was successfully and assiduously instilled into his mind by the priests his preceptors, he might have wielded the mighty sceptre which devolved on him with honor to himself and advantage to his subjects: but the character of bigotry is always the same: — true to its aim, though besotted in its expectations; steady to its purpose, though blind to its interests. In the eloquent language of a living orator, it may be truly said that, "for bigotry time flows in vain: it is abandoned by the tides of knowlege: it is left stranded by the waters of reason, and worships the figures imprinted on the sand, which are soon to be washed away: it is inaccessible to reason, it is irreclaimable by experience: to refute it is only to exasperate it." † Philip was patient, vigilant, and temperate in his pleasures, neither elated by prosperity nor depressed by adversity; and his eyes were continually open on every part of

* D'Israeli's Varieties of Literature, vol. ii. p. 249.

† See Mr. Plunket's Speech on the Catholic Bill, May, 1821.

his

his vast dominions. He entered into every branch of administration, watched over his ministers with unwearied attention, and discovered no ordinary share of sagacity in the choice both of them and of his Generals. To his Spanish subjects he was always easy of access; and that pride and reserve, which disgusted those of his other dominions, served only to increase the admiration of the Castilians, who beheld their own national features reflected in him. He allowed but little time for sleep, and his repasts were alike short and moderate. He was a patron of the fine arts — as despots often are; — and throughout his reign the sculptor, the architect, and the painter, were rewarded with royal munificence. The favor which Charles the Fifth extended to Titian was continued to him by his son; and in an order from the latter to the Governor of Milan to pay the arrears of the pension that had been granted to that illustrious artist, "you know," says Philip, "how much I am interested in this, because it concerns Titian."

Alonzo Coello and *Antonio Moro* also shared the bounty of the monarch, and were admitted to his familiarity. The painting-room of the former communicated with the royal apartments; and while *Coello*, says the author of "Anecdotes of the Painters of Spain," pursued his work with fixed attention, and pressed his canvass into life, "the King sat by, contemplating the new creation which the hand of art was forming in his sight, and for a while, perhaps, forgot the breaches he had caused in that of nature's production. By the easel of *Coello*, if he was not defended from the cares, he was at least secure from the intrusions of royalty. In his council-chamber, the defection of provinces galled his pride, and the dispersion of armadas thwarted his ambition; in his closet, the injured *Perez* * stung his conscience, and the unhappy Carlos haunted his imagination; — but in the academy of *Coello* he saw himself in his most favorable light, and possibly the only one which can reflect a lustre on his memory." The massy pile of the Escurial, the most superb structure in all Spain, and perhaps one of the finest in Europe, was erected by Philip to commemorate his victory over the French at St. Quintin in the year 1557. As the battle was fought on the festival of St. Laurence, the pious monarch — who decapitated one of the Generals by whose valor it was achieved — arranged the various courts, cloisters, and quadrangles in the shape of a gridiron. It was begun by Philip in the year

* For an account of the diabolical transaction here mentioned, see Watson's Hist. of Philip, vol. ii. book xxv.

1562, and completed in twenty-two years. The gloominess and melancholy aspect of this prodigious building remind the contemplative beholder of a monarch, the impress of whose character it seems to bear: 'I can with difficulty fancy to myself,' says M. DUMESNIL, 'that Henry the Fourth or Louis the Fourteenth would have taken as a model for the construction of their palaces the instrument of the martyrdom of St. Laurence.' So much do we find the character, temperament, and disposition of man elicited in all his actions and in all his works! *

Philip died of a most loathsome and painful disease, which he bore with exemplary fortitude, on the 13th of September, 1598, in the seventy-second year of his age and the forty-third of his reign. About two days before his decease, he sent for his son and his daughter Isabella, discoursed to them concerning the vanity of all human greatness, delivered to them many salutary counsels for the administration of their dominions, and exhorted them with much earnestness to cultivate and maintain the Catholic faith. Like a shrewd and practised politician, he forewarned his son that he would find it necessary to attach to himself either the nobility or the priests. "If," said he, in a paper of instructions to him, *written* after he had lost the power of conversing; "If you resolve to employ the latter, you must keep the former under proper restraint: that is the course which I have pursued. If, on the contrary, you make up your mind to govern by the aid of your nobility, then you must adopt a different policy, and diminish the revenues of the ecclesiastics. To satisfy both these bodies is almost impossible; they will vie with each other in exhausting your finances. But, whatever you do, let this be a state principle, — *maintain a strict alliance with the court of Rome.* The way to conciliate the good will of the Pontiffs is to refuse them nothing. Secure to your interests, likewise, the holy college: cardinals are the Pope's prime ministers; and you must deem no sacrifice too great to make

* We know not what to make of a passage at p. 64. of this History, in which M. DUMESNIL says that, 'at the commencement of the year 1563, Philip laid the foundations of that celebrated palace which bears the name of San Lorenzo, *and which is constantly confounded with the Escurial, because it is only distant from it a short half league.*' He then goes on to describe this palace of San Lorenzo as having been built in honor of St. Laurence, and to commemorate the victory at St. Quintin; and the description in every respect corresponds with that of the Escurial which has been given by all writers. What the distinction is which he wishes to draw we are unable to perceive.

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yourself master in the conclaves." (P. 389.) Such was the language of a prince well versed in the subtleties of the Roman policy.

In extenuation of the conduct of Philip, the author says, that he was a conscientious fanatic. It is indeed impossible to suppose that he was insincere in the zeal which he professed for the Catholic religion: but it is well remarked by Dr. Watson that, as his religion was of the most corrupt kind, it served to increase the natural depravity of his disposition, and not only allowed but even prompted him to commit the most odious and shocking crimes. With the following character of him, drawn by that historian, we close the present article:

"Although a prince in the bigoted age of Philip might be persuaded that the interests of religion would be advanced by falsehood and persecution, yet it might be expected that, in a virtuous prince, the sentiments of honor and humanity would on some occasions triumph over the dictates of superstition; but of this triumph there occurs not a single instance in the reign of Philip; who, without hesitation, violated his most sacred obligations as often as religion afforded him a pretence; and, under that pretence, exercised for many years the most unrelenting cruelty without reluctance or remorse. His ambition, which was exorbitant; his resentment, which was implacable; his arbitrary temper, which would submit to no control; concurred with his bigoted zeal for the Catholic religion, and the sanguinary spirit which that religion was calculated to inspire, to a greater height in Philip than it ever attained in any other prince of that, or of any former or succeeding age." (Book xxiv.)

ART. III. *Considérations sur l'Industrie et la Législation, &c. i. e.* Considerations on Industry and Legislation, with Reference to their Effect on the Wealth of Nations; and a critical Examination of the Principal Works on Political Economy that have appeared. By LOUIS SAY, of Nantes. 8vo. pp. 410. Paris. 1822. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 9*s*.

THE author of this volume is brother to M. *Jean Baptiste Say*, the celebrated writer on Political Economy, and has addressed it to him as having been in a great measure composed at his request. 'We disagree with each other on several points,' says the author in his Dedication, 'but those persons who can imagine that you will be offended at the publication of my difference of opinion on questions of pure theory can know but very little of your character. When better informed, they will learn that the surest way to acquire and preserve your esteem and affection is to investigate with sincerity, and diffuse with courage, those useful truths, the know-

knowlege of which may have so great an influence on the wealth, power, and happiness of nations.' The work is written in some degree in the manner of M. *Ganilh*'s treatise on Political Economy, reviewed in our Appendix to vol. xciv. and vol. xcv.; except that the latter author takes *subjects* for the heads of chapters, and compares the opinions of different writers on them; while M. Say takes *authors* for the heads of his chapters, and enters on an examination of their works *seriatim*. The first author who is amenable to his criticism is M. *Dupont de Nemours*, who published his "*Physiocratie*" in the year 1758; Adam Smith is the object of the next chapter; and successively MM. *Canard*, Lord Lauderdale, *Ganilh*, Ricardo, Malthus, *Say*, *Destutt de Tracy*, (who wrote a book intitled "*Commentaire sur l'Esprit des Lois*,") and *De Saint Chamans*, whose "*Système d'Impôt fondé sur les Principes de l'Economie Politique*" was published about two years ago.

M. Say appears to have read Adam Smith in a French translation, and probably also the other English writers whose works are the subject of his criticism. This circumstance makes it difficult for us to refer to the passages which he quotes: but we can see enough to discover that this gentleman, like his brother, has a strong tendency to metaphysical niceties and abstractions. He fancies, for instance, that he has achieved a great victory over Adam Smith in detecting an inexactness in his use of the word *labor*; which that writer employs, he says, sometimes in its strict and original sense of an *exertion of strength, physical or intellectual*, and sometimes in what he calls its *metaphysical or figurative* — more properly, perhaps, its *derivative* — sense of the product of such labor, namely, the *work done*. He should quarrel, however, with the language, not with the writer, because the English substantive *labor* has various senses: *work*, done; *work*, to be done; and the act of doing it; that is, of *working*. Just so in French the word *travail* signifies *Peine, fatigue pour faire quelque chose*; and *Ouvrage fait, ou à faire.* — *Ouvrage fait* is the product of *travail*, as *work done* is the product of *labor*. M. Say remarks that the double sense, in which Adam Smith employs the word *labor*, creates a constant confusion of ideas in his work: but we reply No, the confusion is elsewhere. We should have deemed it impossible, when reading Adam Smith, in any one instance to feel the slightest difficulty in catching the sense in which he uses the word *labor*.

Another specimen of this worse than useless hypercriticism is to be found in the author's observations on the same writer's chapter "On the Division of Labour;" an expression, says he, not very clear in itself, and which Adam Smith has complicated

plicated and obscured by attributing to this division an increase of wealth. Dr. S. begins the chapter in these words: "The greatest improvement in the productive powers of labor, and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which it is any where directed or applied, seem to have been the effects of the division of labor." He illustrates the position by the process of pin-making: in which a single man, uninstructed in the various manipulations, would scarcely make 20 pins in a day; whereas ten or a dozen men, by dividing the labour, will make among them about 48,000 pins in a day. M. Say is evidently somewhat incredulous as to the fact, although he cannot very decently deny what Adam Smith expressly asserts that he has seen with his own eyes: but then he observes that the instance cited is a proof, indeed, of the increase of wealth occasioned by the use of implements and machinery, but not by the division of labor; and he gravely proposes to substitute for the words *la division du travail*, the words *la repartition des travaux*: which we presume may be translated the *separation* or *distribution of employments*. Now really this is downright trifling; and, had M. Say read Smith in the original, he would have found that, in the very case brought forwards for illustration, that author expressly ascribes the velocity of production in a pin-manufactory to an acquaintance with the use of the machinery employed, and to the greater skill and dexterity which a man acquires in any single manipulation by not transferring his attention from it to any other.

Such is the style of captious criticism to be found in the present volume. It may be thought, perhaps, that we have invidiously selected an extravagant specimen: but this is not the fact. We will give one more. Dr. Smith's chapter, book i. ch. v., on the real and nominal Price of Commodities, opens in these words: "Every man is rich or poor according to the degree in which he *can afford* to enjoy the necessaries, conveniences, and amusements of human life." This definition does not please M. Say; he deems it incorrect as it regards individuals, and still more so as it regards nations; and accordingly he indulges us with his own definition: 'A man is rich or poor according as he *has at his disposal* more or less of those things, which are requisite to satisfy his various wants or his various tastes.'* (P. 53.) 'Possession alone,' he adds, 'of the means to procure the objects in question is not sufficient — he must

'* *Un homme est riche ou pauvre suivant qu'il a à sa disposition plus ou moins de choses propres à satisfaire ses divers besoins, ou ses divers goûts.*'

must have the things themselves!' To be sure he must: but the supposition that mankind have the means of satisfying their wants and wishes, and do not choose to make use of them, involves the absurdity of supposing them to be all mad. Yet M. Say does not stop here: 'It is not by the sale of commodities that a nation procures the necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life, but by producing them; accordingly, with reference to its wealth, what concerns it most is not the exchangeable value of these commodities, but the production of them and their intrinsic value.' (P. 55.) This preference of intrinsic to exchangeable or *venal* value may be very good sense, but M. Say appears to forget that a commodity having venal value may always be exchanged for one that has intrinsic value. 'Does a country,' he asks, 'considered as an individual, resign, or sell, or exchange the commodities which it possesses? No: it uses them. Except the small part of its products destined to foreign commerce, it is to its own use that it appropriates the immense annual production of its useful objects. Woe to that country which, like Poland, Spain, and Barbary, sells its wine, its oil, its wool, and its corn! That country is marching on the road to depopulation and ruin! But happy is that which, like France and China, consumes the greater part of its productions.' (P. 48.) How much happier still, then, would France have been if, instead of communicating with the Continent of which she forms a part, and instead of having her numerous and active ports opening into the British Channel, the Bay of Biscay, and the Mediterranean, she had been surrounded by an unscaleable wall of brass, — not such a shattered ruin as the famed wall of China; — and if, instead of consuming the greater part of her own productions, she consumed the whole of them, and consequently nothing else. How her population and prosperity must have excited the envy of the world, being thus blockaded, and irrevocably shut out from commercial intercourse with all and every part of it! — We hardly expected such a fulmination against foreign commerce in the year eighteen hundred and twenty-two.

The following paragraph presents a summary of M. Say's opinion of Adam Smith's work:

'Some of its parts are highly interesting, and it contains a multitude of valuable documents: but it propounds a theory which, far from having advanced the science on which it treats, has materially impeded its progress by the introduction of a most vicious nomenclature. Its system, which is purely mercantile, is to estimate things after the manner of merchants, not according to their intrinsic value, not according to their own degree of usefulness,

ness, but according to what the sale of them will produce. According to this system, a certain number of individual fortunes may be amassed among merchants and manufacturers, but the bulk of the nation must remain poor. A great many of Smith's doctrines have been adopted in England, both in public and private affairs; and the situation of that country proves, more than any thing else, the unsoundness of the mercantile system which he has adopted. The discontent of the most numerous classes renders a general convulsion (*bouleversement*) the object of hourly apprehension.' (P. 111.)

Poor Adam Smith! The impoverishment of this nation, it seems, is attributable to his writings; which have also brought it to the eve of a general convulsion!

The present writer differs fundamentally from M. *Ganilh*, and both of them from Adam Smith, as to the nature of *value*; a term, indeed, to which scarcely two political economists attach the same meaning, and which is often used unguardedly in different senses by the same writer. It is sometimes confounded with wealth; as for instance by the distinguished brother of the author before us, M. *J. B. Say*: who observes that wealth is value, and that the quantity of wealth is the sum of the values of which it is composed. Even Dr. Smith is not free from this misconception. So likewise M. *Ganilh*; "Exchangeable value is the true element of wealth, of which it is the exact and strict measure." * He allows of no other value than that which can be ascertained by exchange, and broadly affirms that "the usefulness of things does not constitute their value: for that most useful product, corn itself, has no value if nobody has occasion for it, and has no equivalent to give in exchange." † M. Louis Say, on the contrary, rejects exchangeable value altogether, asserting that 'there is no other sort of value than that of utility;' and that the 'effective, real, and intrinsic value of any object is exclusively to be estimated by the degree of its utility.' (P. 140.) Dr. Smith has two sorts of value, *i. e.* value in exchange and value in use.

We agree with M. Say that value must be bottomed in utility; and the cock who found a jewel as he was scratching on a dung-heap acted wisely in rejecting it in favor of a grain of wheat, because to him it had neither value in use nor value in exchange: but this word *utility* must be taken in an extended signification, and imply subserviency to the gra-

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"* *La valeur* vénale *est le véritable élément de la richesse, et elle en est la mesure exacte et rigoureuse.*" (*Théorie de l'Economie Politique*, tome i. p. 264.) Venal or vendible value can only mean exchangeable value.

† Ganilh, Econ. tome ii. p. 335.

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tification of our desires as well as to the supply of our wants. That which has no utility in this enlarged sense can never constitute wealth. A brilliant jewel, a fine statue, or a picture, may be useful to the owner, inasmuch as his desire is gratified in the possession of them: but the attribute of utility alone in any article is not allowed by political economists to constitute wealth. Nature confers on man, without any exertion on his part, objects of the most indispensable necessity, light, heat, air, water: but these things, however useful and desirable, are not denominated wealth, precisely because they are conferred on man without any exertion. A cargo of ice, *procured by labor* and brought to London, becomes a portion of wealth; so does a cargo of sea-water; so would a cargo of fresh country-air if it could be procured: but ice is not wealth in New Georgia, nor sea-water in the Atlantic, nor fresh air on the Grampian hills or in the vales of Devon. Wealth, then, does not consist exclusively of those things which have value in use, the only value recognized by M. Say*; nor does it consist exclusively of those which have value in exchange, the only value recognized by M. *Ganilh*. Exchangeable value is a matter of accident: it depends on circumstances, on the means and inclinations of other people. The exchangeable value of a quarter of corn is at this moment only half as much as it was four or five years ago, although its intrinsic usefulness, — its power of nourishing a certain number of human beings, — remains exactly the same. When an eminent painter dies, the exchangeable value of his pictures is doubled immediately without an additional touch of the pencil; it is always indeterminate and uncertain, but it is, nevertheless, real. We adhere, then, to the discrimination introduced by Adam Smith; — wealth consists of things, material or immaterial, obtained by some exertion of human labor, and which are subservient to the gratification of human wants or human wishes: — if they are not thus subservient, they have no *value in use*; if they are procured without any portion of human labor, if they are bestowed on

* Yet we find the following passage at p. 256.: 'It appears to me that political economy being the science of that which relates to the wealth of nations, we should confine the application of the word *wealth* to those things which are not only useful and agreeable *but also venal*, the enjoyment of which we give up for money, — a price.' Checking himself, however, at the concession, he immediately adds, ' but we must not forget that those things, which are at once useful and venal, make no part of the wealth of a nation in consequence of their venality, but solely on account of their utility.'

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us by the spontaneous bounty of Heaven, like the air that we breathe and the sunshine that warms us, however useful, they can have no *value in exchange*; there can be no sellers, because there will be no buyers.

Before we drop this subject of value, we must notice a distinction which M. L. Say has made in his observations on Mr. Ricardo's work; and which serves to explain, in some measure, the cause of his lamentation over those countries which, 'like Poland, Spain, and Barbary, sell their wine, and oil, and wool, and corn.' That a merchant, says he, p. 151., should estimate the value of his merchandise only according to the sum which he obtains by the sale of it is very natural, because the quantity which he himself consumes is next to nothing in proportion to the quantity which he sells: — the venal value of the objects of his traffic are to him of much greater consequence than their effective and intrinsic value: — but the case is just the contrary with a nation, for a nation consumes much more than it sells; to it, therefore, the utility of its productions, or their intrinsic value, is of greater consequence than their venal value. — If this reasoning be true, we come to one of these conclusions; that the interest of a nation may be at variance with the interest of the merchants who compose it, or that the venal value and the value in use of a commodity are one and the same thing; to neither of which, we imagine, would M. Louis Say assent.

We object to the limited sense in which the present writer uses the word *utility*, which he calls the sole measure of value and of wealth. Then, we ask, what is the measure of utility? He answers, (p. 166.) the utility of any thing is to be measured by the inconvenience which we should suffer in being deprived of it, and not (as his brother contends) by its exchangeable value. Now, if the wealth of a nation consists in the possession of objects of utility, as thus explained, death to every refinement in the arts! to music, painting, sculpture, poetry, and eloquence! The Apollo Belvidere, or the Laocoon, or the Venus de Medici, have very little value, because they have very little utility, measured by the inconvenience of going without them. The most splendid declamations at the bar or in the senate are not always those which most accelerate the business in hand; and the inconvenience of going without them would be felt perhaps as the negation of a very questionable enjoyment by the right honorable Speaker, or the learned Judge on the bench. In fact, although M. L. Say does not consider the gratification of the senses and an indulgence in delicacies of diet and apparel as actual vices, he seems to look on luxuries with rather an unfavorable

favorable eye. He states broadly (p. 194.) that it is a losing game for a country to export articles of the first necessity and import articles of luxury, the money-values of both being equal. If France exports silks into Poland of a given money-value, and imports corn from Poland of the same money-value, he asserts that this commerce enriches France and impoverishes Poland; because the first gives an article of little intrinsic utility in exchange for another of great intrinsic utility, and *vice versâ*. What can be more preposterous? France manufactures more silk than she can consume, and Poland grows more corn than she wants: each exchanges her superfluous produce for the superfluous produce of the other, and equally to the advantage of both: for France would not import Polish corn unless Polish corn were cheaper than her own, nor would Poland import French silk if she could rear the worms and manufacture the article cheaper at home. What did the Author of the world intend by giving different soils, climates, and inclinations to the people of different nations, but that by a free communication they should interchange their respective products; and that each should profit, not by its own peculiar gifts alone, but by the peculiar gifts bestowed on all the rest? It is this deprecated taste for luxury which sets the labor and ingenuity of man in motion. The people of Poland devote their skill and industry to the growth of corn, *because* they can exchange their superfluous produce for French silks: but once persuade them that they impoverish their country by exchanging that superfluity for any article that may gratify their pleasure and their vanity, and we take away every inducement to continue their exertions: they will become indolent and stupid, and lose their taste for all but the lowest articles of clothing and subsistence. Perhaps, however, it may be said that they would turn their attention to manufactures and the mechanic arts; that their leisure-hours would be employed in the culture of science and philosophy, of legislation, and political economy! — No. A nation of agriculturists, rejecting the refinements and luxuries introduced by foreign commerce, and degrading themselves to the rank of men who have just quitted the savage state of hunters and fishermen, — such a nation, instead of rivalling the manufactures of foreign countries, and aspiring to their attainments in art and science, would inevitably sink into the most contemptible ignorance and sloth.

In his eighth chapter, however, where the works of Mr. Malthus come under examination, M. L. Say relaxes a little from the Spartan severity of his doctrine, (p. 254. *et seq.*); and articles of luxury are here allowed to be constituent though

though subordinate portions of national wealth. How inconsistent, then, to affirm that the people of Poland impoverish themselves, by purchasing these subordinate portions of wealth at less cost from France than they must have paid for them if manufactured at home. Poland is poor, and badly peopled, and does export corn for laces and silks: true, but these are not cause and effect, and M. Say has himself accounted for the poverty of Poland a hundred pages farther on in a very rational way. It arises from the viciousness of her political institutions, and the unequal distribution among its inhabitants of the productions of the soil: 'in consequence of the state of vassalage in which the Polish cultivators are placed, the proprietor runs away with seven-eighths of the harvest; while in France, for corn, *it is only about one half.* The portion which goes to the cultivators is so small, and they are reduced to such a degree of wretchedness, that they cannot afford to buy wheat, but are obliged to live on rye. The bulk of the people in Poland doubtless prefer wheat to lace: but wheat goes out of Poland, and lace comes in, because certain individuals amply stored with corn choose to sell their own superfluity, and buy luxuries from France.'

Two doctrines are taught by Mr. Malthus, of which we are glad to have the concurrent reprobation of M. Say. This gentleman has, we think, too great a propensity for verbal disputation and hypercritical subtleties: but the reader of his work will find in it much sound matter and much excellent feeling. The doctrines to which we advert are, 1. that it is absolutely necessary for a country which has large means of production to maintain a class of unproductive consumers: in other words, a body of drones to eat the honey of the working bees; 2. that it is necessary to keep down population either by legal enactments, or by deterring the poor from marriage with the threat that their offspring shall be "shut out from the table of nature."

We have not space at present to extract any part of M. Say's refutation of Mr. Malthus: but it is unnecessary; for these doctrines, however soothing to the higher classes, are almost generally abandoned. We regret more the not being able to translate, as we had intended, a considerable portion of the introductory chapter of this work, which we read with satisfaction and acquiescence unalloyed. The political optimism of M. *Le Viscomte de Saint-Chamans*, who wrote a book to prove that governments promote the public prosperity by squeezing all the money that they can get from the pockets of the people, and by spending all that they obtain in dissipation, frivolities, and maintaining in opulence a large

class of lazy consumers, is exposed in a tone of sarcasm which M. Say has exclusively reserved for this author. The Viscount has a great horror of machinery, and a corresponding love of duties and imposts: but then he is a *Maître des Requêtes, un Conseiller d'Etat*, and *un Préfet*. His opinion, therefore, that imposts are excellent things is very natural, observes M. Say: but, when he wants to make a nation believe that these imposts enrich it also, he is assuming the existence of rather too large a share of folly. We have never seen his work, but from the extracts here presented we should imagine that it would be in high favor at the Tuileries.

Art. IV. *Manuel Diplomatique*, &c.; *i. e.* A Diplomatic Manual, or Summary of the Rights and Duties of Diplomatic Agents; to which is added a Collection of Acts and Official Documents, serving as a Guide to Persons about to engage in a Political Career. By Baron Charles de Martens. 8vo. pp. 622. Paris. 1822. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 14*s.* sewed.

Many people have said of the French that, whatever they lose in the field, they regain it in the cabinet. Indeed, the tact of their foreign ministers in exactly adapting their tone and gestures to the circumstances around them; in knowing precisely when and how high to menace, or when and how low to bow; how to retreat while preparing for an advance, or how to advance while securing a retreat; their dexterity in parrying, thrusting, feigning, falling back, and lingering; is altogether proverbial. We do not remark this sarcastically or with reproach. If — without making particular allusions — our own foreign ministers have at any congress, or in negotiations for alliance, holy or unholy, granted concessions injurious to the honor of their country; if they have omitted any opportunity of promoting its interest by commercial treaties; if they have degraded its character by secretly assisting to suppress the rising liberties of other countries, as well as by refusing an asylum to those who flee from persecution into this; if they have at any time been outwitted, circumvented, and rendered instruments for promoting the ambition and consolidating the despotic authority of other nations at the expence of British honor and British glory; the disgrace is theirs, the misfortune is ours, and the triumph, such as it is, belongs to the shrewder tacticians who have cajoled them.

It has sometimes been found exceedingly difficult for an ambassador to pay the homage required by a foreign potentate

tate without compromising the dignity of his own sovereign; while, if he refuses to render that homage, the chances are that the object of his mission is frustrated. This difficulty has occasionally been felt in all ages. When Conon, the Athenian, was sent by Pharnabazus to disclose the treachery and desertion of Tissaphernes to the Persian monarch, he first went to the Chiliarch Tithraustes, without whose introduction no person could be admitted to a conference; and the latter informed him, as the Mandarins of China informed Lord Macartney, that, on entering the royal presence, he must conform to the Persian usage and prostrate himself before the King.* Conon, like a proficient in diplomacy, replied that, personally, he could not have any objection to pay the reverence required by Artaxerxes: but, said he, I think it would be a disgrace to my country, accustomed as it is to command other nations, if I were to comply with the slavish ceremony imposed on barbarians. † He accordingly declined submission, and evaded the difficulty by communicating the object of his mission to the King in writing. Lord Macartney was scarcely so successful; the compromise which, after much chaffering and altercation, he effected with the Mandarins in order to get rid of the revolting ceremony of prostration before the Emperor, was very ungraciously conceded; and it has been much doubted whether the embassy did not sustain considerable mortification, and even whether its object was not in some measure defeated, by his Lordship's demeanor, dexterous as it was, in the dilemma to which he was exposed.

The object of the work before us is to present, 1st, a Summary of those Principles of the Law of Nations which are at present recognized by all the Powers of Europe, touching the Rights, Prerogatives, and Immunities, which Diplomatic Agents enjoy in all the different Courts; 2. to give some general Notions concerning the Duties and Functions of a Diplomatist who is charged with any specific Negotiation, or is sent to a Foreign Court and accredited on a permanent mission; 3. to lay down general Principles as to the Form,

* Artaxerxes. "*Necesse est, si in conspectum veneris, venerari te regem; quod προσκυνεῖν illi vocant.*" (Nepos in Vit. Conon, § 3.)

† "*Mihi, inquit, non est grave quemvis honorem habere regi; sed vereor, ne civitati meæ sit opprobrio, si, cum ex eâ sim profectus, quæ cæteris gentibus imperare consueverit, potiùs barbarorum quàm illius, more fungar. Itaque, quæ volebat, huic scripta tradidit.*" Ibid. One of the Athenian ambassadors is recorded to have submitted to this ceremony of *worshipping*, or prostrating the body on the ground in the presence of the Persian King; and to have been put to death in consequence by his indignant countrymen.

Style, and Ceremonial to be observed in the different Kinds of Political Compositions. To illustrate this third division, considerably more than half of the volume consists of State-Papers, and Diplomatic Correspondence, not merely between eminent negotiators on the most important subjects, but likewise the personal correspondence of sovereigns themselves. These are alphabetically arranged, beginning with acts of abdication, accession, &c.; to which is added a catalogue of a select Diplomatic Library, under the respective titles of, 1. Works treating on the Rights of Nations; 2. Relating to the History and Interpretation of public Treaties; 3. To the General History and Policy of Modern Europe, with the particular History of certain Periods; 4. Geography and Modern Statistics; 5. Policy, the Science of Government, and Political Economy; and, 6. History.

A preliminary chapter on the Science of Diplomacy and its importance presents the Baron in a favorable point of view:

'Its legitimate end and object,' says he, 'must be to provide for the safety and harmony of states; it should endeavor by prompt explanations and amicable interposition to prevent wars, or as soon as possible to put an end to them; it should facilitate the intercourse of the people of different countries by advantageous treaties of commerce, and contribute by liberal measures to unite them in one common society of brethren and friends. All diplomacy which, from principle and without the most imperious necessity, disunites, is mere Machiavelism, and deserves to be reprobated. It should avoid being turbulent and too officious; it should not, without a grave and serious motive but from a mere spirit of restlessness, busy itself in the too frequent exercise of its official functions, and in overtures of negotiation, without a legitimate or useful end; otherwise, misunderstandings and ruptures will soon follow. We have had but too much experience of the fermentation which may be excited in cabinets by so many agents, authorized to question the sovereign as to his intentions and proceedings; adopting on all sides a system of espionage and corruption, in order to serve the interests of their own prince, and under the mask of friendship engaging in the most mischievous practices. Although the major part of diplomatic agents disdain the employment of such means in promoting their views, it is sufficent to produce the most disastrous consequences that others are less scrupulous.'

In bespeaking indulgence for the occasional errors even of the most skilful negotiators, the Baron observes that we ought never to forget that the science of politics is more or less placed under the empire of accident, and is affected by the versatility of the human mind, by the caprices and passions of men, and the uncertainty of events. An unexpected death, a change

change of ministry, perfidious counsels, the influence of a mistress or a favorite, a false combination, or corruption, each of these causes may change the system and course of a government; and its influence alters more or less the relations of all other governments, according to the extent of its power. If to these causes we add the peculiar views of any leading power, politics will become still more complicated and uncertain, and will occasion every where movement and agitation, because it is every where necessary to make preparations against a storm which is anticipated, and the explosion of which is feared. The best combined plans of a cabinet, too, are often rendered abortive by men of second-rate intellect to whom they are confided for execution; by agents who misunderstand their instructions, or misapply their authority. In diplomatic operations, therefore, it is not always fair to estimate the merits of the original conception and plan by the actual result; for a negotiator of inferior talent, favored by events, may be more successful than another of much higher genius, who is struggling against adverse circumstances: but, as this difference of success alters not the capacity of either, a clear-sighted observer knows how to discriminate between the man and the circumstances.

The instructions which this volume affords to diplomatic agents of every description and rank, concerning their various functions, prerogatives, immunities, ceremonials, suites, correspondence, &c. &c. are collected from the writings of *Wicquefort*, *Bielfeld*, *Rayneval*, *Flassan*, *Vattel*, *Pecquet*, *Neyron*, and various other authors; and the specimens of diplomatic compositions on every imaginable subject relating to inter-national affairs, declarations of war, conclusions of peace, expositions of conduct, instructions, felicitations on marriages and births, condolences on deaths, manifestoes, proclamations, &c. &c. are selected from official documents of the most celebrated sovereigns and statesmen of modern times. The whole forms a work of easy and useful reference, and less dry and wearisome in the perusal than we might have anticipated from its title and appearance.

ART. V. *Histoire de France*, &c.; *i. e.* The History of France, during the 18th Century. By M. CH. LACRETELLE. Vols. VII. and VIII. 8vo. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 18*s.* sewed.

WE need not now indulge in any general remarks on the character and qualifications of M. LACRETELLE as an historian, because we know of few living authors, English or

French, to whose works we have already devoted so large a share of attention *; and we have awarded to him the merit of distinctness and precision in the most eventful narratives, of discernment in developing causes, of judgment and taste in grouping his materials, of preserving an accurate perspective in his delineations, and of fidelity in the drawing of his figures and chastity in their colouring. We shall, however, find some cause for exceptions to this praise on the present occasion.

The two volumes now on our table are confined to the Constituent Assembly. The writer observes: 'After having exposed the anarchial weakness of the Legislative Assembly, the crimes of the Convention, and the reign, at once violent and irresolute, of the Executive Directory, it yet cost me an effort to disclose in the Constituent Assembly the fatal errors of many individuals, worthy of esteem, and who have made noble efforts to repair their faults. But when, at the end of two-and-thirty years, I have seen those errors revived and restored to credit; diffused over Europe with greater facility and more deplorable success than in 1789; and menacing us with their shameful and terrible return; I judged it to be the duty of a good Frenchman to write the history of that Assembly with the greatest energy and fidelity.'

History is the best instructress of mankind, and the disclosure of past errors is the surest preservative from new failings. M. Lacretelle is no longer a young man; and he cannot now contemplate the forward march of human affairs with the same steady, fearless eye, with which he could survey it five-and-twenty years ago. A spectator of the innumerable and enormous crimes which have indelibly stained the Revolution of his own country, well may he shrink back if his imagination is haunted with the dread of their recurrence. The 'fatal errors,' which, it seems, are now revived, and are diffusing themselves 'with so much facility and such deplorable success all over Europe,' are obviously those revolutionary movements which are every where and simultaneously going on, — not in Europe only, but on the borders of Asia, and over the vast continent of South America. In contempt of the congresses and alliances of holy and imperial potentates, there does indeed seem to exist an irresistible determination, on the part of the people of almost all the civilized nations on earth, to oppose the farther encroachments of despotism, to chain the

* See Monthly Review, New Series, vol. xliii. p. 465.; vol. lvii. p. 533.; vol. lviii. p. 471.; vol. lxxxviii. p. 526.; and vol. lxxxix. p. 521.

Hellespont

Hellespont and roll back its waves. Whatever be the form of government, sooner or later they must and they will obtain their due preponderance in it. The war in the Spanish part of South America; the state of the Portuguese empire on that continent; the condition of Spain and Portugal in Europe; the insurrection of the Greeks, now in full and successful action, we trust, against their oppressors; that of the Italians, checked for the moment and *for the moment only*; the occasional heavings of the Germanic empire; all emanate from the same spirit. The principle is the same, under whatever modifications it may present itself according to times and circumstances. M. LACRETELLE dreads the recurrence of those sanguinary scenes which disgraced the French Revolution: but surely, as we hope, without reason: for it is a peculiar and very striking distinction between that and all subsequent revolutions, that in the latter the popular cause has been prosecuted, comparatively speaking, with little bloodshed; — not with less ardor or success, but with less exasperation. The recent struggle in France, where two hostile parties, the Ultras and the Liberales, united in the Chamber of Deputies to compel the King to remove his obnoxious ministers, and withdraw the censorship of the press *, would not have been effected five-and-twenty years ago without massacre or assassination; and we think that the author may allay his fears by the contemplation even of that single event. The French Revolution has taught the people of France, as well as of all other countries, a lesson of moderation, steadiness, and perseverance in the prosecution of their legitimate objects, which will ultimately, and in spite of all earthly opposition, insure the attainment of them.

No part of the present volumes has been read by us with more surprise than the first few pages, describing the situation of France *immediately* preceding the Revolution. The grave historian has here borrowed the rainbow hues of poetry, and we could fancy ourselves in that golden age in which rivers flowed with milk and honey; when man, obedient to truth and justice, lived in perfect innocence and peace:

> "*Pœna metusque aberant: nec verba minacia fixo*
> *Ære legebantur: nec supplex turba timebant*
> *Judicis ora sui.*" (OVID. Met. i. 91.)

* It must be confessed that the Liberales were completely outwitted in this unnatural alliance. The project of a law for regulating the periodical press, introduced by M. *de Peyronnet*, Keeper of the Seals, on the 2d Jan., shews the entire predominance of the Ultras.

France was then the garden of Eden, where flowers perennial bloomed and breathed their delicious odors, and where fruits spontaneously offered to the hand of man their ripened clusters. After a lively description of the prosperity of her colonies at the period of the Revolution, attesting at once the power of her arms, the excellence of her policy, and the happy direction of her industry; of the flourishing state of her navy, agriculture, and literature; and of the spreading empire of her language, more extended than that of the Greeks, who conquered Asia, or of the Romans, who conquered the whole known world; M. LACRETELLE exclaims,

'What splendor, what majesty in the various monuments which adorned our capital! what excellent establishments! what activity in the ports of Nantes, Bourdeaux, and Marseilles; in the workshops of Lyons, Rouen, Sedan, and Louviers! here, what bustle and what luxury! there, what mild tranquillity! what an air of sprightliness was every where spread over this fine soil of France! what songs of mirth from the joyous Provence to the fertile Alsace! *If some despotic formulas existed*, still there was no despot, — for Louis XVI. reigned.'—'Among the magistrates, ambitious as they were and oppugners of the royal authority, inflexible justice still prevailed, and often austere manners. Courtiers, less greedy than their predecessors but more trifling, made themselves beloved by the seductive politeness of their manners, and the easiness of their disposition,' &c. &c.

The Muse of History had certainly dropped her own pen and taken up that of Poetry, by mistake, when she wrote the glowing eulogy of which we have here given a small part. M. LACRETELLE, indeed, does in the very fervor of his panegyric unguardedly confess that 'misery was, without doubt, more diffused over the provinces than it is now: but it was allied with innocence of manners, soothed by the hopes of religion, and received the abundant help of charity.' If this description of the state of France be true, all the accounts of travellers, historians, and politicians which we have read were false. The French are here represented to have begun a Revolution out of mere wantonness, and from the very exuberance of their felicity to have become restless and dissatisfied. Is this human nature? Twenty-five millions of men, suddenly and out of pure caprice, trample under foot every sentiment and every prejudice which they had once regarded as venerable and sacred: a courteous and polished people in an instant become sanguinary and fierce: an entire nation unites to destroy every institution, religious as well as civil, which antiquity had hallowed, and education had taught it to respect; and all this, in the midst of peace, plenty, freedom, and

and enjoyment! Is this human nature? or is it only *French nature?* — Mr. Burke, in his "Reflections," says that "we have seen the French rebel against a mild and lawful monarch with more fury, outrage, and insult, than any people had been known to display against the most illegal usurper, or the most sanguinary tyrant;" and M. LACRETELLE declares, 'If some despotic formulas existed, still there was no despot, — for Louis XVI. reigned.' He is more correct than Mr. Burke in one respect. The French nation did not revolt against Louis *, who was remarkable for the mildness of his character, and for the moderation with which he exercised the powers intrusted to him. It was to destroy those 'despotic formulas' which existed,—those despotic principles of government which, centuries back, had struck deep their roots, and which had spread their ramifications into the recesses of every civil office in the kingdom, — that they revolted.

In point of precedence, the clergy formed the first estate: their number has been estimated at 130,000; and, while the higher orders enjoyed immense revenues and passed their lives at Paris or Versailles, in the midst of court-gaiety and corruption, doubtless with many exemplary exceptions, the poor *curés* and still poorer *vicaires* were starving on less than 20*l.* a year. — When it is recollected that the titles and rank of noble families descended to all the children, and the property to the eldest alone, the estimate of 200,000 nobility, a vast majority of whom were proud, poor, and dependent on the bounty of the court, may not be deemed too high. These were the second in rank; and both were exempt from taxation. — The *tiers état*, or commons, formed the lowest order. They bore the whole pecuniary burden of the state; of an army of 200,000 men during peace, and double the amount in war; of a marine; of repairing the public roads; and of maintaining all civil and municipal functionaries. To add still more to the evil, the revenues of the state were let out to farmers-general at a certain sum, many of whom acquired immense fortunes by relentless exactions and frauds. Yet M. LACRETELLE assures us that there was no despotism!

* In the cases of Charles I. and James II., the revolt of the people was against the personal despotism of the men; in France, it was against the hereditary despotism of the established government. If, in the course of the Revolution, the amiable but wavering Louis fell on the scaffold, he was commiserated by every body; and, as his destruction was not contemplated at the beginning of the Revolution, still less was it the object of that terrible movement.

The

The revenues of the state, we are told, had been tripled in the course of twenty-four years: be it so: but their expences had been quadrupled, for the author himself remarks that the embarrassment of the finances was the *sole* cause of the convocation of the States-General; and he adds that the deputies — from this too happy population! — approached Versailles like the soldiers of two hostile armies eager for engagement. They assembled at Versailles on the 4th of May, after an interval of 175 years; the nobles arrayed in splendid robes, swords pendant by their sides, and plumes of feathers dancing in their hats; the higher clergy, too, glittered in gold and jewels; while the deputies of the *tiers état* appeared in plain black-cloth cloaks, without swords, and with hats off, resembling those inferior officers and bailiffs who in antient times followed in the retinue of their powerful seigneurs. 'In spite of the philosophic ostentation of the day,' says the author, 'the vanity of the *tiers état* was wounded; and of all causes *of ingratitude*, the most common among us is wounded vanity.' The first question was in what manner the three orders should deliberate; whether in separate chambers or in one body. M. *Necker* vacillated, and pleased neither party. The *tiers état* felt their growing strength and popularity, and knew that in separate chambers their voice would be overpowered by the other two, although their numbers had been doubled. They persevered: all business was suspended for several weeks; and many of the clergy were won over by the deputies, who, finding the nobility inflexible, at last resolved themselves into a *National Assembly*. *

Affairs were now come to a crisis; and the noblesse must make a prompt and vigorous stand, or give up their cause as lost. With this impression, one of them proposed to address the King to dissolve the States-General; and on the 20th of June, as the members were about to enter their own hall as usual, they found it surrounded by a detachment of guards, who refused them admission, proclaiming at the same time a Royal Session. This perhaps was not intended as a defiance to the people, but it was certainly a most injudicious act of offence; and it caused the members to repair to a vacant

* In this contest, the King, all mildness and forbearance, acted a noble part. To a remonstrance of the noblesse against a common chamber, he replied, "I am resolved to make every sacrifice. I would not have one single man perish in my quarrel. Tell the order of noblesse, therefore, that I beseech them to unite with the other two: if that be not enough, say that as their King I command them."

tennis-

tennis-court, where they took the celebrated oath never to separate till the constitution of the kingdom should be established on a secure basis. M. *Necker* had for some time occupied himself in preparing a royal declaration, laying down the basis of a new constitution which very much resembled that of England; and M. LACRETELLE stamps it with the seal of his approbation, saying that it might have been introduced without any open violence to the manners and laws of the old monarchy. This was presented to the King, who approved it: but it underwent so many modifications at the suggestion of the Queen, the Princesses, and their advisers, that *Necker* disavowed it as his own. Here M. LACRETELLE bears a little hard on that minister, and says that he ought not to have made a disavowal which gained popularity for himself at the expence of the King: adding, that the modifications were unimportant. Now it is on the importance of these modifications that the question hinges: he thought that they were of importance; and it is too much to make him responsible to twenty-five millions of people as the artificer of a constitution which he disapproved. — The dismissal of M. *Necker* was an act of the most fatal indiscretion, and inflamed the people, already in a high degree of excitement, to madness. The King, too, it is obvious, foresaw the effervescence which that dismissal would produce, because with his own hand he wrote to the minister a short note, in which he said, "I expect from your devotion to my person that you will *conceal your departure*: necessity urges me to this." M. *Necker* did so: for he left Versailles at midnight, accompanied by his wife only, without courier, without passport, without saying whither he was going. The troubled state of the capital made it natural that the King should call out the military: but the military, like that two-edged weapon which they employ, may cut in either direction; and their own officers had already become the objects of jealousy among the soldiers, who had imbibed the new opinions, and wished well to the popular cause. M. LACRETELLE says that the King attempted to supply their want of zeal in his defence by increasing their numbers: but he omits to add a source of exasperation sufficiently notorious, namely, that a large portion of the troops collected round Paris and Versailles, from all parts of the kingdom, consisted of foreign mercenaries. When the Marshal *de Broglio* was invested with the command of the army, the King addressed him in these terms: "You are come to assist a monarch without finances and without an army; for I am not ignorant of the progress of revolt among my troops. If you can defeat those projects by which my throne is menaced,

naced, *without bloodshed*, you will gratify the most ardent wish of my heart." Could he possibly expect this?—but the intimation was a mandate of mercy, and deserves to be recorded.

M. LACRETELLE regards it as one of the first faults of the Constituent Assembly, that it wasted its time in abstract metaphysical disquisitions about the rights of man, when not only all Paris but all France was in uproar, and required that instant and summary coercion which could emanate from no other authority. The cry of murder became so frequent and so fierce, that to stop the carnage and appease the popular fury these ill-timed disquisitions were suspended; and the sitting of the night of the 4th of August produced one of the most striking scenes that any country ever exhibited. By one blow, the whole fabric which remained of the feodal system was levelled to the ground. The Viscount *de Noailles* proposed, as the only means of restoring tranquillity, a decree that no order of the state should be exempt from taxation, but that the public burdens should be equally borne by all: that feodal claims should be redeemable at a fair valuation, but that all personal services should be abolished without any compensation. The Duke *d'Aiguillon* seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation. This sacrifice, being proposed by individuals of immense possessions, was immediately followed up by others; the patriotic contagion quickly spred throughout the whole *right side*; and each deputy, to use the *sarcastic* phrase of the author, 'was anxious to have a stroke with his axe at the old feodal oak.' The game-laws were abolished; hereditary jurisdictions, exclusive rights of warrens, fisheries, companies, corporations,—all was offered as a holocaust to the new equality; and if it had not been for the appearance of day-break, says this historian, the enfranchisement of the Negroes would also have been decreed. In the "legislative orgies" of this night, also, tythes and other revenues of the clergy were abolished, and a stipend was decreed to be paid by the nation to the ministers of religion.*

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* Although tythes were abrogated on this night, it was not till the November following that the lands belonging to the church were confiscated for the purpose of supplying the exigencies of the state, on a motion of the Bishop of *Autun*, the celebrated *Talleyrand Perigord*. An issue of assignats to the amount of four hundred millions seemed a necessary consequence of this measure; which were to be received by the state for the payment of taxes, and for the purchase of church-lands. Monasteries were not suppressed till 13th Feb. 1790: the lands belonging to them were then likewise confiscated, and the nuns and friars allowed pensions

The author has thrown some light on the strange conduct of two very celebrated men, the Abbé *Sièyes* and *Mirabeau*. These persons were rival candidates for popular favor; and the former effected by subtlety and wiliness that which the latter accomplished by vehemence and audacity. In the debate on suppressing tythes, the clergy found an unexpected supporter in the Abbé, who pronounced a powerful and affecting oration in their defence: when *Mirabeau* seized the opportunity of tearing down the obnoxious standard of his rival, and of hoisting his own. The Abbé saw his error, too late, but had soon an opportunity of redeeming himself. When the question was agitated whether the King should have a positive or a suspensive *veto*, the fox and the lion changed skins: the Abbé, to refreshen his faded popularity, boldly proposed that the King should have NO *veto*; while *Mirabeau*, to the astonishment of every one, voted that he should enjoy it *absolutely*. The King is only an individual, said the Abbé, and can have only a single will, which ought not to prevail over that of twelve hundred men, the representatives of twenty-six millions. With this broad republican sentiment he still professed himself a friend to monarchy, — because he would not extinguish the hopes of the Duke of Orleans, formerly his protector, now his *protégé*.

With regard to *Mirabeau*, the versatilities of such a man are instructive. He was rapacious and profuse: by his early extravagance he had ruined his fortune; and, in the course which he ran through the Revolution, his avarice was only subordinate to his ambition. He despised the Duke of Orleans, whom he served, but was equally prepared to be the minister of Louis XVI. and of any usurper who might succeed him. With the hope, therefore, that the exigencies of the times and his own commanding talents might raise him to the ministry, he was desirous that the royal authority should not be reduced to too abject a condition: he compromised his popularity, consequently, in defending the positive *veto*, and said that he would rather live in Constantinople than in France, if laws could be enacted without the royal consent. The King himself preferred the suspensive to the positive *veto*; and the

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pensions for their subsistence, with liberty to adhere to their monastic vows, or not, as they chose. A vote for the sudden enfranchisement of Negroes would probably have been attended with disastrous consequences: but France would have been spared the guilt of those frightful massacres, and military murders, which her officers perpetrated in St. Domingo; and of those enormities which are, to this day, committed with impunity in Africa.

wisdom

wisdom of M. *Necker* led him to sacrifice the present to the future. Wishing the King to use his *veto, frequently*, in order to check the rapid innovations of the National Assembly, he prudently recommended the mildest form to be adopted; and the suspensive *veto* passed. On the 4th of October, the King sent a message to the Assembly, that he would *defer* his sanction to the Declaration of the Rights of Man till the constitution was established. *Mirabeau*, like the Abbé, thought perhaps that he had gone too far before, and was actually the person to move an immediate deputation to the King, to inform him that his sanction must not be deferred! This was only fourteen days after the discussion on the *veto*: but in this short interval the Orleans faction were making the most desperate plunges in favor of the Duke, and in all probability *Mirabeau's* ambition would have been gratified if they had succeeded.

If the sincerity of a venal legislator were not justly the object of suspicion, we should say that *Mirabeau* was a sincere royalist. *Lafayette* was a royalist too, but *his* monarch would have been a mere puppet, without power or prerogative. *Mirabeau* on all occasions was inclined to strengthen and give dignity to the throne, rather than weaken and humiliate it; and, had he lived, in all probability the monarchy would have been saved. It was a misfortune to the King that *Necker*, either from jealousy or suspicion, received with repulsive coldness the advances of *Mirabeau* soon after the opening of the Constituent Assembly. When the King's aunts had left France, and the discussion had taken place on the law against emigrants, *Mirabeau*, in conjunction with the Marquis *de Bouillé*, and without the knowlege of *Lafayette*, formed the bold plan of rescuing the King from his thraldom, by assisting his escape from Paris in order to reach Compiègne or Fontainebleau, and put himself under the protection of certain regiments on whose fidelity he could rely. This plan was on the point of execution when the sudden death of *Mirabeau*, in the vigor of life, defeated it.

We are, however, unguardedly going into detail, and relating the French Revolution in half a score pages of a Monthly Journal! This would truly be a tempest in a tea-cup! We are old enough to remember the storming of the Bastille, the Noyades, and the dreadful Ides of September; and, in reading the present work, many scenes of the most frightful interest are brought to our remembrance, and described in colors painfully faithful. Yet, if perturbed times excite bad men to the commission of crimes, they likewise call into action the virtues of the brave and the good; and innumerable are the instances of

of heroism, disinterestedness, and self-devotion, which shed a light over this gloomy period of history. No nation is so much led by the influence of sudden emotions as the French: a spark kindles their enthusiasm; and they act first and think afterward. An anecdote is related here which is new to us, and illustrates this fact. A wanton and wicked cry for bread having been raised by the Orleans faction, a prodigious number of fish-women, and men disguised in female dresses, moved from Paris to Versailles to demand bread from the King, and the National Assembly, which was sitting there. It was so formidable a multitude that *Lafayette*, at the head of the National Guard, followed it, to ward off the meditated mischief. The tumultuous troop of women, most of them drunk, headed by their orator, *Stanislaus Maillard*, soon burst the feeble barriers within which the Assembly sat, and, uttering ferocious cries against Aristocrats, mixed themselves with the deputies, demanding bread. To allay the disturbance, the President was instructed to proceed with a deputation to lay before his Majesty the sufferings to which the people of Paris were exposed: when the *poissardes* locked themselves within the arms of the deputies, and insisted also on going to the King. With great difficulty it was arranged that twelve of them only should be allowed to accompany the deputation, as representatives of the rest. Whether they were selected for their greater vehemence or volubility, it is immaterial: but, on entering the apartment in which the King received them with unaffected benignity, all their ferocity was subdued. A girl of about 17, who was their spokeswoman, being taken ill during the conference, the King approached her, and offered her assistance and refreshment. Delighted at drinking out of the costly goblet presented by such illustrious hands, the girl, in an extasy, exclaimed, *Vive le Roi, Vive la Reine!* and presented herself to kiss the hand of the King, who embraced her. The *poissardes*, enchanted with their reception, descended the royal stair-case, exclaiming, *Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine!* the cries of fury which their companions then uttered are indescribable; and they would instantly have torn them in pieces if the *gardes-du-corps* had not protected and brought them back to the palace, where the King gave them a written order with his own hand relative to the provisioning of Paris, and sent them thither in his own carriages to calm the people. How extremely probable is it that any other twelve, who had been selected from the *poissardes*, would have been melted at a reception of such unexpected kindness! — It was on the night of this day that the mob broke into the palace, murdered some of the *gardes-du-corps*, and with their reeking poniards

poniards pierced the bed from which the unhappy Queen had only the very instant before escaped. The conduct of *Lafayette* on this occasion, in leaving the palace, betaking himself to rest, and urging the National Assembly to close their sitting in so perilous a moment, is very severely and very deservedly censured by M. LACRETELLE.—Many of the grenadiers, like the *poissardes*, yielded to the sudden impulse of their feelings; and, when they saw their fellow-soldiers, the *gardes-du-corps*, in danger, protected them at the hazard of their own lives from the vengeance of that multitude whom they had so lately joined; exclaiming, "Let us save them, as they saved us at Fontenoy!"

After having presented us with an interior view of the Hall of the Constituent Assembly, filled with portraits of all the principal personages on the *right* and *left side*, *centre*, and *mountain*, M. LACRETELLE thus gives the character of its debates:

'The Assembly was accustomed to discuss, at random, all kinds of subjects; for it governed every thing by its committees, or by the help of petitions which were constantly arriving from all quarters. From the times of Moses and Lycurgus, never had a more absolute power of legislation existed. Articles of the constitution were decreed according to existing circumstances; generally preceded by a solemn discussion, which, however, was cold and dogmatical. The written discourses were, for the most part, treatises on public rights, in which it seemed to be a rule always to go back to the first state of human nature: to the covenants of the two first men! Even when these discourses were more precise, and to the purpose, they had rarely the powerful attraction of mutual and immediate refutation.—As the time for decision approached, the debate became more violent between the principal speakers, who then frequently had recourse to the brilliant sallies of extemporary altercation. The tribune, besieged by the champions of the two hostile armies, was sometimes gained by a race, sometimes by an athletic combat, sometimes by the efficacy of a shrill or of a thundering voice. Yet this was a station of but little safety. The most eloquent orator could not make himself heard without being twenty times assailed by a storm of vociferation, murmurs, hissings, hootings, or by sarcasms still more cruel than these disgraceful noises. Who can imagine the alternate uproar of a thousand men, some at the peril of their existence fighting for their God and for their King; others proceeding with fury and fanaticism in what they termed the work of social regeneration? The despair of the vanquished was often expressed by an unnatural laugh, and the joy of the victors by an inhuman grin. Challenges were interchanged, and soon became so numerous that they would have called two hundred combatants to the field. We may add to this noise, that of two thousand spectators, for the most part experienced actors in revolutionary scenes, auxiliaries, judges, and tyrants

tyrants of the democratic party. No sooner had they discharged a salvo of applause than, "Hear, hear the voice of the sovereign people," cried the demagogues. If they were silent for a moment, from without were heard the yells, the menaces, and the furious cries of ten or twenty thousand men, stationed in masses in the gardens of the Tuileries, on the terrace of the Feuillans, and who reiterated their clamour till it reached the ears of the King. The deputies of the *right side* had to pass these formidable groupes in order to gain their posts. The episcopal crosses experienced the greatest outrages, and incurred the fiercest maledictions; and never had the prelates more to fear from popular violence, than at the moment when they were devoting themselves to poverty by a sacrifice to their own conscience. During the time of the Constituent Assembly, the people never executed their menaces towards the deputies, and never committed any crimes to which they had not been previously instigated by their leaders. — If these were their morning-sittings, what were those of the evening! When the tumult was at its height, the President, his voice faint and feeble from exhaustion, would put on his hat, and proclaim the dissolution of the sitting; and thus by degrees order was restored.

'It would be difficult to form an idea of the lively and piquant sallies elicited in this time of confusion; of the chivalrous expressions of some of the military, such as M. *d'Ambli*, and *de Lautrec;* of the reverend grace and unaffected dignity of some of the prelates, particularly the Bishop of *Clermont;* of the animated repartees between *Mirabeau* and his brother the Viscount, between *Talleyrand* and the Abbé *Maury;* of the agreeable surprise caused by some unexpected display of grace, politeness, or generosity; or of the respect inspired by the firmness and impartiality of some of the presidents. In short, every thing presented itself that was curious or distressing, comical or surprizing; and the contrast was remarkable between the antient French manners, which shone with a dying splendor, and those of newer fashion, more inclined to liberty, with all the illusions to be expected from youth. I have seen illustrious foreigners, who had been present at the debates of the Constituent Assembly, equally astonished that such tumultuous deliberations did not produce laws more violent and anarchial; and that such a combination of men of talents and probity did not frame laws more just, more wise, and more adapted to circumstances.' (Vol. vii. pp. 311—317.)

On the 13th of September, 1791, the King addressed a letter to the President, announcing his acceptance of the constitution; and on the day following he repaired in person to the Assembly, signed the Constitutional Act, and took an oath of fidelity to observe and maintain it. The present volumes close with the dissolution of this Assembly by the King on the 31st of September, after the completion of their labors. The deputies, as they walked out, passed through the ranks of the multitude without honors: but, as soon as *Robespierre*

and *Petion* were discerned, civic crowns were showered on their heads, and they were borne away in triumph, while the King returned to the Tuileries in sombre silence! Oh Liberty, what atrocities have not been committed in thy name!

Among the *Pièces Justificatives* annexed to these volumes, is one intitled "General Considerations on the Constitution of 1791." With many of the remarks we entirely agree; it was the mere phantom of a king at the head of it; for, though the Assembly seemed to grow more and more monarchical as its sessions advanced, still the jealousy of the old aristocracy was so great, that the throne was not sufficiently protected by the intervention of such a body from popular violence. The King, it is true, had a *veto*, but he was obliged to exercise it in person, and without the responsibility of his ministers; and he had no senate, or upper chamber; so that he must either yield to every vote of the Assembly, or incur the dangerous odium of personally resisting it.

We cannot take leave of this work without expressing concern that, throughout the whole of it, we find an evident desire to divert attention from the degradation and wrongs endured by the people. No sympathy is extended towards them. M. LACRETELLE laments the suppression of monasteries, the abolition of hereditary titles, the sale of church-lands, and the curtailment of royal authority, and sheds abundant tears over the bare and shattered antlers of the 'feodal oak' lying prostrate on the ground: but he never suffers a sigh to escape him at the state of penury and wretchedness of the *peasantry and people* of France, under the grinding despotism of the old government. He expatiates on the sufferings of the clergy and the privileged orders, but not a word is allotted to the sufferings of the mass of the population. Like Mr. Burke, "he pities the plumage but forgets the dying bird; he is not so much affected by the reality of distress, touching the heart, as by the showy resemblance of it, striking the imagination. His hero or his heroine must be a tragedy-victim expiring in show, and not the real prisoner of misery, sliding into death in the silence of a dungeon."

This author professes great astonishment that the Cortes of Spain have copied, 'almost word for word,' the faults of the French Constitution of 1791; and he anticipates every imaginable horror from its operation: but the fact is that France had only the forms of a constitution, and not the substance. France was entirely governed by *clubs*, who set all laws and the constitution at defiance: but the Spaniards, we trust, know better, and will go on tranquilly and prosperously,

perously, if let alone. Yet there are persons who dread this tranquillity, and who view the regeneration of Spain as Satan viewed the first pair in Paradise, with the devilish intention to disturb its happiness. If we leave Spain to herself, she will display to the envious eyes around her

——— "a rock
Of alabaster, piled up to the clouds,
Conspicuous far."

ART. VI. *Voyage en Sicile*, &c.; *i. e.* Travels in Sicily, during 1820 and 1821. By AUGUSTUS DE SAYVE. Comprizing, 1. The Description of Sicily, considered principally with regard to its Antiquities and Natural History. 2. Observations on its Institutions both Antient and Modern, on the Character and Manners of the Sicilians, and on the State of their Agriculture, Commerce, Literature, Arts, and Sciences. 3. Remarks on Etna, and on Volcanos in general; and, finally, a Compendious Sketch of the Historical Events that have occurred in Sicily, from the Termination of the Fabulous Times to the present Day. Illustrated by a Topographical Map, Two Lithographic Engravings, and a Plate of Music. 8vo. 3 Vols. Paris. 1822. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 1*l.* 7*s.* sewed.

AFTER all that antient and modern writers have recorded of the fine climate and fruitful soil of Sicily, and of its varied productions, revolutions, and calamities, it would be unreasonable to expect that even the most sagacious observer should now attempt to analyze its physical and moral condition with any great pretensions to interest or to novelty. In this, however, as in other instances, it may be extremely desirable to correct the errors that have found their way into prior recitals, to embody the substance of statements which lie scattered in numerous or costly publications, and to submit the scenes described to the test of personal retrospection. Such, we may fairly infer, were the principal aims of the present traveller; to whose name no literary or scientific additions are appended, but who has obviously brought to his task the solid and essential requisites of time, diligence, good sense, and extensive reading. He seems, also, to have examined the island in greater detail than some of his most distinguished predecessors; and to have exhibited with more uniformity the parallels of antient and modern designations of places, with notices of numismatic and architectural reliques, and occasional lists of the indigenous plants. His scholarship, however, is rather popular than profound; and various passages and brief catalogues are interspersed through the journal,

which might better have been introduced as illustrative of the general themes, intitled Botany, Geology, &c. We must not dissemble, also, that these volumes, though the production of a Gallic pen, are somewhat deficient in animation; that most of the few anecdotes, which are inserted with such formality, relate rather to the author's feelings and concerns than to those of the public; that some proper names are oddly travestied; and that the correction of the press has been too much neglected. We may add that the style is rather loose, easy, and perspicuous, than pure, nervous, or elegant. With these deductions, however, from our fancied standards of excellence, we have hitherto perhaps had no such convenient repository of general and particular information relative to Sicily as the work before us.

In his abbreviated geographical description, the author cautions those who have heard of the extreme fertility of the island, but who have never seen it, against the natural conclusion that it consists of a series of plains; for the fact is that, besides Etna, it includes many hills, though generally of moderate elevation, and more commonly insulated than disposed in regular chains. The ridges of Dinnamare and Madonia are, however, of considerable extent; and they give rise to several subordinate lateral branches. None of the rivers are remarkable for their dimensions, nor much adapted to internal navigation. Such is the mildness of the atmosphere, that the cattle pass the winter in the fields, and many plants which we raise in the stove blossom in the open air: but the heat is so oppressive in summer, that the inhabitants of towns usually indulge in *siesta* from noon till four o'clock. The medium summer-heat at Palermo is stated at 76° Fahrenheit: but, on some particular days, especially in the month of August, it has been known to range from 88° to 95°, and, during the prevalence of the scirocco, even to 106°, in the shade. The average temperature of winter has been reckoned from 50° to 53°; and the mercury rarely descends below the freezing point. The annual quantity of rain, the general direction of the winds, and some other important meteorological results, have been overlooked by M. Sayve.

'When the wind called *Siroc*, or *Scirocco*, happens to blow from the south-west, the heat rises in the course of a few hours even to 32° or 33° of Réaumur (105° of Fahrenheit); and, in a sheltered spot, exposed to the sun-beams, it rises still higher: but, when the thermometer is in the shade, the heat does not exceed the above-mentioned limits beyond some tenths of a degree. The scirocco is usually announced by light white clouds: it continues about two or three days, but never more; and it terminates frequently

quently in rain. The heat is so insupportable that nobody, unless impelled by urgent motives, stirs from the house. Indeed, all nature suffers: men and beasts drag their steps; every thing wears a mournful and gloomy aspect; the leaves are withered; and spiral volumes of dust, whirling in every direction, obscure the sight and the atmosphere. Sometimes, the wind, blowing with violence, veers about every minute, and sometimes entirely subsides; the air fails, and respiration becomes laborious. This oppression of heat, if we may so speak, induces perspiration so much the more violent from being sudden, all the fibres are relaxed, and nobody feels inclined to any kind of exertion.

'We have to remark that the effects of this noxious wind are more perceptible on robust than on delicate constitutions: but a circumstance which has not hitherto been satisfactorily explained is, that it is more vehement at Palermo than any where else in Sicily, although of no very common occurrence in that place. I have heard it mentioned in conversation, but I had formed no adequate idea of it until I experienced its influence. I can now conceive how the wind of the desart may have frequently destroyed whole armies, in situations where they were deprived of water.'

In a country on which nature has lavished her favors, it is painful to reflect that no regular system of internal communication has been yet established; and that the funds, originally destined to supply such a material want, have been diverted into the coffers of a prince who can violate the most solemn engagements with his people.—The author supposes that the total population of the island may amount to one million and a half; whereas, if we could safely rely on the records of antiquity, the number of its inhabitants before the Punic wars was not fewer than twelve millions. This latter computation must be exaggerated; yet we should not overlook the circumstances of the luxuriance of vegetation, the abundance of fish, and the fruitfulness of the women: resources which have been, subsequently, counterbalanced by the inflictions of war and pestilence, the blighting influence of protracted misrule, and the grievous multiplication of monastic institutions.

With respect to the history of the foundation of Palermo, like that of most antient cities, it is lost in the darkness of the early ages; and, owing to the ravages of war and centuries, few of the splendid remains of its pristine greatness can now be traced. Some inscriptions, to which a very remote date seems to have been needlessly assigned, appear to be Arabic, and penned by the Saracens. Greek and Roman medals, and Tuscan or more properly Greek vases, are of no uncommon occurrence. The town and suburbs are seated in a very fertile region, and contain 180,000 inhabitants, of whom 40,000 are ecclesiastics, or attached to religious orders.

The opera-house, in the true Italian style, is not even tolerably lighted; nor is much attention bestowed on the composition of the pieces; for, if the airs be well turned, and the *prima donna* display dexterous execution, the spectators are sufficiently delighted. The minor theatre, destined to the exhibition of burlesque dramas and the feats of *Punch*, is invariably crowded. Ices and iced waters are copiously consumed, snow from the higher hills being an article of daily traffic. — Several of the public establishments, and especially the libraries, are here very summarily noticed. — The cathedral, dedicated to St. Rosalia, is built in the mixed Moorish and Greek style of the Lower Empire, and is more rich in decoration than chaste in design. St. Catherine's church is distinguished by a profusion of fine marbles and precious stones, in front of the high altar. The citizens of Palermo, like the rest of the Sicilians, are fondly addicted to religious processions and festivities, some of which are more akin to revelry than to sentiments of devotion. Individuals of the higher classes of society are represented as very polite and affable, and their ladies as very amiable: but, of late, a love of ostentation threatens to prevail over that of comfortable hospitality, although strangers, when properly introduced, are still treated with kindness and attention. Cards and games of hazard are much in vogue; and not a few persons have suffered by staking their fate in the public lotteries. Among some of the more remarkable objects in the neighbourhood of the city, the author mentions the mineral waters of Bujuto, which are impregnated with sulphate of magnesia; and he alludes to the Troglodites of Monte Gallo, a tribe of fourscore poor but honest people, who dwell in caverns, and usually attain to a great age.

'The convent of Capuchins, situated at about a mile from the town, is one of the most spacious which I know. It contains a great many friars: but the truly remarkable object connected with it is its sepulchral vault. This repository is separated into considerable galleries, in the walls of which are a great many niches, designed for the reception of the dead bodies of the religious of the order; nearly four hundred of them being already thus deposited, and attired in their antient habiliments. Their corpses have undergone the process of natural desiccation, and the skin which covers the bones is very dry. This effect is not produced by any chemical preparation, nor by any property intrinsic to a particular vault, since we find similar subterraneous cells in the abbey of St. Martin at Syracuse, and in many other convents in Sicily; and the same expedient may be every where adopted.* Here, too, are

'* This desiccation is effected quite naturally, by putting the bodies into an appropriate vault, from which the air and light are care-

are many bodies of noblemen, deposited in long quadrangular cases.'

In the vaults of the convent of Franciscans at Toulouse are preserved similar remains of departed monks and nuns; and, if our information be correct, they exhibit in several instances the dying attitude, with the expression of pious resignation, or in others the ghastly grin which frequently announces dissolution.

As a proof of the luxuriance of vegetation in the plains of Palermo, the author mentions a myrtle, of which the trunk measures eighteen inches in circumference. He likewise dwells on the many valuable uses of *Agave Americana*, *Cactus Opuntia*, and *Ceratonia siliqua*, which thrive in various parts of the island.

At Segesta is a temple constructed in the antient Doric style, but apparently never completed, and supposed to have been destined to the worship of Ceres. Although the columns are composed of separate pieces, they are not exactly uniform in diameter, the difference sometimes amounting to an inch or two. 'I am acquainted with no antient monument,' observes our traveller, 'that is placed in a wilder situation than this: the temple, seated on a height, is now in a desart; visible for a considerable time before the traveller reaches it, the golden hue of the wrecks of its architecture being detached from the pale and parched mountain which rises behind it. No path conducts to it, every visitor to it being obliged to grope his way through barren fields, contiguous to the consecrated hill; and man is astonished to meet with a memorial of his species in a spot so solitary and forlorn.' As this was the first time in his life that the author had contemplated Grecian ruins, the ideas with which they inspired him, he says, by recalling the grandeur of 'the period when mankind were guided by the love of all that is fair and beautiful, saddened my heart, and excited a train of deep reflections, from which I was roused by the discharge of a musket close to me. It proceeded from nomadic huntsmen, one of whom had just killed a bird. There were three men, with their wives, a child, and three horses; and they might be styled the Bedouins of Sicily; for they were leading the same kind of life, scouring the hills, subsisting on the produce of the chace, and

carefully excluded; and in which the feet, hands, and jaws, are tied close, to prevent the sinews from shrinking in a direction contrary to that which it is wished they should preserve. When they have been left in this condition for four or five months, the drying is completed, and they are consigned to their respective niches.'

having no roof but the canopy of heaven. One of them, conjecturing that we had nothing to eat, offered me the bird which he had shot; and, pointing to a gridiron, under which he had kindled a fire, he shewed me how to dress it. The sight of such Arabs of the desart, making ready their repast within the precincts of the temple, and the cries of predacious birds who were driven from their haunts, while all nature besides reposed in silence, contributed to conjure up a scene which is much more easily felt than described.'

Salemi has been rendered remarkable by a sudden subsidence of the soil, in the year 1740, when only the tops of the houses were left visible: but we are not told whether this event happened in consequence of an earthquake, nor whether any of the inhabitants perished on the occasion. — Trapani, the antient *Drepanum*, now contains 24,000 inhabitants, and is chiefly supported by its fisheries of tunny and coral, its various marbles, and its traffic in salt.—Marsalla, the Saracenic denomination of the once flourishing *Lilybæum*, has a population of 20,000 persons, but offers few remarkable traces of its former state. Its principal articles of export are, wool, cotton, tunny, barilla, and kelp: while its environs yield excellent white wines, and large poultry of a superior quality. — The destruction of the extensive edifices of Selinunte, (*Selinon*, *Selinus*, or *Selinuntius*,) which some have ascribed to an earthquake, and others to an irruption of the sea, appears, from the circumstances stated, to have been effected by human means; particularly by the soldiers of Hannibal, as mentioned by Xenophon and Diodorus Siculus. The city, but not the temples, was rebuilt; and it was again laid waste by the Saracens. The dispersed and hoary reliques of its fanes and other public buildings, raised by mortals whose names have not descended to posterity, sufficiently indicate that they had been constructed on a vast and magnificent scale, and that they might have served as models for the proudest architectural efforts of the present day. — Sacca, or Sciacca, which corresponds to *Thermæ Selinuntinæ*, or *Thermæ Selinuntorum*, is still visited for its baths, and is noted for its white, light, and porous earthen-ware, which is well adapted for the cooling of liquors. This place gave birth to Agathocles, the son of a potter, who became one of the greatest princes of Sicily. — The sulphur-mines of Catolica occur in a detached hill, the circumference of which measures 600 toises; and the sulphur is associated with gypsum, sulphate of magnesia, and strontianite.

Girgenti (*Agrigentum*) naturally furnishes an article of considerable length, but containing little that is new or important relative to its antient condition. When besieged by Hannibal,

bal, its population, according to Diodorus, amounted to 220,000: but it is now reduced to 15,000. Among the numerous fine remains of antiquity which it still displays, the elegant temple of Concord stands nearly entire. The present town is ill built and gloomy, but boasts of some interesting objects and institutions, particularly a library rich in Roman medals, bronze and earthen vases, &c. The staple article of commerce is grain, which is generally kept in pits, or grottoes: but a considerable quantity of sulphur is also exported. The adjacent plains are extremely fertile, and clothed with the richest vegetation. — Having seen all that is remarkable in this place, M. DE SAYVE repaired to Macaluba, at a league's distance, to visit the mud-volcano.

'These ejections,' he says, 'are unconnected with igneous phænomena; and, although the term volcano, applied to these discharges of gas and mud, is improper as involving the notion of fire, I shall retain it, because it has been hitherto adopted. In Italy, this appearance, which occurs in several places, is known by the name of Salse, from the saltness of the water ejected. The peasants, too, call these places Bollitori, or Gorgogli. — The Macaluba of Sicily is an argillaceous hill, of about 130 feet in height, which has the form of a truncated cone; while the section of its upper plane is quite covered with small truncated cones, of different heights, from half a foot to three feet, and much approximated. Each of these small cones has a crater, or rather a small opening, through which bubbles of air (or, to speak more correctly, of carbonic acid) momentarily escape, and give way without much noise, discharging at the same time small streams of diluted clay. In dry weather, an inconsiderable quantity of petroleum and salt is found under the crust of the cones, while all beneath is of a miry consistency: but this is the case only in summer; for in winter the cones disappear, and are replaced by small pools of salt and turbid water, on which is a trifling portion of petroleum. Sometimes, again, the whole presents merely a lake of ooze in a state of ebullition, which may be approached without danger. Great eruptions also take place at Macaluba, but only at indeterminate periods; and usually every second, third, or fifth year, when the neighbourhood exhales a strong bituminous and sulphureous odour, and the explosion is accompanied with a very violent subterraneous noise.

'We have to remark that this phænomenon is referable to a very remote period; for both Strabo and Solinus make mention of it, and the latter in the most explicit terms. This volcano of hydro-argillaceous gas had, in like manner, its periodical eruptions in the middle ages; as we may prove by its present name, which is Arabic, and means *overthrown*. From the form and great extent of the flat surface, we may infer that the eruptions were greatest in antient times: but the soil is not sensibly enlarged, because the rains quickly carry off such soft materials. It is also alleged that these

these salse formerly emitted smoke and flames, but the assertion requires confirmation. The old streams are recognized by their superior whiteness, and greater number of cracks. The whole of the affected soil, which measures from five to six hundred toises in circumference, reposes on a calcareous bottom, covered with marl and clay. This phænomenon is occasioned solely by the liberation of carbonic acid gas, slightly impregnated with petroleum and hydrogen. *Pallas* ascribes these ejections to the combustion of coal-fields: but the strata about Macaluba have no relation to soil of that description.

'The eruptions sometimes throw up stones which happen to occur in their passage: but they remain unchanged. For the rest, if the disengagement of carbonic acid and hydrogen should take place under an argillaceous soil, it would probably produce the same effect; and the appearances exhibited on the lake of Palici may, perhaps, be traced to the same cause with those of Macaluba. We have heard of extraordinary eruptions at the last-mentioned place, when the stream was projected to the height of 150 feet. In 1777, one rose to the height of 100 feet, accompanied by a voluminous discharge of sulphuretted hydrogen and carbonic acid gas; and it occasioned a local earthquake. At Bissana, two leagues and a half from Girgenti, and situated a little more northerly than Macaluba, all the same phænomena are observable, and the sulphureo-bituminous odour is perceptible even at a distance.

'There are also several salse in Italy, particularly in the territories of Bologna, Parma, and Reggio, and near the lake Ansanto, twelve miles from Naples. Those of the Crimea are much more considerable; for, according to the testimony of *Pallas*, one of them, in 1794, had an eruption with such violence that a single stream exceeded four hundred toises in length, accompanied by smoke and flames, which rose to upwards of 300 feet. Such volcanoes also exist in America, and in the Sunda islands.' (P. 211.)

M. DE SAYVE's first excursion into the interior of the island proved much less interesting than he had anticipated. At Castronovo, having wandered into the church in the middle of a sermon, he found himself surrounded by a numerous and *merry* congregation. The preacher, a perfect adept in grimacing and gesticulation, happened to inveigh against gluttony, and illustrated his positions by anecdotes, of which the following is a sample: 'The father of the present King of Naples, after a great dinner, was desirous of eating a peach; and as, from pure greediness, he devoured it skin and all, God caused the Devil to enter into the body of a wasp; now this said wasp lodged in the kernel of the peach, which opened, because the King swallowed the fruit with inordinate appetite; and the wasp, feeling itself squeezed, stung the King's mouth, and grievously annoyed him; whence it is evident that God punishes faults when we least expect it. At this conclusion, the whole audience again gave way to laughter: but as

for

for myself I quitted the church, quite shocked to find Christian morality thus ridiculously enforced.' — Allicata, the antient *Gela*, exhibits scarcely a vestige of its early splendor: but the identity of its position has been settled by a singular Greek inscription, on marble, being a decree of the republic in favor of Heraclides, the son of Zopyrus. — Here the author ascertained that several of the swallow-tribe pass the winter in Sicily, instead of crossing over into Africa; and the same remark is, we believe, applicable to the Hieres islands, and the coast of Genoa, where these birds pass the night in the open country on the orange-trees. — We may take notice, too, of the numerous grottoes and subterraneous chambers which occur in different parts of the island, particularly in Val di Noto, and in the valley of Ispica, which seem to be designed for human habitations, and in two different stages of society; the more antient being rudely fashioned, while the others manifest much greater skill and industry. They are generally of difficult access, and appear to have been calculated for securing their occupants against intrusion. Some of them, however, have been obviously excavated for places of interment. — The rocks of Cape Passero afford frequent examples of calcareous strata incumbent on a hard basalt, or lava; and in some other parts of the island are singular alternations of lime-stone and lava. — The Palagonian or Naphtha Lake is of a round form, about 450 feet in circumference, and 15 in depth: but in summer its waters are considerably reduced. It is remarkable on account of its violent ebullitions, occasioned by the extrication of carbonic acid gas, blended with a small proportion of hydrogen; for the petroleum which collects on its surface; for its strong bituminous odour; and for the muddy softness of its bottom: — circumstances from which we may infer that it is merely a modification of a mud-volcano: but the natives firmly believe that it is the abode of a sorceress.

The traveller devotes fifty pages to the antiquities and modern state of Syracuse; which, like the other towns of Sicily, seems to have sadly dwindled from its former grandeur. That it ever included within its walls two millions of human beings, as some authors have alleged, may well be questioned: but, if we assume even the lowest computation of 800,000, the present contrast of only 13,000, or 14,000, reads a striking lesson to the reflecting moralist. Again, the Fountain of Arethusa, now a well for washer-women,—the celebrated Temple of Minerva, scarcely to be recognized in the form of a church, — the nearly obliterated traces of the palace of Verres, — of the meridian constructed by Archimedes, — and of other objects

objects too numerous to rehearse, — awaken many interesting and melancholy emotions. The quarries are still visible in which prisoners were confined; and the multitude of *lautomiæ*, or catacombs, still arrest the steps and the eyes of the confounded spectator. Relying on the distinct assertion of Cicero, the author very properly rejects the commonly received notion which assigns the tomb of Archimedes to the quarter of Acradina, instead of placing it in the outskirts of the city, and near the Agrigentine gate. He is likewise inclined to disbelieve the hackneyed story of the burning of ships by mirrors, not because it is physically impossible, but because it is not mentioned on creditable authority. — A goodly portion of the present citizens of Syracuse is attached to some religious profession or order, and all are enraptured with the pageantry of piety: but their manners are said to be singularly corrupt and depraved. — The *papyrus* flourishes as an indigenous plant in the vicinity of the city; and its conversion into paper has exercised the experimental talents of the Chevalier *Landolina*. — The banks of the Symethe, which furnish yellow amber, suggest some useful annotations on that rare and somewhat mysterious substance.

From the repeated wrecks of Catania, only a few shattered fragments of taste and magnificence have been rescued. Owing to the generous zeal of the late patriotic Prince *Biscari*, the remnant of an amphitheatre has been disclosed, and some of the numerous statues which adorned the theatre have been brought to light. Charondas, the celebrated legislator, was a native of this place; and his head, crowned with laurel, appears on one side of a medal, with Justice and her balance on the other. Medals were likewise struck in commemoration of Amphinomus and Anapus, brothers; who, during a violent eruption of Mount Etna, snatched their father from the midst of the flames. Their fellow-citizens even raised temples to their honor, in order to consecrate this signal act of filial duty; which, according to Thucydides, was performed about the 75th Olympiad. In the vicinity of the town are the vestiges of the Temple of Proserpine, of the Cesilian Fountain, and of an aqueduct which conveyed water from Licodia, a distance of eighteen miles. As most of the present Catania has been recently rebuilt, it is one of the handsomest towns in Sicily. The cathedral, the church and museum of the Benedictine convent, and the cabinet of Prince *Biscari*, which is richly stored with Sicilian curiosities, particularly antiquarian and mineralogical specimens, are all deserving of the attention of the traveller. The University, founded in 1444, at present boasts

boasts of several able and distinguished members, *Gioeni, Ferrara, Longo, Maravigna*, &c.

Overlooking, for the present, M. DE SAYVE's account of Etna, which nearly accords with those that are already in public circulation, we shall be contented to transcribe his remarks on the huge chesnut-trees which have been so long admired:

'The most remarkable are three in number, removed about two hundred paces from one another: the first is called *Castagno del-Re*, the second, *Castagno dei Cento Cavalli*, and the third, *Castagno del Nave*. These extraordinary trees generally acquire their excess of timber only at the expence of their foliage. Their height is not proportioned to their thickness, and their fruit is of little value. Tall chesnut-trees abound in this region of Etna; and those that are young, in particular, are very upright, smooth, and well cultivated. Not only is the gathering of their fruit an object of particular attention, but from their wood are manufactured hoops, which are afterward conveyed to Aci for sale. All the adjacent trees partake of this extraordinary vigor of vegetation; for, independently of the chesnut-trees which have obtained celebrity, the same quarter contains many others of the same species, which are enormously large, when compared with those of other parts of Europe; whence we may presume that those which are, in the present day, signalized as wonders of nature, have not been, or will not continue to be, the only instances of such monstrous dimensions.

'The *Castagno del Re*, or royal chesnut-tree, which is the first of the three famous trees that I have seen, is stationed at a height inferior to that of its rivals, and rises only to twelve or fifteen feet before the commencement of the branches: but the enormous circumference of the trunk, which I accurately measured, is thirty-seven feet, three inches. This tree is very old, and has few leaves; its upper branches have been cut off, and the trunk is hollow, though not at first sight apparently so; for to be convinced of the fact we must climb up the tree.

'The *Castagno dei Cento Cavalli*, or chesnut-tree of an hundred horses, so called because it is alleged that an hundred horses might stand under the shade of its branches, is quite different from the idea that we might naturally form of it; for instead of one tree we have five, disposed in a groupe, through which is a path. There is even another small chesnut-tree, more to the left, and which is said to proceed from the same roots; a very possible supposition: but it is too remote from the groupe to appear to belong to it. A small house was formerly built in the middle of these trees, but it no longer exists.

'I cannot conceive how any writer should be so hurried away by a desire to astonish, as to superadd any thing that is marvellous to objects in themselves noble and extraordinary. Brydone, speaking of the chesnut-tree of an hundred horses, says that the front and opposite sides of the trunk were wholly destitute of bark;

bark; and that, after having measured this tree, he had found its circumference to be 204 English feet, equivalent to 191 feet, three inches, French. Other travellers, according as they conceived this circumference to be more or less extensive, have reckoned it at 178, 173, and 160 feet. I will assert, and constantly maintain, that the groupe of trees known by the name of the chesnut-tree of an hundred horses was never united in a single trunk; that the fourth and fifth are united by the roots; that, even on the supposition of these trees forming only one, the third, second, and first, are insulated, and can never have belonged to the same stem; that the second and third retain the bark on all their sides; and that the first, of which the trunk is hollow, and nearly nine feet in diameter, has its bark entire in more than the half of its circumference: which proves its detachment from, and its want of relation to, the other chesnut-trees in its neighbourhood. The old denomination of this groupe, which was called the *Seven Brothers*, confirms my argument; and this denomination has been since transferred to another not less remarkable assemblage of chesnut-trees in the vicinity.

'The proof of the identity of a tree does not consist in the continuity of the bark, nor in the mutual entanglement of the roots, but in the concentricity of the ligneous layers of the trunk. Now, in the case before us, no such thing exists, although the roots are blended; a fact which may be often observed in forests, when the trees have grown too near to one another: but it does not, therefore, follow that they issue from the same stock. Besides, such of the roots as I have seen do not terminate in a common centre, but diverge, and become more slender as they penetrate into the earth; thus proving that they do not depend on one parent-root, common to them all.

'It has been alleged that the Canon *Recupero* caused the soil to be dug around these chesnut-trees, and that he detected the bark which completes the circle. I also caused the ground to be dug, but could perceive no such thing; and, although the bark in living trees, such as willows and chesnuts, may be sufficiently vigorous to transmit the sap to the superior branches, it soon rots to the very root, after having remained many years in the earth.—The boughs of these chesnut-trees shoot from the trunk at 20 or 25 feet from the surface, and stretch to a very great length.

'At a short distance from the chesnut-tree of an hundred horses stand two others, far more wonderful in my opinion than the preceding; namely, those termed *del Nave*, or of the ship, on account of the form of their branches; which, first bending down to the ground, then shoot upwards to a great height, forming a curvature not unlike that of the timbers of a vessel. These trees are in full vigor; and I have never seen any thing that, in point of majesty of form, can be compared to the most westerly of the two, a single one of its branches being equivalent to a large tree. I had taken the precise measurements of this extraordinary chesnut-tree, but unfortunately my memorandum relative to it has been mislaid. Judging, however, by the eye, I should reckon its circumference at

60 feet; and, if I do not mistake, this computation rather falls short of than exceeds the reality.'

In his progress from Catania to Taormina, M. DE SAYVE contemplated the Cyclopian isles, or rather rocks, which are composed of basalt, containing abundance of analcime, and which have possibly at one period been detached from Sicily. Aci, or Jaci, situated in an extensive and fertile plain, occupies the site of the antient *Xiphonia*, and is a handsome small town, containing 15,000 inhabitants. Taormina, the once rich and flourishing *Tauromenium*, first severely suffered by the irruptions of the Saracens near the close of the 9th century, and subsequently by earthquakes; so that its population is now shrunk to about 3000. It is placed on an eminence; and the ruins of its theatre, originally constructed for the accommodation of 25,000 spectators, have a most picturesque and imposing effect: but we cannot enter into the details of its proportions and distributions.

Sieges, pestilence, and the convulsions of nature, have nearly effaced all indications of the former greatness and opulence of Messina: yet we know that it once included a celebrated temple to Neptune, another to Hercules, and the palace of Caius Heius, from which the rapacious Verres carried off the statue of Cupid, executed by Praxiteles. Of 40,000 people, who form its present population, 10,000 are monks, or churchmen. Most of the houses have been built since the catastrophe of 1783, which proved so fatal to Calabria, and to the larger portion of this city. A concise narrative of this afflicting visitation is here given, on the authority of eye-witnesses of the awful scene: but for this and a ludicrous account of the annual festivities of *Varra* and the Virgin we must refer to the work. The author had not the good fortune to get a peep at the *Fata Morgagna*, a phænomenon which he believes has been somewhat exaggerated. — His notices of the coral-fishery, of Scylla and Charybdis, &c. may interest those who are unacquainted with the statements of his precursors: but they can scarcely be said to possess much novelty. His annotations on the sword-fish, however, are more original; and we recommend them to the curious in ichthyology.

The road from Messina to Palermo offered little to arrest attention, if we except Termini, originally *Thermæ Hymerenses*, and afterward *Thermeæ*, on account of its mineral waters; of which the temperature corresponds to 45° Réaum. Vincenzio Solito has described its antiquities in a professed treatise. The surrounding country is finely cultivated, and produces rice.

From

From the foregoing slight sketch of M. DE SAYVE's excursions, we have been under the necessity of excluding the mention of many names and facts, which contribute to render his narrative a fuller body of information than if he had frequently indulged in sentimental reflection: but, if we have conveyed to our readers a fair sample of his manner, and pointed out the more prominent portions of his itinerary, our object is attained. — In a future article, we purpose to consider the more general and detached topics, which occupy about one half of the present publication.

[*To be continued.*]

ART. VII. *Mélanges de Philosophie*, &c.; *i. e.* Miscellanies, Philosophical, Moral, and Literary. By J. H. MEISTER. 2 Vols. 8vo. Geneva and Paris. 1822. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 12*s*.

WE must confess that, altogether, we have been amused by this miscellany, though it is certainly as strange a medley as ever was produced to the world by the same author at one time. The literary portion has more common-place than any other part, but even here the author has hit on some paradoxes which he has defended with a certain degree of ingenuity. One of his most curious notions is that Homer was a great freethinker, and that all his accounts of the gods were intended by him as a sly caricature and an oblique satire on the prevailing religion of his countrymen. We cannot deny, indeed, that he affords us some humorous passages; and that the representations of Vulcan turning cup-bearer, and of Venus when detected with Mars, have a touch of pleasantry about them, which, if the vulgar of antiquity had not adopted in their creed much more preposterous absurdities about their gods, might have appeared somewhat profane in the eyes of a sober polytheist: — but, considering how thoroughly the interposition of divinities is worked up with the whole poem, and how every thing human is connected with super-human agency, we cannot think that M. MEISTER's theory deserves any serious confutation. His comments on the seriousness of Virgil, and on his pathos, are much more admissible, though sufficiently trite.

The moral discussions, in which, as in the instance of love and friendship, the writer proceeds to discuss the subject formally and at length, are as tedious as we might expect; and his attempt at Socratic dialogue is as little Socratic as any thing that we ever saw. The sketches contained in the second volume, of *Diderot*, *Lavater*, and *Grimm*, though they contain nothing

nothing very novel, are written in an easy and amusing manner; and mixed with them is a portion of that enthusiasm which never fails to make an author in some degree interesting, because it shews him to be in earnest with his subject. The most valuable parts of the work, however, in our estimation, are the detached thoughts which occupy the remainder of the second volume; and in which we have an agreeable confusion of history, philosophy, medicine, religion, and political economy. It seems, indeed, that the author has here quoted from a Scrap-book, in which he daily noted all that struck him in the course of reading, or of his own observation. Yet some of these remarks are exceedingly dull, while others have some degree of point, but even they are written so heavily that we are not always sure that the author was aware of the *gist* of what he was writing. Perhaps, after all, the reader will principally be gratified with the desultory and unconnected style of these *pensées detachées*; though half-a-dozen of Swift's surly apophthegms contain more wit and more knowlege of human nature than all of these put together: for the sense is often so wire-drawn and spread out by declamation, that the matter is lost in the composition. We give the following passage as on the whole a favorable specimen of M. DE MEISTER's manner, and our readers will be enabled to judge for themselves from such an extract.

'The impious philosophy, for which the eighteenth century has been so much censured, was prepared by a long succession of events, which but too well explain its true principles and most specious pretexts; and it would not be going too far back to recall to mind the corruption, and the spirit of schism, which disturbed the church almost as soon as Christianity became the predominant religion of the empire; next, the rapid success of its formidable rival, the religion of Mohammed, and the enormous power which supported it; and, at a later period, all the abuses committed by the Roman hierarchy, of an authority suffered to fall into its hands from the ignorance and superstition of many ages of barbarism, an authority rendered more complete by the increase of its temporal power. The Crusades, which at first supported this singular colossus of spiritual and temporal dominion, and from which it reaped the first advantages, in the end furnished powerful arms for combating and for weakening it. The general impulse given to all minds by these armed transmigrations, by the discovery of new manners, new wants, fresh knowlege, and fresh sources of riches and of industry, made people less submissive to the yoke of superstition, and discovered to sovereigns new means of contending with advantage against the extravagant pretensions and too manifest usurpations of the court of Rome. The revival of letters and arts, which the Greeks who were exiled from Constantinople transported into Italy, and the conquest of the New World, were two

great events, equally favorable to the progress of knowledge and of liberal ideas.

'The reformation of Luther, and of Calvin, which soon followed, appeared at first to favor the same end: but unfortunately it was not long in rekindling religious fanaticism, and filling the whole of Europe with discord, wars, and persecutions.

'I do not know a single epoch in history in which religious zeal caused more disturbance, excited a longer and more dangerous ferment, created more political hatreds, and produced more shocks and revolutions, than during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Can we be astonished that so much excess and unhappiness should have hardened the best minds against admitting an ascendancy of religious feeling? The writings and the audacious undertakings of some philosophers, who wished to moderate or destroy an ascendancy that had become at once so formidable and so ridiculous, plunged a too numerous class of society into a contrary mode of thinking;—into a state, the consequences of which have been so fatal to the very basis of social order, that it has been impossible to refrain from fearing a total subversion of all the principles and supports of morality and public tranquillity. The results of this experience have been so prompt, and so fatal, that the danger has been acknowleged, and an equal eagerness shewn to retrace their steps to the road which they had abandoned with so much imprudence and pride. May they learn to tread with a firm foot, amid all the thorns by which they find their path encompassed!

'It has been well remarked that, if triangles were to make a God, they would not fail to give him three angles and three sides; and it has been still better observed that, if God made man in his own image, man has not failed to return the compliment. It is undoubtedly too true that sad and strange illusions of anthropomorphism are always mixed up with the ideas that men form of the Divinity, in the worship which they have offered him:—but, although many dogmas and supremely absurd practices, and even the most revolting atrocities, should result from it, would it be the less true that man could form so wise and just an idea of the perfections of the Supreme Being, from no other source than from a study of the mind, the reflective powers, and the reason of a frail mortal? For do not these in fact appear emanations of a Divine nature? In considering Jesus Christ as a perfect model of this sublime ideal, do we not perceive a very natural explanation of what he himself said to his disciples? "I am the truth and the light; no one can know my Father except through me. If you know me, you know my Father also."

'We ought to be careful of placing God, in the pride of our thoughts, so high as to be beyond our habitual ideas and feelings, lest he should become an entire stranger to our affections and duties. Let us study rather to serve and to adore him in the simplicity of our hearts; so that, while we address him as our *Lord*, we feel him to be our celestial *Parent*, who suffers not his children to want; and as our supreme *Judge*, who, knowing the past, the present,

present, and the future, decides at once most mercifully and most justly.

'Theology has injured religion in endeavoring to reduce to a science that which never has been and never can be a science. The great truths of religion are of an order much above what our understandings are able to comprehend with sufficient clearness to make them submit to the proof of a rigorous method, or to reduce them to a system. The perceptions of our inward feelings, the secret warnings of our consciences, the oracles of revelation both positive and supernatural, can never become the elements of precise demonstration. Whatever we most truly feel, whatever we are most inclined to believe, whatever we best understand, although in a manner more or less obscure and more or less vague, and however true, however undoubtedly true, it may be in fact, ceased in a degree to be so when we study to express it with a precision which cannot exist in our own ideas, — in the only ideas that we are capable of forming on the subject.

'The earliest documents of the Christian religion, our canonical books, contain only facts, precepts, promises, hopes, and a few arguments so simple that they need no explanation; and a total subversion of their meaning has been necessary, before the subtle dogmas and profound reasonings, so wonderfully unintelligible, that have been invented by our theologians, could be deduced. The most certain means of destroying the most salutary truths is by giving them that explanation, or form, which seems least calculated to their very nature.

'There are sects in the Christian church who have changed the simplest and most august into the most minute and most puerile of worships; and there are others, who, wishing to reform, have reduced this worship to nothing, and stripped it of all that could touch the heart or strike the imagination: though it is by its sanctity, and by the majesty of its form of worship, rather than by the sublimity of its doctrines, that a fixed religion affords to morality its strongest support, — that celestial sanction which it so much needs, in order to obtain and preserve the strength and activity of its influence over the happiness of individuals and of nations.

'It is deplorable, said my father to me sixty years ago, and he was a tolerably orthodox theologian, to think that for nearly sixteen centuries a single word has been furiously contested, which cannot be found either in the Old or the New Testament. The very passage in St. John, on which is chiefly rested the doctrine of the Trinity, does not contain this word, rendered unhappily so famous by long contests, desolating wars, and schisms probably still more scandalous. No one can be ignorant that the authenticity of this too famous passage has been strongly disputed: but, supposing it to be doubtful, what does it say? "There are three who bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one. There are three also who bear witness on earth, the spirit, the water, and the blood, and these three are likewise one." The Father, the Word, and the Spirit, are thus distinct

objects, which in fact represent one only principle under three different relations; and which do not form one single substance, any more than the spirit, the water, and the blood, although these three last objects are likewise called one. God the Father has from eternity manifested his power, his wisdom, and his goodness, in the infinite wonders of his creation; and Jesus Christ, his only Son, which name expresses all the mysterious relations with God the Father that characterize him alone, has revealed to us in the fullest and most affecting manner the sublime order of Divine justice, grace, and mercy. The Holy Ghost is the representative of the power by which God enlightens the minds of those who worship him in spirit and in truth; that is to say, with a pure love for truth, and a firm and humble reliance on the promises made by Jesus Christ to those who believe in him. Spirit, the emblem of a marvellous and invisible power, — water, the symbol of a holy and pure life, — blood, a symbol too of the devotion and constancy of the most august of martyrs, — have the same design, and do not form a more mysterious trinity than the three Christian virtues, faith, hope, and charity. Might we not express in the same manner that the four cardinal virtues make a quadrinity?'

We do not expect this passage to obtain the approbation of our orthodox readers, but shall leave it to its fate with them and with others.

ART. VIII. *Musée des Protestans célèbres*, &c.; *i. e.* The Museum of celebrated Protestants; or Portraits and Biographical Particulars of the most eminent Persons in the History of the Reformation and of Protestantism. Compiled by a Society of Literary Men, and published by M. G. T. DOIN. Vol. I. in Two Parts, and Vol. II. Part I. 8vo. Paris. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 1*l.* 1*s.*

WE are very much gratified by the appearance of the present portion of this work, which is to be completed in seven or eight volumes. In the existing state of politics and religion in France, it is at least consolatory to find men of ability exerting themselves to instil more liberal principles into the community than the government has chosen to adopt, and to shew the evils which have often been caused to governments themselves by the treacherous co-operation of priestcraft with king-craft. Great service, doubtless, has been rendered to mankind by the extraordinary individuals who brought about the Reformation, in purifying religion, and recalling the attention of men in some degree to the simplicity and the unworldly views of the Founder of our faith: — but the indirect advantages resulting from the Reformation are of a much wider and more comprehensive sphere. Man was thus taught

to

to assert the prerogative of reason, and to maintain the right of private judgment in matters of religion; to investigate the utility of actions; to find some criterion of morality more satisfactory to reason than the merit of perverseness and mortification; to study the works as well as the word of his great Creator; to recognise the impressions of nature in those habits and sympathies which education may modify but cannot create; and to perceive that its tendency to produce public good was the only genuine test of any political measure. From the freedom of religious discussion have emanated the extraordinary discoveries of later times in physical science, and somewhat more intelligible systems of moral and political philosophy. It is true that the very able men who effected the Reformation had no such objects in contemplation; for even in matters of religion their views, generally speaking, were very contracted, and each seemed intolerant of any departure from his own precise model, or of any farther innovation than he had himself introduced. The establishment of articles of faith, the contests between the German and Swiss reformers on the subject of the sacrament, the destruction of Servetus, and many other circumstances, evince how little the true principles of religion were yet understood, or the real spirit of toleration attained, or those just views of government propagated, which hold a man to be responsible only for *actions* prejudicial to others, and leave him free both to inquire and to form whatever opinions he may choose. To believe in certain doctrines unconnected with moral conduct, or to practise certain rites, was considered as efficacious to salvation. New creeds, therefore, new articles of faith, and new rituals, were substituted. Still the conflict of opinions produced a spirit of inquiry; and if the Reformers individually brought with them many of the prejudices of the church from which they seceded, we ought not to forget the general ignorance of the age, and the still grosser prejudices from which they emancipated themselves. Their sincerity must insure for them our esteem, their courage extorts our admiration, and their zeal commands our applause, on all occasions except when it burst forth into excesses destructive of the public peace, and violating those rights of private judgment in others which they themselves professed to advocate. Balancing their virtues and their errors, we cannot but revere their memory as persons among the principal benefactors of the human race. We therefore hail with joy the present attempt to record their worth, in a country in which the old monarchy was scarcely restored before the mysteries of Jesuitism were re-established; and in which a

mournful experience seemed to have imparted to the governors no lesson of wisdom, but rather induced them to sacrifice every principle of sound policy and humanity for the restoration of intolerance and bigotry.

After a very spirited and eloquent introduction, the first volume contains memoirs of *Arnold of Brescia*, *Peter Waldo*, *John Wickliffe*, *John Huss*, *Jerome of Prague*, *John Ziska*, *Luther*, *Ulric of Hutten*, *Frederic the Third* Elector of Saxony, *Martin Bucer*, *Zwinglius*, *Philip* Landgrave of Hesse, *Melancthon*, *John* Elector of Saxony, *Sleidan*, *John Frederic* Elector of Saxony, and *Maurice* of Saxony. The second volume, as far as it has reached us, includes *Gustavus Vasa*, *Œcolampadius*, *Louis de Berquin*, *Lefèvre d'Etaples*, *Farel* and *Viret*, *Margaret de Valois*, *Clement Marot*, and *Renée* Duchess of Ferrara. — Among these sketches, we have been particularly pleased with those of the Reformers before *Huss*, written by M. *Willm*; in the course of which, besides some admirable remarks on the state of the times, brief notices are introduced of the exertions of Dante and Petrarch, and some sensible comments on the influence of the writings of Boccaccio: as also with the account of *Zwinglius* and *John Frederic* by the same author. The life of *Luther*, contributed by M. *Boissard*, though it contains a very just view of the gradual manner in which the abuses of the old system opened themselves to that great man's mind as he advanced in his researches, is too uniformly eulogistic, and exhibits, we think, too favorable a character of the talents as well as the temper of the intrepid theologian. The memoir of *Hutten*, though brief, is executed in a very able manner; and the anonymous contributor has very exactly depicted his peculiar turn of mind, and that hostility with which humanity inspired him against monastic institutions and the abuses of religion.

We trust that this publication will be speedily completed; and we cannot better express our approbation of the manner in which it has been hitherto conducted, than by stating our hopes that it may be finished in the same style and spirit. — Each memoir is accompanied by a lithographed head, except that of *Louis de Berquin*, of whom no portrait could be discovered by the compiler.

ART.

ART. IX. *Rapport sur l'Origine, &c.; i. e.* A Report on the Origin, Progress, Propagation by Means of Contagion, and Cessation, of the Yellow Fever which prevailed at Barcelona in 1821; presented on the 14th of March, 1822, to the Superior Political Chief of Catalonia, in compliance with the Decree of the Special Cortes, by the National Academy of Medicine of Barcelona. Translated from the Spanish, by PETER RAYER, Physician attached to the Fourth Dispensary of the Philanthropical Society, &c. 8vo. pp. 99. Paris. 1822. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 3*s.*

THIS Report on the Yellow Fever of Barcelona is drawn up by eight members of the Academy of Medicine of that city, and its tendency is to support and explain the views of those who regard the disease as both contagious and of foreign origin: but the writers, with perfect candor, prefix a summary of the opinions held with regard to it by each of the fourteen members of the Academy. It is sufficiently remarkable that, of the eight physicians who subscribe the Report, and who unite in believing the disease to have been imported, only one declares it to be *essentially* and *uniformly* contagious; — one other pronounces it to be *essentially* contagious, when the localities are favorable, as in Barcelona in 1821; — and the remaining six state their belief that it was contagious in the city, but did not manifest this character in persons who had retired into the country, or who died there. Four of the members join in the opinion that the disease was of indigenous production, and not contagious; — one expresses his ignorance as to the source of the disease, but coincides in regarding it as not contagious; — while another asserts that the fever may have been either imported or indigenous, but was not contagious; and that, if it even exhibited that character, it was merely an accidental circumstance, and by no means essential to its nature.

Under these circumstances of discrepancy of opinion, it was the duty of the public authorities, while they adopted every measure of precaution which a just dread of infection clearly required of them, to beware of being hurried by their fears into a harsh and unrelenting system of restrictions, such as are adopted during the known existence of the plague. Measures of this kind demand a rare union of firmness, judgment, and humanity, in carrying them into effect; since otherwise we are in danger of adding extreme distress and even famine to the horrors of disease, and thus aggravating instead of relieving the general calamity. Let us now proceed to trace the history of the fever of Barcelona, and of the means employed for its suppression: in order that we may be

enabled to form some estimate of the accuracy of the opinion held by the authors of the report concerning its contagious nature; and of the wisdom which dictated the employment of severe coercive measures, aided by a military force, in attempting to subdue this apparently irresistible enemy.

In the months of June and July, 1821, several vessels entered the harbour of Barcelona from the Havannah, some of which had lost during the passage as many as twenty of their crew; and the authors of the Report state that they have before them documents, proving the existence of yellow fever in the Havannah when these vessels sailed. Soon after their arrival at Barcelona, cases of disease occurred on board, which caused alarm in the minds of the medical men who saw them. The symptoms are not described, but we are left to understand that they were those of yellow fever. One of the sailors was landed sick, and died of the disease, but, which is remarkable, without communicating it to any other person. Insulated cases of the malady also occurred at Canet, and Malgrat, without spreading the infection; in consequence, it is added, of the precautions adopted by the authorities: but no attempt is made to trace these latter cases to any intercourse with the ships in the harbour. Still this malady spared Barcelona and its suburbs, which seemed so immediately exposed to its baleful influence: but the calamity was only delayed, to fall on their devoted inhabitants with more desolating fury. An individual of Tortosa, who had communicated with the Havannah ships at Barcelona, embarked for his home early in August, was taken ill at sea, and died a few hours after he reached his family. The malady is not described, but we are informed that it was communicated to his confessor, to the proprietor of the house, to those who had attended him, and to his visitors. From Tortosa, where the disease now raged with violence, it was conveyed to Asco by a domestic of that town. A statement is also given of the mode in which it was carried by sea to Mequinenza, in the end of August; and of the manner in which it spread through the house of the individual who conveyed it thither. Of nine persons composing the family, seven were attacked, and died.

Several inhabitants of Barcelonetta, trading in the harbour and with the Havannah vessels, now became ill; and the authorities were so much alarmed, that they established a Lazaretto for the reception of the sick and suspected persons from on board of the vessels. Almost all who were received into it died with symptoms strikingly similar: but it is very deserving of notice that none of the attendants in this hospital

pital were affected with the disease. At this time, but few cases of the fever existed in Barcelonetta, and the government wished to insulate the houses into which it had entered: but the unwillingness of the inhabitants to submit to such restrictions, and the difference of opinion respecting the contagious nature of the malady, prevented these measures from being carried into effect. A few cases of fever now occurred in Barcelona itself; and, as the reporters state, in a quarter of the town from which they are convinced that several individuals had been on board of the Havannah ships, while others of them had visited Barcelonetta. The neighbourhood of the Exchange appears to have suffered earliest from the fever, and thence it is stated to have spread to other quarters of the town.

A saddler, who had gone to fish in the Cuadro, and who went on board one of the Havannah ships, immediately on his return home felt unwell, and died (we are not told after what period) with the black vomit. The persons who visited him all died, and nine individuals who had come into the house. Other instances of a similar character are given; and, as a lesson to all non-contagionists, we are told the story of a captain who had lost by this disease the lady whom he loved; who denied all danger of infection, and embraced the lifeless body of his mistress again and again: but that same night, at bed-time, he was seized with a feeling of intense cold, head-ache, nausea, and pain in the stomach, and died on the third day, with the black vomit. We have here no hesitation in dissenting from the opinion of the authors of the Report, and expressing our conviction that the seeds of the disease had already been deposited in his frame, before this scene took place.

On the 15th of August, the Superior Board of Health of Catalonia addressed to the Political Chief a report on the symptoms and a state of the disease in Barcelona; with the means to be employed for its cure and suppression. The symptoms detailed are prostration of strength, depression of spirits, disgust, alteration of the physiognomy, great irritability at the upper orifice of the stomach, and in some cases so great a sensibility to pressure over that organ, as to render all examination of it by the hand quite insupportable. To these are added wandering pains, pulse rather flagging than accelerated, general torpor of the senses, yellow colour of the skin, turgescence of the conjunctiva, red and dry tongue, bitter vomiting, bilious and sometimes bloody discharges from the bowels, and at last hæmorrhage from the nose and mouth. The disease is stated by the Board to be of foreign origin,

origin, and to arise from imported miasmata; although they admit that the action of such miasmata is favoured by the constitution of the atmosphere, the excessive heat of the weather, the foul state of the harbour, the filth discharged into it from the city, and the neglect of cleanliness on board of the vessels in the port. The extraordinary phænomena connected with the propagation of yellow fever induce them to hope, that their district is one in which it will not spread; and they strengthen themselves in this opinion, by observing that the patients in the Lazaretto had not communicated the disease to any of the persons who approached them, on their way to that hospital, or to any of their attendants.

Of the treatment recommended by this Board of Physicians, it may be almost sufficient to say that it is *stimulant* and sometimes *expectant*. Bark, wine, and opium, stand highest in favor. General blood-letting is wholly condemned: but one or two leeches are allowed to be applied, in cases of local inflammation. Emetics are proscribed, excepting a small dose of ipecacuanha at the commencement of the disease; and purgatives of the mildest kind, such as cream of tartar, or the pulps of tamarinds and cassia, are permitted only in cases of well marked intestinal derangement, and in the early stage of the fever. Order, cleanliness, ventilation, and fumigation with the acid gases, are strongly recommended, both as prophylactics and curatives. — From such a mode of treatment, we conceive that nothing but failure can be expected. If we are not to employ powerful means early in the disease, such as blood-letting, the exhibition of calomel, and the cold affusion, we might as well stand quietly looking on, and suffer the malady to take its course.

The measures adopted by the Board of Health, in concert with the municipality, were to order all vessels capable of making the voyage to proceed to Port Mahon; to cause the others to be completely purified, or sunk; and to encamp the crews of the whole of the vessels lying in the old harbour. On the 15th of August, eighteen deaths had occurred, and twenty-one persons were then sick, of whom three were convalescent. On the 15th of the succeeding month, the Board of Health, finding that the disease had penetrated to an alarming extent into Barcelona, removed to Santa Catherina de Pedralbes, and issued a proclamation, insulating the city and suburbs, and inclosing a small space of country around it by a cordon of troops. Any person from Barcelona attempting to escape through the line, without submitting to the prescribed quarantine, and obtaining a certificate of health, was punishable with death; and the same fate was declared to await

await such of the guards as were found neglecting or disobeying their orders. These measures, which equalled in severity those that have been employed to prevent the extension of plague, appear to have been attended with great difficulty in the execution, and to have caused much distress, as well as considerable danger of a dearth of provisions within the city. In the beginning of October, the Board addressed a letter on this subject to the Constitutional Council and Municipality of Barcelona; and from it we learn the painful situation in which the members of that Board found themselves placed;—unable to comply with the earnest request of the Barcelonese that the cordon should be removed somewhat farther from the city;—harassed by the clamorous complaints of different villages within the line, and by the resistance of those without to the admission of persons who had gone through the necessary probation and carried certificates of health;—and, above all, distressed by the deficiency of funds. They conclude their letter by appointing different convents in the neighbourhood of Barcelona as houses of observation, to which the inhabitants might move and undergo quarantine: urging also the propriety of forming encampments of tents and huts, on elevated grounds without the city, with a view to the same object. It does not appear, however, that the inhabitants of Barcelona entered cordially into this plan of removing from their homes, at which indeed we cannot feel surprized; for on the 21st of October the *Board of Emigration* in the city issued an address to the people, calling on them to remove. "Depart instantly, and fly from a spot where death has established his dominion,"—are the words in which they address their fellow-citizens.

From this period, however, the malady appears to have declined, as the cold season advanced; and on the 17th of December, the constitutional alcaldes had the gratification of announcing to the inhabitants of Barcelona, that the disease had ceased its ravages, that the sanitary *cordon* would be withdrawn on the next day, and that the quarantine of the city would cease on the 24th of the month. The precautions, dictated by a belief in the existence of a virulent contagion, were however strictly commanded; and the purification of goods was peremptorily required, before they could be admitted into circulation.

Neither our limits nor our inclination will permit us now to enter into the question of the contagion of yellow fever; but we cannot dismiss this Report on the fever of Barcelona without adding a few remarks on the nature of that disease. Barcelona itself appears to be a delightful and healthy residence: but it is placed in the immediate vicinity of a low flat

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left by the retiring of the waters of the Mediterranean; and the harbour, from this cause, and from the bar formed by the confluence of the Besos and the Llobregat, is in danger of being choked up. We learn from Townsend, who is certainly one of the most intelligent and most philosophical of our English travellers in Spain, that "in Barceloneta, and the citadel, intermittents never cease to rage, and to bring on in winter dropsies and jaundice, and in summer malignant fevers. The same diseases reign beyond Monjuich, in the low country watered by the Llobregat; but although the prevailing wind in its passage becomes loaded with miasmata, yet, being diverted from its course by that high mountain, it has no baleful influence on Barcelona." (Vol. i. p. 186.) Such being the state of health of this district, it is not difficult to conceive that the endemic fever of the country should, during a very hot season, like that of 1821, acquire extreme virulence, or even in some cases a contagious character; and the authors of the Report, with the exception of two individuals, admit that the fever did not prove contagious in the country beyond Barcelona, which seems to afford strong evidence that it possessed something endemic in its nature.

Under such circumstances, it appears to have been at once irrational and cruel to impose so many restrictions on the removal of the inhabitants from this devoted city. Towards the close of the disease, indeed, the plan of encampments was suggested, and partially executed: but we cannot refrain from expressing our conviction that neither this step, nor the other effort which was made to arrest the extension of the fever, had any considerable effect; and that its cessation is to be ascribed chiefly to the arrival of the cold weather. During the widely spread epidemic of 1804, which extended through five of the Spanish provinces, we learn from Arejula that it did not appear in any of the towns before the end of June, and in few of them before August; that in most it was at its height in the month of October; and that all of the towns, excepting two, were declared to be healthy before the end of December.

On reviewing the account here given of the fever of Barcelona in 1821, we have unquestionably a body of facts proving at least the occasionally contagious character of the disease; although many of them are obviously overcharged, and some might perhaps be disproved by a narrow scrutiny. Enough is apparent on the face of the Report to convince us of the necessity of separating the sick from the healthy, and of adopting all those measures of ventilation and purifying which are usual in our own country during the prevalence of epidemic fever: — but we earnestly deprecate all idea of resorting to such

such harsh measures as those which were employed by the Spanish authorities, in the instance before us; for we are convinced that the inconvenience, distress, and terror, which these regulations produced, caused so much injury as greatly to counterbalance any effect which they had in checking the extension of the disease.

In the preceding pages, we have embodied not only the information contained in the Report, but also that which we have derived from the official documents given in an appendix. — The whole publication certainly possesses considerable interest and value: but the Report itself is deficient in perspicuity and arrangement, and does not exhibit so ample and detailed an account of the history and progress of the disease as we could have wished to receive.

ART. X. *Des Canaux Navigables*, &c.; *i. e.* on Navigable Canals, considered in a general Manner; and comparative Researches on the Interior Navigation of France and England: with an Atlas of Maps, &c. By M. HUERNE DE POMMEUSE, Member of the Chamber of Deputies. 4to. Paris. 1822. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 1*l.* 16*s.* sewed.

THE introductory volume of M. *Dupin's* "*Mémoire sur la Marine de la Grande Bretagne*," &c. published in 1818, and noticed in M. R. vol. lxxxvi. p. 502. (Appendix), seems to have excited great attention among the more enlightened classes of the French capital; and to have created a desire in many of its scientific men to examine in person the objects which they found so highly extolled, but so inadequately described, in the work of that ingenious and indefatigable observer. That volume was indeed meant only to form a sort of preface or introduction to the more extended and important production which the writer was contemplating, and of which the first two parts in four quarto volumes have been already published. (See M. R. vol. xcii. p. 449. Appendix; and vol. xcv. p. 490. Appendix.) Four additional volumes are in progress, two of which will soon appear, and will (we suppose) embrace among other matter most of the topics discussed in the work before us. The great variety of subjects, however, which M. *Dupin* proposes to comprize in his third part, will render it impossible for him to enter on that of Canals at so great a length as M. HUERNE has allowed himself in the book at present under review; in which he illustrates with considerable detail every thing connected with the execution of navigable canals; their first expences, the rates of remuneration, the precautions necessary to be observed, the

the formation of reservoirs, the construction of locks, inclined planes, rail-ways, &c. &c.; and embracing in one general view the canals both of France and England.

The protracted war between these two countries rendered the people of both of them strangers to the progress of the works of art in each respectively; and we have no doubt,—indeed, the publications every day issuing from the Paris press demonstrate,—that much astonishment has been manifested in France since the peace, on finding that, during the most arduous contest perhaps in which this or any other nation was ever engaged, our progress in the mechanical arts far surpasses all former example: proving that, while we were for some time opposed almost single-handed to the united powers of Europe, we found leisure and ability to be also contending with, and conquering, those obstacles which nature had opposed to the increasing activity of our commerce and commercial speculations. To effect such achievements, canals were carried from coast to coast, at one time over ridges of hills some hundred feet above the level of the seas, or rivers, with which they communicated; at others, by penetrating within them, navigable waters were conducted through the interior of the largest mountains; and at others, again, they were led over valleys which must appear insuperable obstacles to a continued stream across them, thus presenting the novel and interesting spectacle of vessels floating above vessels, and transporting with ease and expedition the productions of one district of England to another, in which they might be employed to the greatest advantage either for the purposes of agriculture or commerce, or for the formation of roads, causeways, bridges, &c. In the mean time, ports were formed where before only the smallest boats could find an entrance;—docks were constructed, capable of containing the united navies of the world;—rail-ways were made to connect one canal with another;—and machinery was constructed to supply the place of manual labor, and to operate where the latter would have been ineffectual. By these plans, mines of immense value were brought into activity, which must otherwise have remained unproductive; and the materials which they yielded were transported to places which they could not, by any other means, have ever reached. Roads before nearly impassable were also rendered of the best quality, and thus the most prompt communication was established between every part of the United Kingdoms. To all these inestimable improvements, recent years have added another not less important; viz. that of steam-boats and packets; by which communications between port and port are carried on with nearly the same degree of certainty

as by land, though they before partook of all the inconstancy of the element which separates those ports from each other.

These several topics, to which we have thus briefly alluded, M. Huerne has examined and illustrated at great length, particularly all such as are connected with the formation of canals; in doing which he has very judiciously avoided political questions, and carefully abstained from making comparisons calculated to excite those national prejudices and animosities which are now so happily subsiding: but which, while they existed, prevented many of the best informed men in France from perceiving the immense internal strength which this country was acquiring by the processes in question. We may thus easily see how it happened that, when the full extent of these sources of national riches and power was first developed in the prefatory work of M. *Dupin*, that gentleman was regarded as *a bad citizen*, and incurred much unmerited obloquy from the general classes of society in Paris, and even in the Institute itself: where, we have heard, he was accused of espousing the cause of England, and invidiously magnifying her resources. Other scientific Frenchmen, however, having made the tour of England, it was found and acknowleged that M. *Dupin* had only fairly represented the extraordinary works which he had seen and inspected; and it was now no longer considered as a mark of bad citizenship to speak of this country as the seat of commerce, navigation, and the mechanical arts; or to urge the French nation and government to emulate, in the peaceful progress of those pursuits, that enemy with whom she had so long contended in the field and on the ocean. Long may this spirit of emulation exist between the two nations! which ought to know no other rivalship, than that of exceeding each other in furnishing the means of promoting the peace and happiness not only of their respective citizens but of the world.

With regard to the subject of Inland-Navigation, whether we consider it as exhibiting one of the proudest triumphs of art over nature, or as one of the most unquestionable means of improving the wealth and comfort of nations, it is highly interesting both to the man of science and to the political economist. We have no doubt, therefore, that the work before us will be read with great interest, not only in France but in this country: for, though we have several excellent treatises on the same subject, many of them are of a local and particular description, and do not present under one general point of view the entire system of English canals; and in none of them is the comparative view between those of France and England so amply given. Our more general sketches are found in the

best

best of our Encyclopædias: but these are unfortunately much limited in the size and scale of their maps: a part of the present performance to which we shall more particularly refer, when we have given the reader a general sketch of the contents of the volume, and of the proposed series of which it forms only a part.

The work, when completed, is to consist of three volumes; the first of which will contain an historical account of all the more celebrated canals of antiquity, beginning with those of Egypt, and proceeding thence, according to the order of their dates, to the time when the canal of Briare in France was formed: this being the first which, by means of locks, &c., proceeded from an elevated point of departure, descending both ways to the seas or rivers that were thus brought into communication with each other. In this volume, also, will be described other canals, of a more recent date, not English or French; such as those of Holland, Russia, Denmark, the United States, &c. &c.; and it seems that the author has delayed the appearance of this part, till he receives from America some particulars requisite for its completion. The second volume, which, having been first published, is at present under review, we have already stated to be wholly appropriated to a detailed description of the canals of France and England; and, with its volume of plates, it may either be considered as a distinct work or as a part of the general series. The third volume will be in a great measure devoted to local inquiries, connected with projected works of this kind in France; to the general advantages of such a system of canals, as applicable to the distinct and combined purposes of agriculture, commerce, the formation of new roads, and the maintenance of those already constructed; to the laws which should be passed by way of encouragement; and to the inducement which should be held out to individuals to embark their capitals in such undertakings. It will therefore be of less general interest than the two former, but by no means less important to those who are more immediately concerned. We do not learn, however, that this part is yet in a very forward state; and probably its fate will ultimately depend on the success attending its precursors.

M. Huerne's great object, in the present volume, is to call the attention of the French people, and the French government, to the important advantages that the nation would derive from such a system of canals as those in England; a subject which he has had in view since 1816, when he brought forwards a motion on it in the Chamber of Deputies, of which he is a member. Among other arguments, he quotes the high

high importance that *Sully* and *Vauban* respectively attributed to canal-navigation. The former was in fact the great promoter of the first French canal, that of Briare; and the observation of the latter to Louis XIV., after having examined the state of the canal of Languedoc, was, "that he would give all that he had ever done, or that still remained for him to do, to be the projector of a work so useful to France as the construction of that canal." Yet, says the author, *Vauban* had improved three hundred old and constructed thirty new fortifications, had been engaged in more than one hundred battles, and had conducted fifty-five sieges.

We cannot attempt to follow M. HUERNE in his description and illustration of the English canals, their modes of construction, the peculiar difficulties which they presented, and their ultimate advantages: but we shall briefly state that this part of his work is divided into four books: the first treating principally of the canals forming the communication between London and Liverpool; the second, of the grand navigable line of Scotland; the third, of particular canals not comprized in the grand navigable lines, selected for the purpose of pointing out certain peculiarities and advantages; and the fourth containing a synoptic table of the principal navigable canals of the United Kingdom, with their respective lengths in English miles, their greatest elevation, degree of inclination, ascending and descending, &c.; as also remarks on each, stating the expence of formation, the date when completed, their breadth and depth, the nature and dimensions of the vessels, value of the shares, points of commencement and termination, &c. &c.

It appears from the particulars stated in this table, that the number of navigable canals in the United Kingdoms is one hundred and three, of which ninety-seven are formed in England alone, not including those of which the length does not exceed five miles; five in Scotland; and one only in Ireland. The total extent of these canals for the three kingdoms is 2682¼ miles: *i. e.* 2471 miles of English canals, 149¾ miles in Scotland, and 61½ miles in the Dublin and Shannon canal. The sum expended in these constructions is estimated at more than 30,000,000*l.* sterling; and, in some cases, the original shares have risen in a few years to fifteen and even twenty times their original value. In the lines of these canals, forty-eight subterraneous passages occur, the entire length of which is not accurately known: but forty of them, whose lengths are stated, give a total developement of 57,051 yards, or more than thirty-two miles. It is deserving of remark that, of the total length of the English canals, which we have seen is

2471 miles, more than 1400 miles communicate with the grand navigable line between London and Liverpool, the length of this alone being 264 miles; and it is connected in its course with forty-five others, of which the united extent equals 1150 miles.

In speaking of the iron rail-ways, the author states, on the authority of a report dated August 17. 1817, of the proceedings of a society for the projection of a canal between Newcastle and Carlisle, that at that time, in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, and within a space of twenty-one miles in length and twelve in breadth, 225 miles of iron rail-way were constructed above ground, and an equal length under ground; making the almost incredible total of 450 miles in length, within a space of less than ninety miles of superficies.

Such is the present state of the English navigable canals: not a yard of which existed before the year 1755. Till that time, the idea of canals was ridiculed as superfluous and absurd, in a country like England; enjoying, as it was said, favorable lines of coast, and provided with numerous navigable rivers. It is well known that the Duke of Bridgewater, by opposing himself to the prevailing opinions and prejudices of the country, first demonstrated the practicability and importance of such works; and, to effect his purpose, on coming of age, he limited himself to a personal expenditure of 400*l.* per annum: applying the remainder of his revenue to the construction of the first canal, bearing his name, and which forms an imperishable monument of his genius and patriotism. This work, completed in 1759, proved the practicability and advantage of the system, and laid the foundation of all that has since been effected in it, so highly to the interest, the convenience, and the reputation of the country.

Of navigable canals in France, the number is very inconsiderable, there being only six of the first order, and about 20 of inferior dimensions. These six are the canal of Briare, completed in 1642; that of Languedoc, in 1680; that of Orleans, in 1692; that of Lorgn, finished in 1723; the *Canal du Centre*, in 1791; and that of St. Quentin, in 1810: the total length of which amounts only to 591,000 metres, or 378 English miles. The secondary canals have a total length of 250 miles, making thus together only 628 miles of navigable canals, in a territory containing 26,700 square French leagues; being quadruple the surface of England, and with a population nearly three times as great.

As it would be useless for us, within the compass of an article in our Review, to attempt a more minute detail of this instructive work, which contains above 600 quarto pages, we shall

shall only farther endeavor to furnish our readers with a concise description of the volume of plates, illustrative of the matter contained in the text. The plates are thirteen in number, most of them on a large scale, and judiciously arranged for illustrating the parts to which they relate. The first is a map of England, exhibiting very neatly the nature of the surface, and consequently the difficulties with which our engineers have had to contend in the formation of the several canals; which are also accurately laid down, and distinguished from each other by different colours. In one compartment, the canals in the environs of London are shewn on a larger scale; and in another are exhibited the canals in the north and the south of Scotland. The second plate exhibits a profile of the London and Liverpool line of canal-communication: displaying the elevation of the several points above the level of the Mersey at Runcorn, at low water; the several subterraneous passages, or tunnels; the points of entrance of the forty-five tributary canals connected with this general line; the number of locks, and other particulars. The third plate is a map of France, of the same size, and therefore on a smaller scale than that of England; with the several existing canals, and indications of others in progress and proposed. The fourth exhibits the plan and profile of the canal of Briare; the fifth gives the profile of the canal of Languedoc; and the sixth exhibits the profile of the line of communication between the Mediterranean and the North Sea, which communication actually exists, though the passage by it is impracticable, or nearly so. It is one of the great objects of the author to prove that, by certain canals which he proposes, this might be rendered one of the finest lines of interior navigation any where existing. Plate seven presents a similar profile of a projected inland-communication from east to west; and plate eight gives the general plan of another projected canal. The other five engravings are appropriated to an illustration of the various modes by which the passage from one level to another may be effected, of different locks, of the centering to tunnels, the construction of inclined planes, &c. &c. The greatest fault that we have noticed in these plates (and the same exists in the text) is the careless manner in which the names of Englishmen and English towns are spelt; and this is so very material that, though in some cases we have been enabled to guess at the person or place intended to be named, in others the words are so metamorphosed that it has only been by means of some collateral circumstance that we could form an idea of the author's meaning. This inaccuracy is now so very usual and so very gross in French books, that

it really seems an extraordinary circumstance, referable to a doubtful origin; and it is scarcely less reprehensible whether it be ascribable solely to ignorance and carelessness, or whether it be derived from a wilful perversion, designed as a mark of contempt.

ART. XI. *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre, &c.; i. e.* Wilhelm Meister's Peregrinations, or the Self-denyers, a Novel. By GOETHE. Vol. I. 12mo. pp. 550. Stuttgard. 1821. Imported by Treuttel and Co.

WILHELM MEISTER's Lehrjahre was reviewed so long ago as in our twenty-seventh volume, N. S., p. 543., and the present work is a continuation of the same story. The hero was then in his apprenticeship, and is now on his travels: but in the meanwhile he has married, and his son *Felix*, a lad of fourteen, accompanies him on his pedestrian excursions. His old friend Jarno, who first inspired him with a passion for Shakspeare, is still living, is become a mineralogist, and meets the hero in the first book: but most of the characters are new; and the interest attaches to adventures which do not require a distinct recollection of the former novel, being unconnected with its fable. Picturesque descriptions, sage reflections, and poignant situations occur in all GOETHE's productions; yet we think that a senile garrulity creeps on him, that his style is become more trailing, and that those gushes of feeling, which refresh the soul, are now "more rare than erst they shewed."

The "Recognitions of Clemens" form one of the beautiful novels of antiquity; and though they introduce personages connected with the evangelical narratives too freely and too frequently for the feelings of modern piety, they have in early times contributed much to the popularity of the Christian religion. We shall quote, from the present novel, a scene, or delineation, which appears to us to have been suggested by those Recognitions, and designed in a similar manner to introduce as it were to our acquaintance persons resembling the leading characters in the sacred books. We translate the exordium, but shall occasionally skip some paragraphs, which only serve to connect with the rest of the narration a groupe called 'the Holy Family;' and we begin with the chapter superscribed the 'Flight to Egypt.'

'In the shade of a mighty rock, on a gray spot, where the steep mountain-road winds round the corner of a promontory towards the valley in the bottom, *Wilhelm Meister* was sitting: the sun, which was still high, illuminating the summits of the firs in the chasmy deep below. He was writing something in his tablets, when

when *Felix*, who had clambered up the rock, came up with a stone in his hand. "What do you call this stone, father?" said the boy. — "I do not know," answered *Wilhelm*. — "Is this gold that glitters in it?" — "No; and, now I recollect, I think they call it mica." — "I shall keep the stone," said the son; and he put it in his pocket with others which he had been picking up.

'While this was happening, a singular appearance on the steep road drew their attention. Two boys, beautiful as the day, in gay dresses, made up like loose shirts, came running and jumping down the path, and *Wilhelm* had leisure to observe them, till on seeing him they checked their speed, and for a moment stood still. The head of the eldest was covered by curly flaxen locks, which first caught the notice of the gazer, until it settled on his clear blue eyes, and glanced complacently over his pleasing figure. The second, more like a friend than a brother, was adorned with brown and straighter hair, which mantled over his shoulders, and seemed to vie in darkness with his eyes.

'*Wilhelm* had scarcely time to contemplate these two beings, so unexpected in the wilderness, when the voice of a man from behind the screen of rock called out in an earnest but affectionate tone, "Why do you stop? do not loiter in our way." *Wilhelm* looked upwards; and if the sight of the children had surprized him, his astonishment now became greater. A strong, active, not very tall, youngish man, neatly clad, with brown skin and dark hair, stepped firmly and cautiously down the rock, leading after him an ass, which first presented its well-fed and well-caparisoned and well-eared countenance, and next revealed the fair burden which it bore. A pleasing woman, seated on a quilted saddle, and wrapt in a blue mantle, was holding in her arms a sucking child, which she pressed to her bosom, gazing on it with inexpressible tenderness. The guide, like the children, paused on seeing *Wilhelm*, and the beast checked his foot: but the descent was so steep that his master could not hold him in, and the procession soon disappeared behind another rock, lower down.

'Nothing was more natural than that this vision should interrupt *Wilhelm*'s contemplations. He arose full of curiosity, and looked down the zig-zag declivity, expecting to catch another glimpse; and he was about to follow and to greet the wanderers, when *Felix* came running up, and said, "Father, may not I go with these children to their house? They want to take me with them; and you may come too, the man said. They live at the bottom of the hill; let us go." — "I will at least speak to them," replied *Wilhelm*. — He overtook them on a spot where the road was less precipitous, and eagerly contemplated the groupe which had so strongly riveted his attention. He could now remark many other little circumstances. The young man had a plane and other carpenter's tools on his shoulder, and a slender iron level. The children, who looked like angels, had bunches of reeds in their hands, resembling palm branches; and they had small baskets of eatables, such as little errand-boys carry across the mountains. The mother, when he examined her more nearly, was perceived to

wear under her blue mantle a pale red close dress, so that our friend was singularly reminded of a painting which he had seen of the "Flight into Egypt."

'After mutual salutations, the young man addressed *Wilhelm*, who seemed lost in astonishment, and said, "Our children are become friends, will you come and see whether their elders also suit one another?" *Wilhelm* hesitated an instant, and then answered, "The spectacle of your family-progress excites confidence, and, I must add, curiosity: for at the first glance I seemed to feel doubtful whether you were real pilgrims, or spirits who had assumed the form to enliven this desolate scenery."—"Come to our dwelling," replied the carpenter. "Come along with us," repeated the children, taking *Felix* between them by the arms. "Come with us," said the woman, turning her eyes with a gentle expression of welcome to the stranger. Without more pause, *Wilhelm* said, "I am sorry that I cannot immediately attend you: but this night at least I must pass at the frontier-house, where my luggage and my papers are left unpacked, and in disorder. That I may convince you, however, of my willingness to avail myself of your friendly invitation, I will give you my *Felix* as a pledge that I will follow you to-morrow. How far off do you live?" — "We shall reach our home by sunset," replied the stranger; "and you have not above four miles to return to the frontier-house. Your son shall be sheltered to-night, and we shall expect you in the morning." The man and his beast proceeded; *Wilhelm* smiled significantly on seeing his *Felix* so readily received among the angels, from one of whom he obtained a bunch of reeds, and from the other a basket; and the procession was about to disappear behind a rock, when *Wilhelm* called out, "By what name am I to enquire for you?" — "Only ask for Saint-Joseph," was the answer, which resounded from the deep; and the whole groupe was now again concealed behind rocks and lengthening shadows. Presently, a choral hymn ascended echoing from below, in which the voice of *Felix* seemed distinguishable to *Wilhelm*.

'He pursued his ascent, thus prolonging the sunset. The heavenly orb, of which he had more than once lost sight, shone on him again as he climbed higher, and it was still day when he reached his inn. Once more he cast a delighted glance over the expanse of mountain-scenery, and retired to his apartment to make memorandums, and take refreshments, before the hour of repose.'—

'Already had the wanderer, with the guide whom he engaged, descended the steep rocks, passed the middle of the mountain, crossed a forest, and was walking on a gentle slope of meadow, into a cultivated valley, buried between hills, when a large monastery, half in ruins, attracted his attention. "This is Saint-Joseph," said the guide: "what a pity that such a beautiful church should go to decay, and that the trees and the ivy should be growing round the pillars and the windows." — "Several parts of the building," replied *Wilhelm*, "seem in tolerable preservation." — "Yes," said the other, "a kind of steward lives there, who collects the rents

rents and revenues attached to the monastery." — They had now passed a gate, which was open, and reached a roomy court, surrounded by heavy majestic buildings. Among the children playing in the court, *Wilhelm* perceived his *Felix;* the other two were the angels of yesterday. They came running to him, saying, that their father would soon be at home, and that in the meanwhile he had better go into the hall, and rest himself. *Wilhelm* was much struck with the room that they called the hall, which opened into the court, and was a neat spacious chapel, in good condition, but fitted up for household use. On one side stood a table, chairs, and benches; on the other were shelves with pottery and glasses: also some chests; and, though the arrangement was orderly, it announced habitual use. The light fell downwards from tall windows on one side: but the notice of the wanderer was most engaged by *al fresco* paintings on the wall below the windows, reaching down to the dado. These paintings represented the history of Saint-Joseph. In one, he was seen employed as a carpenter; and in another he was meeting Mary, when a lily sprang up between them, and angels hovered round. Here was his marriage; there the salutation of the angels. In another place he sate meditating over his axe, deliberating about putting away Mary, when the angel appeared to him in a vision. Elsewhere he was worshipping the new-born child in the stable at Bethlehem. Next followed an elaborate painting; many pieces of wood were sawed, and planed, and scattered about, when two of them accidentally formed a cross; the child had fallen asleep on these; and Joseph and the mother were looking on. Next occurred the flight into Egypt, which excited a smile in the wanderer, as it so precisely represented the scene of yesterday.

'Not long had he been gazing when the host came in, whom *Wilhelm* immediately recognized as the conductor of the holy caravan. After the natural greeting, discourse followed: but *Wilhelm*'s attention still clung to the pictures. The host remarked the interest of his guest, and said, "You are smiling at the adaptation of this building to its inhabitants, which is still greater than you suspect. In fact, the building has fashioned the inhabitants; for, when the lifeless is living, it may bring forth life." — "O yes," answered *Wilhelm;* "I should be surprized if that spirit, which centuries ago operated so powerfully in this wilderness, and called into being so mighty a mass of buildings and possessions, which drew to itself so much power, and scattered so much improvement in the district, — I should be surprized if these ruins did not still exhale a force that acts on living beings. But let us not deal in generals; tell me your history; and let me know how it happens that the past revives in you, and that scenes of former days return."

'While *Wilhelm* was awaiting the answer of his host, a gentle voice called from the court, "Joseph!" The host hearkened, and went to the door. — "His name, too is Joseph," said *Wilhelm* to himself; this is singular; and yet not so singular as that he should so exactly personify his Saint. He looked at the same moment through the door, and saw the Madonna of yesterday talking with

her husband: at last they separated, and the woman crossed over to another apartment. "Mary," said he, "one word more." "*Her* name too is *Mary*," thought *Wilhelm*; "I shall presently fancy myself carried back eighteen hundred years;"—and a mysterious antiquarian feeling came over him, as he regarded the ruins, and the stillness, and the mountainous inclosure.

'The host and the children now entered; and the latter invited *Wilhelm* to a walk, while some little household-arrangements were making. They paced over the ruins of the pillared church, which seemed to defy the storm, although stately trees had struck root on the walls, and, mingling their boughs with ivy and with wall-flowers, formed a sort of hanging garden. A lively brook ran near; and from the rising ground beyond it *Wilhelm* saw, in its whole extent, a ruin become doubly remarkable to him from knowing its inhabitants.

'On their return, a table was spread in the holy hall. At the top, stood an elbow-chair, in which the lady of the house sat down: beside her, was a high basket, in which the infant reposed: at her left hand she placed her husband, and *Wilhelm* at her right. The children occupied the lower end of the table, and an old female servant brought in the victuals. Something of a very old-fashioned air characterized both the repast and the vessels in which it was served: the children prattled; and *Wilhelm* steadily observed the behaviour of his hostess. After dinner, the party separated, and the host conducted his guest to a shady part of the ruin, whence the view extended down the long valley. "It is time," said he, "that I should satisfy your curiosity, as I feel that you can sympathize in the wondrous destinies which surround us. This sacred institution, with whose remains you are become familiar, was dedicated to the Holy Family, noted for many miracles, and visited by many pilgrims of old. The church was consecrated to the mother and the son, but has been deserted these two hundred years; while the chapel, devoted to the holy foster-father, has preserved itself nearly entire, as well as a part of the convent. A temporal prince now collects its revenues, who employs a steward to reside here; and that steward am I, the son of the former steward, who also succeeded his father in the office. Saint-Joseph, although his formal worship has long ceased, had been to our family so useful a patron, that you will not wonder at our forming for him a peculiar veneration. Hence I was baptized in his name, and this in some degree influenced my destiny. I grew up, attached myself to my father, and accompanied him in the collection of the rents, but felt perhaps a more intimate love for my mother, whose benevolent cares embraced the whole district, and who sent me occasionally on pious errands, and messages of charity.—As I was still young, and my shoulders did not always suffice to bring home the different things which my father had to collect, I accustomed a young ass to bear panniers, and drove him before me up and down the steep paths; while I followed him with the more pleasure because I found, from the paintings in the chapel, that this sort of animal had attained the honor of bearing both Christ and his mother.

mother. The chapel, however, was not then quite in the state in which you now see it, but was used for a stable, and for the stowage of wood and fuel. Happily the paintings were placed above the reach of injury; and even while a child I used to climb on the faggots in order to observe them. In short, I made out the history of my patron-saint, and loved him as if he had been my uncle. As I grew older, and found that some means of maintenance were necessary, until I should inherit the steward's place, I gained the approbation of my parents to be a carpenter, with the instruments of which trade the paintings had made me acquainted. I think that my choice was particularly determined by the picture at the south end. An order was given to Saint-Joseph to make a throne for Herod, which was to stand between two stately columns; he took the measure carefully: but, when he came to put the throne up, he found it too tall, and not broad enough. Knowing the character of Herod, the carpenter became perplexed; when the little Jesus, seeing him uneasy, bade him take hold of the throne on one side, while he took hold on the other, and they began to pull. Immediately, as if it had been made of leather, the height yielded, the seat dilated, and the throne fitted its position exactly, to the great comfort of Joseph and to the satisfaction of the monarch. This is the miracle represented in that painting; and formerly all the carving of the throne was visible, which the painter could render elaborate more readily than the maker. All this induced me to view in a very honorable light the occupation which I had chosen; and, as I found in the neighbourhood a very good instructor and master, I learnt my trade properly, within reach of my parents, whom I regularly visited on holidays, and who often employed me as heretofore. Among the persons to whom my mother's attentions were willingly given, young women in a hopeful state stood foremost, as I could progressively remark; though in such circumstances a somewhat mysterious use was made of me as a message-bearer. I was sent, not directly to the individuals, but to an elderly woman, who lived near, in the valley, and was called Mrs. Elizabeth. My mother, who was herself experienced in the art of midwifery, kept up much intercourse with Mrs. Elizabeth, who used to act as a sort of nurse for lying-in women; and I soon heard in various quarters how many of our young folks had been brought into life by these two females. The mystery with which Elizabeth always received me in her very neat cottage, and the decorous repression of my occasional inquiries, gave me a high veneration for her.

' " Peace had long prevailed in our country, but at length a war broke out. I was driving one day my beast of burden as usual in a well-known path, when I found a female sitting or rather lying in a hollow, under a canopy of verdure, on the bank of a hedge. She appeared asleep, or in a swoon. When I approached her with offers of assistance, she opened her beautiful eyes, and rose up, exclaiming, " Where is he? Have you seen him?" I asked whom? " My husband," replied she. — From her very youthful appearance, this answer was unexpected by me; yet I

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the more readily continued to offer her any services that she might need, and to assure her of my sympathy. I learnt that the two travellers had been obliged to desert their carriage, on account of the rockiness of the roads, and to take the footpath; and that, being attacked by armed men, her husband had drawn his sword in her defence, and had in the combat been hurried to some distance. She could follow him no farther, and had fainted on this spot, where she had lain she knew not how long. She begged me to quit her, and to hasten after her husband. She then rose, and the most beautiful figure stood before me: but I could easily perceive that she was in a condition which might soon require the aid of my mother and Mrs. Elizabeth. We contended awhile, for *I* wished first to put her in a place of safety, and *she* wished first to obtain news of her husband. She would not quit the trace of him, and all my representations would perhaps have been fruitless, had not the captain of our militia, which had been embodied on account of the neighbouring disturbances, passed with some of his men through the forest, and undertook to seek the husband, and to inform him where to find his wife. I now removed my panniers into a cavern which I knew, and which had often served me as a place of deposit; accommodated the saddle for a person to sit on it, and not without strange emotions lifted the fair charge on to my willing beast, which knew of itself the road home, and with quiet steadiness left me to pace beside him. You may imagine how I felt. I long had sought that which I now seemed to have found. It was as if I dreamt, or rather as if I woke from a dream, and saw it realized. That heavenly figure, which I had seen in the picture hovering in the air, and at other times mingling among mortals, was seated before me. Sometimes, if we came to an open spot, she would beg me to look around, to stop and to listen; and she intreated with such grace, such deep-felt tenderness, that I could not but do every thing in my power. I climbed a tree to seek wider intelligence, and when I jumped down a sort of cry of anxiety escaped her, lest I should have suffered injury by the exertion.

' " Already she had attached me to her for life, when we reached the dwelling of the good Elizabeth, and I felt that a painful separation was at hand. In assisting her to dismount, I kissed the neatest shoe that I had ever seen, without her perceiving it. Having helped her down, I called through the house-door, " Mrs. Elizabeth, you are wanted." The good old lady came, received the fair stranger, comprehended her situation, and conducted her up stairs. I embraced the good woman, and stood awhile at the door with my beast, like one who has safely deposited a precious burden, and remains as poor a carrier as before. — I hesitated to withdraw, irresolute what to do, when Elizabeth came back to the door, and begged me first to bring my mother to her, and then to gain intelligence of the husband. " Mary earnestly begs you to do so," she added. " Cannot I speak to her once more?" I said. " No," replied Elizabeth, " that cannot be," and we parted. In a short time, I reached our dwelling, and that very evening my mother went

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to the assistance of the young stranger. I hastened round the country, and hoped to get information at the custom-house: but the people there were uncertain of the event. The lovely form floated before me, now tottering on the beast, and now looking down on me so woe-begone, yet so kindly. For her sake, I should not have grudged the husband his life; yet I fancied her a widow quite as willingly. At length, it was ascertained that the carriage had been recovered, but that the unfortunate husband had died of his wounds in a village not far off. This melancholy account had travelled, I was told, by another person to the house of Elizabeth, so that I had no reason for going thither; and yet I found myself before evening at her door. The house was shut, but there was light in the chamber, and I saw shadows moving on the curtain: but I did not like to knock, and went away.

' " Why should I dwell on all these details? Some days elapsed before the women chose that I should come near them: they had learnt the sad news, and did not want my farther help. A week or more afterward, Elizabeth called me in, desiring me to step softly, and follow her. She took me into a neat chamber, where I saw in the corner, sitting upright on a bed, with curtains half-drawn, my fair stranger. Elizabeth went towards her, as if to announce me, took something out of the bed, and shewed me, wrapt in the whitest linen, a beautiful boy. She held him just between me and the mother, and I thought of the lily-stalk which sprouts up in the picture between Mary and Joseph, as an emblem of the purity of their relation to each other. From that moment, a load seemed lifted off my heart, and I felt assured of my eventual happiness. I could approach her freely, bear the glance of her celestial eye, and print a hearty kiss on the forehead of the babe. ' How I thank you,' said the mother, ' for your notice of my orphan-child!' Heedlessly and with warmth I exclaimed, He needs not be an orphan, if you will.

' " The thought of that moment, so big with fate to me, still haunts me in my wanderings. Weeks and months rolled by. Mary was recovered, and I often saw her. The circumstances of her family allowed her to engage a respectable dwelling: she staid awhile with Elizabeth, and then came to visit my mother, and to thank us, as she said, for our friendly aid in her distress. She liked to be with us, and I hoped that I had my share in contributing to her comfort. That which I wanted to say, and did not dare to say, came out wondrously in the chapel. I was explaining to her the pictures, and dwelt warmly, and so as to bring tears into my eyes, on the duties of a foster-father. She too was melted; and I deemed myself now sure of a return of regard, although the time was not yet come for effacing the memory of a previous attachment. The law accustoms widows to mourn a year and a day; and certainly, to a feeling heart, that length of time is necessary to soften down the painful impression of a great loss. At last it elapsed, and I mentioned to my mother the wishes of my heart. She related to me how deeply Mary had suffered for the loss of her husband, and that only from the conviction that she was bound to live for her child

she

she had been able to recover her powers. By degrees, my attachment was the subject of conversation among the women, and Mary became accustomed to the idea of living under our roof. She passed some time in the neighbourhood, but at length we married. The original feeling which connected us has not expired: the duties and the pleasures of a foster-father and a father are united in me; and, by a curious coincidence, the number of our offspring is the same with that of the Holy Family. We endeavor at a humble distance to imitate the virtues of our models, and to cultivate that piety and purity of sentiment for which they have been venerated."

Other interesting adventures follow, but none which appear to us so characteristic of the author and so singular in its structure as this. The novel is not brought to an end, and may readily be made to consist of an unlimited number of volumes, as the wanderer is bound by vow not to remain above three days in a place, and is consequently always on the wing: but, wherever he perches, he finds something remarkable to observe and to narrate. The form of the work is chiefly epistolary, but with intervals of narration: its incoherence constitutes its greatest fault, while its perfect originality forms its greatest merit.

ART. XII. *Essai sur la Raison*, &c.; *i. e.* An Essay on Reason, considered principally with Relation to its Independence on all extraneous Authority. By HENRY FERD. DE LARSCHE. 8vo. pp. 282. Geneva, and Paris. 1822. Imported by Treuttel and Co. Price 6*s.* sewed.

WE learn that, after having passed two years at Göttingen, M. DE LARSCHE commenced a course of lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind at Geneva; and he seems likely to astonish the idolaters of *Charles Bonnet* by his importation of German doctrines. The present volume is but a slight essay, and merely preliminary to a *system*, which the author announces his intention of publishing in four volumes. On the grand principle here developed, we entirely agree with him, viz. that reason is its own law, and independent of all authority: but we find much in his physiological details with which we cannot express so entire a concurrence. He is an ardent admirer of *Kant*, and is fond, like most of the followers of that school, of advancing some peculiarly mysterious and transcendental notions about the nature of reason. It may be well, perhaps, first to explain in what sense we approve the proposition maintained, and then to make some comments on the writer's views of human reason.

Besides

Besides the power of receiving impressions from external objects through the senses, the mind is able to reflect on the intimations so acquired, and, by comparing them together, to ascertain the different relations. By means of sight, it is furnished with the perception of colors, and at the same time discovers visible figures, or the line of contrast between colors; and, by comparing the perceptions derived from sight and touch, the mind is made acquainted with the relations of distance, of external objects, &c. In the same manner that our senses shew to us our fellow-creatures, our power of reflection, or of comparing objects, or of discovering relations, (by whatever other term we designate that faculty of reason which is generally considered as characteristic of our species,) enables us to perceive the relations in which they stand to one another, and by the help of experience to determine the utility or the prejudicial nature of certain actions; and our reason, then co-operating with our sympathy or social nature, compels us to term certain actions virtuous and others vicious. Without reason, thus defined, we should never have been able to apprehend any distinction between virtuous and vicious actions; without experience, we should not apprehend the just distinction; and without humanity, or that general sympathy which early habit implants in every heart, we might have recognized the distinction, but should not have loved virtue or detested vice. — Reason, thus defined, is not an instinct, but a principle matured by exercise, and improved by cultivation: it is, jointly with our social habits, the source of that which is very expressively, if it were not liable to misapprehension, termed the moral *sense;* or of that conscience which, in proportion as it is enlightened, feels its responsibility to its great Author, and its independence of all external control.

M. DE LARSCHE, however, lays it down as a principle that reason is something quite distinct from reasoning; that it is perfectible not in its essence, as he tells us, but in its operations; that it has for its object first principles or relations, which cannot be perceived by the senses; (*la raison est la faculté des principes;*) and that it has for its object, or creates, images representative of such relations. (*La raison est la faculté des idées.*) On this head, as we fear that we might do injustice to the author's notions by attempting a translation, we will submit his own words to the curiosity of our readers.

'*Je distingue les idées en* idées individuelles *et en* idées attributives.

'*Il n'y a ni plus ni moins que trois idées individuelles, savoir:* 1°. *celle de Dieu;* 2°. *celle de l'âme;* 3°. *et celle du monde.*

'*Les idées attributives sont, ou purement* spéculatives, *comme celles de substance, de cause, d'absolu, etc., ou* pratiques, *comme*

'*celles*

celles de droit, de devoir, etc., ou enfin esthétiques, comme celles du beau, du sublime, etc.

' *Il importe de ne pas confondre les idées avec les notions. Ces dernières sont des abstractions, mais les premières ne le sont pas plus que ne le sont les intuitions, dont nous avons parlé dans le premier chapitre. Les notions des choses supersensibles sont abstraites des idées qui contiennent les élémens de ces notions-là. Ainsi, les élémens de la notion de* Dieu *sont renfermés dans l'idée de* Dieu, *et ainsi des autres.*

' *Les idées forment le contenu ou l'objet de la raison.*

' *Ce sont les idées qui nous mettent en communication avec le monde invisible. Elles sont la chaîne qui unit les deux mondes. Elles forment le pont jeté sur l'abyme, que sans leur secours nous ne pourrions jamais franchir. Ce sont elles qui donnent des ailes à notre pensée, quand, fatiguée de ramper dans le monde des phénomènes, elle prend son essort vers les régions élevées du monde des noumènes, et grâce à leur aide puissante, elle soutient bien haut son vol audacieux sans craindre le sort du malheureux Icare.*

' *Ce sont les idées qui inspirent l'orateur ; soit que du haut de la chaire sacrée il tonne contre le vice et qu'il prêche la vertu, soit que depuis une tribune respectable il discute les grands intérêts de la patrie, ou qu'il défende l'honneur et même quelquefois la vie d'un client malheureux.*

' *Ce sont les idées qui élèvent et qui pénètrent d'enthousiasme l'âme du poëte, qui médite des chants dignes d'être répétés par la postérité la plus reculée. Ce sont encore les idées qui soutiennent le courage du héros, qui, le glaive à la main, brave tous les hasards pour la défense du trône, de la constitution, et de l'autel.*

' *De quoi les monumens des beaux-arts empruntent-ils leur principal charme? — N'est-ce pas des idées dont ils sont la fidèle expression? L'expression des idées sous une forme sensible (c'est-à-dire l'*expression de l'idéal), *n'est-ce pas là le vrai? n'est-ce pas l'unique principe des beaux-arts? Que deviendroient un tableau, une statue, une composition musicale, une danse, un édifice, s'ils n'étoient pas l'expression d'une idée? — Tout autant de carricatures.*

' *Ah! ne méconnoissons pas l'influence salutaire que les idées exercent sur les hommes, souvent même à leur insçu. Cherchons au contraire à propager cette influence. Tâchons d'affermir l'empire des idées.*

' *N'oublions jamais qu'un peuple qui n'est plus apte à recevoir l'enthousiasme qu'inspirent les idées marche à pas précipités à sa décadence.*

' *N'oublions jamais que ce fut à l'époque où une nation se ressentit le plus de l'influence des idées qu'elle exécuta les plus grandes choses: ce fût le temps de son* âge d'or.' *

M. DE

' * *C'est à la foi, qui accompagne toujours la présence des idées dans notre esprit, qu'est dû tout ce qui s'est opéré de vraiment grand dans le monde.*

' *A Athènes, à Sparte, on croyoit aux Dieux immortels et à la vertu, quand ces deux états triomphèrent à Marathon et à Platée des innombrables armées de Darius et de Xercès.*

M. DE LARSCHE then proceeds to acquaint us that reason is the source of all philosophical knowlege; that it is always accompanied by philosophical belief; and that it is either pure or speculative, or practical. In running changes on this latter distinction, he seems to maintain that our practical reason may assure us of a set of truths which our speculative reason may nevertheless detect to be falsehoods and illusions; and he instances our notions of time and space, and of free will.

The most amusing part of the volume is a short sketch of the author's philosophical studies; in which he gives a history of his life, and particularizes the course of reading by which, after having perused the French, the English, and the Scotch philosophers, just as they fell in his way, at random, he was seized with a fit of enthusiasm for German philosophy, and set out for Göttingen. A spot more rich with talents of all kinds he certainly could not have selected. Here, though he attended some of the other professors, he devoted himself principally to the lectures of *Bouterweck;* and, as we are not in this country, in general, well acquainted with the state of philosophical studies in Germany, we shall make no apology for laying before our readers M. DE LARSCHE's views on that subject; which, we confess, differ very much from some of our own preconceived opinions.

'All the German philosophers now living may be conveniently classed under two principal heads. The first class consists of the maintainers of an intellectual system, and the second of the maintainers of a physical system.—The principal intellectualists are MM. *Bouterweck* and *Schulze* of Göttingen; *Reinhold* of Kiel; *Friess* of Jena; *Krug* of Leipzig; *Herbert* of Königsburg; *Koppen* of Landshut; *Gerlach* of Halle; *Keyserlingk* of Heidelburg, &c. The most celebrated philosophers of nature are MM. *Schelling* of Munich; *Eschenmayer* of Tubingen; *Hegel* of Berlin; *Steffens* of Breslaw; *Oken* and *Bachmann* of Jena; *Wagner* and *Klein* of Wartzburg; *Ast* of Landshut; *Hillebrand* of Heidelburg; *Goerres*, &c. &c.—The celebrated theologian *Schleyerma-*

'*Dans les beaux temps de la république, les Romains étoient des hommes religieux et moraux.*

'*C'est sous l'égide de la foi, et de l'enthousiasme qu'elle inspire, que les Arabes soumirent à leur empire et à l'Islamisme toutes les vastes contrées situées entre le Gange et les colonnes d'Hercule.*

'*Ce furent également la foi, la religion, l'amour de la patrie, de la liberté, et des lois, et le sentiment de leurs droits, qui animèrent d'un courage invincible les anciens Suisses, nos braves ancêtres, à Morgarten, à Sempach, à Grandson, à Morat, à Gingins, etc., etc.*

'*A quoi l'homme réellement vertueux doit-il tout ce qu'il est, si ce n'est à la foi et aux idées?*

'*A quoi attribuer l'honneur des sacrifices auxquels se détermine si souvent l'homme de bien, si ce n'est encore à la foi et aux idées?*'

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cher, of Berlin, is more of a Spinozist than of a naturalist, for he ranks Spinoza and Plato above all philosophers antient or modern. In his "*Kritik der bishenigen Sittenlehre*," he asserts that no satisfactory system of morality has yet been given, which entirely comes up to the *idea* that we ought to form to ourselves of the science of our duties.

'All German philosophers (excepting only Dr. *Wendel*, who is a declared partisan of scepticism,) agree on the following points:

'1. They reject all *experimental philosophy*, because they never find it satisfactory.

'2. They declare with common consent against materialism; which, as they have witnessed in France and England, results from experimental philosophy, when all the consequences are adopted, which is necessary if we are to reason.

'3. They admit, as an incontestible fact, two sources of our knowlege; viz. intellect and sensation.

'4. They carefully distinguish intellect, or reason, from reasoning.

'5. As to morality, they all believe that the principles of it are to be sought in reason, not in just views of self-interest, nor in a moral sense, nor in sympathy.

'6. They think that the practical part of philosophy is inseparably united to the theoretic. *Quis est enim*, said Cicero, *qui, nullis officii præceptis tradendis, philosophum se audeat dicere.* (De Officiis, lib. i. cap. 2.)

'7. They place experimental psychology and logic at the head of philosophy; not as integrals of the science, but merely as *an introduction.* (Some of them, however, viz. *Hegel* and *Bardili*, seem desirous of transforming logic into metaphysics.)

'8. They think that the feeling, which the contemplation of a beautiful object produces, is entirely disinterested, and independent of any utility which the object may possess.

'9. All these philosophers have in view the noble object of liberating man from a shameful slavery to his sensual and irregular inclinations; and of confirming him in that liberty which springs from a voluntary submission to the laws imposed on him by his *unfettered reason.*

'10. As to method, they give a decided preference to the synthetic, above the analytic: — in which, in my opinion, they judge wisely.

'11. They have ranked in logic, instead of metaphysics, the three principles which are at the head of the philosophy of the Wolfians: viz. the principle of contradiction, of a sufficing reason, and of the exclusion of a middle term between two contradictories.'

In a separate chapter, the author controverts some of the hypotheses of *Bonnet* in a respectful and philosophical manner: but, in criticizing the scepticism of Dr. *Wendel* of Cobourg, we are sorry to observe that he attempts, by sneering and contemptuous insolence, to oppose some observations which he does not seem able to answer by direct argument.

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To the REMARKABLE PASSAGES in this Volume.

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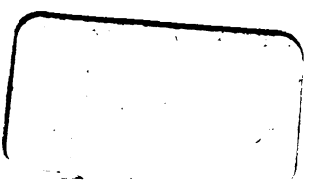
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